Representation

of

The Muslims of United Provinces

(India)

To

The Indian Statutory Commission

July, 1928

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The Muslims of United Provinces

(India)

To

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25 STANLEY ROAD,
Allahabad, July 25, 1928.

CIRCULAR LETTER TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE FOR THE DEMANDS OF U. P. MUSLIMS, AND TO ALL PERSONS WHO ARE GOING TO GIVE EVIDENCE BEFORE THE INDIAN STATUTORY COMMISSION, OR THE EDUCATION COMMITTEE OF THE COMMISSION.

GENTLEMEN,

I have much pleasure in announcing that printed copies of the memorandum of the U. P. Muslims to the Indian Statutory Commission are ready, and twelve copies have been despatched to the Delhi office of the Commission, while seven copies have been sent to the Secretary, Education Committee of the Statutory Commission, Government of India, Simla.

2. The work was organised by a Committee of thirty Muslims of these provinces in February last, and the memorandum is the result of unremitting industry, devotion to duty, and selfless labours of a band of persons who, regardless of the ceaseless attacks which were directed at them from many quarters, have worked unostentatiously at a most critical stage of their country's development. Amidst turmoil and trouble, they worked patiently, and steadily. I am convinced that they have saved their community by their exertions, and their country by their example.

3. The memorandum, which is entitled the "*Representation of the Muslims of United Provinces (India) to the Indian Statutory Commission*," is based on authorities which are as unimpeachable as are the conclusions which are drawn from them. The Committee has aimed consistently at moderation, as it knows that the most moderate language is also the strongest. All appeals to emotion, all flights of eloquence, have been rigidly barred. We think that facts are more eloquent than any amount of theories, and we have invariably followed the policy of letting the facts speak for themselves. Our aim has not been to go out of our way to attack any particular community, nor have we deemed it desirable to indulge in that weakest form of argument which is sometimes resorted to by persons prone to the use of the *argumentum ad hominem*. We stand strictly on our rights, and we refuse to serve as a pawn in the hand of any party in this country.

4. I may be permitted to mention briefly the way in which this work was organised. In the first place, I framed about two hundred questions for the U. P. Legislative Council on all subjects in which Muslim interests are involved. They dealt with Local Self-Government, Education Services, and other matters. A perusal of the memorandum will convince anyone that without this indispensable preliminary, the memorandum could never have been prepared. In the next place, the proceedings of the U.P. Legislative Council for the last five years were carefully studied, and all questions in which our community is directly interested, were copied out and classified. In the third place, all Government publications which supply information relating to Services, such as the Civil List, published by the

U. P. Government, List of Educational Officers, and Lists of Government Officers in other Departments, published by the Superintendent, Government Press, Allahabad, were carefully analysed. Besides this, the Calendars of Universities, and Professional Colleges in these provinces, as well as the Calendar of the U. P. Intermediate Board were utilised. Besides this mass of information, a questionnaire had been issued to all Muslim members of the municipal and district boards, and information was asked from every locality regarding education, contracts, etc., in all local bodies. The replies to the questionnaire were most satisfactory. They yielded a rich harvest, and supplied an amount of first-hand information which proved most useful to the Committee. The last, and perhaps the most important, source of information was the personal experience not only of the members of the Committee, but also of numerous other persons who helped us with their advice. Again, questions relating to the constitution of the provincial and central government, the need for safeguards, the working of safeguards, etc., formed the subject of prolonged study and keen discussion.

From this brief account of the manner it will be clear how arduous the task of the Committee was. I leave it to others to judge how it has discharged its duty to its country and community.

5. My thanks are due to all members of the Committee for their ready help, useful advice, and cordial co-operation. I am particularly grateful to our Secretary, Mr. Shaikh Zahur Ahmad, Bar-at-Law, M.L.C., whose unflagging industry, and devoted work for the Committee can be appreciated only by those who have had the pleasure of working with him; to Khan Bahadur Hafiz Hidayat Husain, B.A., Bar-at-Law, M.L.C., whose industry, knowledge of men and things, and analytical judgment proved most useful to the Committee. He has written the reports on the Provincial Government, and on the Judiciary. Khan Bahadur Masudul Hassan, Bar-at-Law, M.L.C., rendered most valuable services to the Committee by giving it sound advice, based on years of fruitful work in the sphere of Local Self-Government and of public service in England and India, extending over twenty years. The Committee is grateful to him for the work which he has done for it. He has written the last seven pages of the Report on Local Self-Government. The matter contained in the rest of this *Representation* has been analysed, classified and written by me. Khan Bahadur Fasihuddin, B.A., M.L.C., and Khan Bahadur Abdussami Sahib, Retired Collector of Fatehpur, rendered most useful service to the Committee by classifying the material for the Report on Services. The material has been incorporated in the Report on Services. A perusal of the Report will reveal at a glance the quality and quantity of the work done by Fasihuddin and Abdussami Sahibs. I am also grateful to them for many helpful suggestions on Government Services. Mention may also be made of those members of the Committee, and others who are not members, who helped it by their advice. Among these, I deem it my duty to mention the names of Shaikh Habibullah Sahib, O.B.E., M.L.C., whose solid commonsense and shrewd judgement conbributed materially to the formulation of our policy on some constitutional questions of importance; of Syed Habibullah Sahib, Bar-at-Law, M.L.C., whose ripe knowledge of administration, and critical acumen, were as conspicuous as his boundless energy, and matchless vigour. To Khan Bahadur Obaidur Rahman Khan Sahib, M.L.C., who took an active part in many discussions, and Shaikh Abdullah Sahib, M.L.C., Vakil, who came

all the way to Nainital to attend the discussions of the Committee, and evinced a keen interest in its work, the thanks of the Committee are due.

6. The work could never have been carried out without the consistent and persistent support which the Hon'ble Nawab Muhammad Yusuf has rendered ever since the formation of the Committee. At every stage of the Committee's work in every aspect of its activity, he has taken the keenest interest, and rendered invaluable work. The success which has attended the efforts of the Committee is due, in no small measure, to the help rendered to it by the Nawab Sahib. He paid the entire cost of printing of my pamphlet entitled "*What are the Rights of the Muslim Minority in India?*" It amounted to Rs. 800. He has generously consented to pay the entire cost of printing this memorandum. This will amount to not less than rupees three thousand. These facts show his solicitude for the work of the Committee. I may add that I decided not to raise any subscription in aid of this work. All the expenses of printing have been defrayed by the Nawab Sahib, and other expenses by a member of the Committee.

7. All who are going to give evidence on various subjects should go through the whole memorandum first, so that they may know the general principles that underlie it. Then they should make an intensive study of the chapter which concerns them. It is necessary to remark that each witness should supplement the information given in the memorandum by other types of information that may be accessible to him: All who are going to give evidence on (I) Services, (II) Local Self-Government, and (III) Education are specially requested to collect as much information about the local boards, Universities, and Services as possible.

SHAFAAT AHMAD KHAN,
Chairman,
Committee for the Demands of U. P. Muslims.

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INTRODUCTION.

By the Government of India Act of 1919, the British Parliament conferred on the provincial legislatures powers in certain subjects, such as Education, Agriculture, Industries, Medical Relief, Local Self-Government, Co-operative Credit Societies, etc. This was in fulfilment of the promise made by the late Mr. E. S. Montagu in the British Parliament in August, 1917. The Government in the provinces was divided into two parts, the Reserved half and the Transferred half. The departments in charge of the Reserved half are Justice, Police, Finance, Land Revenue, Irrigation, Forests, etc. The members in charge of these departments are appointed by the Crown, and are not responsible to the legislature. The transferred departments on the other hand, are in charge of Ministers who are responsible to the legislature. If the latter passes a vote of no-confidence in them they must resign. We may say briefly that diarchy was established in the provinces. Under this system there are ministers as well as executive councillors, the latter being in charge of reserved subjects. Diarchy was probably a necessity at the time, but the question to be decided was whether the Government in India should be conducted on the principle of irresponsibility to the legislature or on the principles in operation in all the self-governing colonies of the British Empire, such as Canada, Australia and South Africa. After elaborate inquiries and a thorough investigation by all responsible statesmen in England it became perfectly clear that India could not remain stationary. She could not go back ; she could only go forward. The question therefore was not, whether there should be constitutional advance in India—upon this all parties were agreed—but whether India should be granted dominion status in 1919. Here again, with the exception of a handful of visionaries, and irreconcilables, all the moderate and reasonable elements of the Indian people agreed that India required a transitional period, a period of training for the full exercise of those powers, rights, and privileges which are enjoyed by the self-governing colonies. Diarchy therefore was regarded, and, let me add justly regarded, as a half-way house. It may be added here that though the central legislature received some very useful, and in some cases, substantial powers, the basic principle of parliamentary Government—the principle of responsibility to the legislature—was not introduced therein. The executive in the central legislature is irresponsible, while that in the local legislature is divided into two parts, one part of which is responsible, and the other irresponsible.

The Government of India Act contained a section which provided for the appointment of Royal Commission within ten years of the passing of the Act, for the purpose of reporting to the British Parliament upon the working of the constitution in India, and making such suggestions for the extension, or withdrawal of reforms as they might deem fit. The British Parliament sanctioned the appointment of the Commission, herein called the Indian Statutory Commission, in November 1927, for this purpose. For various reasons, which we need not detail here, a number of *intelligentsia*,

who were mostly confined to a few large and populous, urban areas, boycotted the Commission. They declared that they would not "co-operate with it in any shape or form." The Muhammadan community, on the other hand, together with an overwhelming number of persons belonging to the landed, commercial and depressed classes resolved to co-operate with it.

The Muslims of the United Provinces also resolved to prepare a statement of their case for the Commission. A committee of the majority of the Muslim members of the Legislative Council, representatives of the district and municipal boards, and other leading men, was formed for the purpose of preparing their case for the Commission, and "taking such other steps as it might deem suitable." The Committee represents all the important elements of the community. After nearly four months of strenuous work involving the collection of material, and the drawing up of the reports, a part of this memorandum was sent to the Delhi Office on the 30th June, 1928. Before I give the names of the persons who signed it, I should like to explain as briefly as possible the policy of the U. P. Muslims.

The Muslim community has been given the right of electing its own members by a system of separate electorates. In this system the electors are in general constituencies divided into Muslims and non-Muslims, and the seats for the two are fixed. In the United Provinces Legislative Council they are entitled to elect their own members to the legislature. The electoral rolls are also separate. This system is called the system of separate electorates, or the system of communal representation. The Muslims regard it as an essential safeguard for the protection of their interests. They feel that if it is abolished they will disappear from the public life of their country, as Hindus possess an overwhelming majority in seven out of the nine provinces, and Muslims form only 14·28 per cent of the population of the United Provinces, 6·70 of Madras, 4·05 of C. P. and Berar, 19·7 of Bombay, 18·85 of Bihar and Orissa and 28·96 of Assam. Only in two provinces, *viz.*, the Punjab where they form 55·33 per cent and Bengal, where their percentage is 53·99, do they possess a majority. Yet their majority in the two provinces is very small indeed when compared with the overwhelming majority of the Hindus in the other seven provinces. The Muslims therefore fear that if separate electorate is abolished they will be simply swamped by Hindu voters, and no Muslim will have any chance of election. This fear has been realised in those places where the system of joint electorate obtains. In the chapter headed "The Working of the Safeguards for Minorities" it is shown that this system is merely a variation of the system of Proportional Representation.

But the system of separate electorate is meaningless, barren and hollow unless it is supplemented by effective safeguards in the domain of administration, education and local self-government. The Muslims have found by bitter experience of the working of reforms in these provinces that the system of separate electorate has proved comparatively ineffective in those matters which concern our community vitally, matters upon which depends our economic, political, and intellectual and

religious development. The policy and action of the members of the majority community in those spheres of activity over which they have acquired control shows conclusively that they have not exercised that spirit of give-and-take, that capacity for compromise, nor developed those habits of sympathy, mutual help, and goodwill, which are an essential requisite in every government. It is unfortunately only too true that just after the reforms, when the legislature was invested with comparatively large powers, they acted in a manner which alienated the sympathy of an overwhelming number of Muslims. In the services they tried to monopolise most of the appointments. The report on the Services traces the processes which lead to the elimination of Muslims from various departments. In the local self-governing bodies their majority holds sway, and as these bodies have been given far-reaching powers, they virtually do what they like. If the Government tried to improve their administration, the cry of "Autonomy of Local Bodies" was raised in various quarters. These bodies cut down the grants for Muslim primary schools, reduced the number of Muslim teachers, forced Hindi on Muslim boys, reduced and in many cases dismissed Muslim servants, eliminated Muslim contractors, and imposed irritating, invidious, and in a number of cases unjust and cruel restrictions on the exercise of religious rites by the Muslims. The administration of these bodies is Hinduised in tone, temper, manner and method. The report on Local Self-Government supplies numerous cases of this kind, and throws a lurid light on the policy of these bodies. The general feeling is that the District Board Act of 1922 practically established a Hindu Raj in the rural areas. The reader's attention is invited to the cases cited in that report. In Education, precisely the same tendencies are at work. Primary education in the rural areas is controlled by the District Boards in which the Hindus exercise unchallenged supremacy owing to their overwhelming majority in these areas. The result is seen in the stifling of Muslim primary education, the unprecedented reduction in the number of Muslim teachers of primary schools, and the systematic, deliberate and persistent attempts of these bodies to force Hindi on Muslim boys against their will and wishes. In Municipal Boards, wherever the majority community has got the power, precisely the same policy is pursued. The reader is referred to the account of Cawnpore, Jhansi, Naini Tal and other municipal boards contained in the report on Local Self-Government. The history of the attempts made by the leaders of the Muslim community in these provinces in 1924, 1925, 1926, to get their grievances redressed both in the spheres of primary and in those of secondary University education is traced in the report on Education. The Intermediate Education Board, which moulds secondary education throughout the province, has been Hinduised, while the two Universities which are maintained chiefly by Government grants are completely dominated by the Hindu community. In all the important bodies of these universities, such as the Faculty, the Academic Council, the Executive Council and the University Court very few Muslims are to be found, while on the staff of all these universities, the representation of the Muslim is so scandalously small that Muslims have practically lost all hope of getting any member of their community appointed to any post in the University, or elected to any University body.

It was these facts staring the U. P. Muhammadans in the face, these substantial reals, which compelled them to formulate their case and bring their grievances to the notice of the Commission in the hope that justice will be done to them. The Muslim community is firmly of the opinion that very great blunder was made at the time the Local Bodies, the Universities and the Intermediate Education Board were made autonomous bodies. It thinks that the rights of minorities ought to have been amply safeguarded in all these bodies by statute. It is firmly of the opinion that unless and until these rights are safeguarded it will never agree to any change in the constitution. It is convinced that without safeguards in education, local self-government, administration and the legislature it cannot live honourably and freely. Unless and until these rights are safeguarded, it will not only oppose all changes in the constitution, but will strongly advocate the scrapping of reforms. The report on Safeguards for minorities analyses these safeguards. It also contains a selection of treaties and other provisions which make provision for the protection of minorities in various countries. Muslim powers such as Turkey and Albania have conceded these rights. Indeed, Turkey has gone even further, and has inserted provisions in the new Civil Code, promulgated in 1926, which are even more liberal than the minorities clauses which she signed in connection with the Treaty of Lausanne, 1923. The working of these treaties is traced in a section of the report headed "The Working of these Safeguards." From this section it will be perfectly clear that the fourteen powers who signed these clauses are observing it. If any power neglects its duty, the minority has the right to petition the League of Nations, which is the guarantor of such treaties. The Report will show at a glance the extent of the influence of these treaties on the policy of the various Governments towards their minorities.

The position of the U. P. Muslims is perfectly clear. They do not want, and have never desired, to play the part of Ulster in India. They have fought and are willing to fight with their Hindu brethren for the battle of constitutional freedom for their country. Their political principles do not differ from those of other parties and organisations in India. They are the children of the same motherland, glorying in her achievement, and sharing in the sorrows and joys of their country. They do not believe in extra-territorial patriotism, and are as determined as any other community in India to resist the invasion of their country by any Islamic power, whether it be Afghanistan, Persia, or Turkey. They are proud of the glorious heritage of culture which India boasts, and which they share in common with their Hindu brethren. All that they desire is that before any change is made in the constitution their rights should be safeguarded. They are convinced that the only safe method of effecting this is by inserting these safeguards in a Parliamentary statute. They know that in all the legislatures in India and in an overwhelming number of local and autonomous bodies, the Hindus enjoy a permanent majority. They fear that even if these safeguards are granted to them, either by means of an executive order, or by an act of local or central legislatures, they will be scrapped. Lord Meston's Government guaranteed the Muhammadans safeguards in primary education.

The District Boards which came into being after the Act, 1922, practically disregarded all the important safeguards. The Governor is helpless, as he told the Muhammadans who waited upon him in August 1924, that in education the legislature was practically supreme. As the legislature is dominated by the Hindus and the Minister is responsible to the legislature, the Muslims are absolutely helpless. They feel, therefore, that the only effective way of safeguarding their interests is by embodying them in a law passed by the British Parliament, and compelling everybody in India, whether it is a legislature, a Municipal or a District Board, or other autonomous body, to observe it. They should, in other words, be *fundamental*, and should not be liable to modification by anybody in India.

This is the programme of the U. P. Muslims. They are resolved to fight for this principle and to stake their all on its attainment, as they are convinced that upon it depends their existence as a community.

The report was signed by the following persons, and an incomplete copy sent by me on their behalf, to the Delhi office of the Indian Statutory Commission on June 30, 1928. The complete copy was sent on July 21, 1928.

1. Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Litt. D. (Trinity College, Dublin), Member, U. P. Legislative Council; *Chairman, Committee for the Demands of U. P. Muslims.*

2. Khan Bahadur Hafiz Hidayat Husain, B.A., Bar-at-Law, Member, U. P. Legislative Council.

3. Khan Bahadur Maulvi Fasih Uddin, Member, U. P. Legislative Council.

4. Zahur Ahmad Sahib, Bar-at-Law, Member, U. P. Legislative Council, *Secretary to the Committee.*

5. Lieutenant Nawab Jamshed Ali Khan, *Kaiseri-Hind*, Member, U. P. Legislative Council.

6. Khan Bahadur Shah Badre Alam, Member, U. P. Legislative Council.

7. Khan Bahadur Masudul Hasan, Bar-at-Law, Member, U. P Legislative Council.

8. Khan Bahadur Saiyed Mohammad *alias* Maiku Mian, Member, U. P, Legislative Council.

9. Khan Bahadur Fazlur Rahman Khan, Vakil, Member, U. P. Legislative Council.

10. Sheikh Abdullah, Vakil, Member, U. P. Legislative Council, Treasurer, Muslim University.

11. Maulana Abdul Bari, Bar-at-Law, Member, U. P. Legislative Council.

12. Khan Bahadur Shaikh Ziaul Haq, Member, U. P. Legislative Council, Chairman, Municipal Board, Deoband.

13. Khan Bahadur Saiyed Jafar Husain, Bar-at-Law, Member, U. P. Legislative Council.

14. Khan Bahadur Hakim Mahbub Ali Khan, Member, U. P. Legislative Council.

15. Khan Bahadur Sh. Ghulam Husain, Member, U. P. Legislative Council.

16. Nawab Sajjad Ali Khan, Member, U. P. Legislative Council.

17. Saiyid Habib Ullah, Bar-at-Law, Member, U.P. Legislative Council.

18. Khan Saheb Haji Abdul Qayum, Member, U. P. Legislative Council.

19. Lieutenant Khan Bahadur Nawabzada Abdus Sami Khan, Member, U. P. Legislative Council.

20. Khan Bahadur Ubaidur Rahman Khan, Member, U.P. Legislative Council.

21. Munshi Ihtisham Ali Sahib, President, U. P. Provincial Muslim League.

22. Doctor Ziauddin Ahmad, C.I.E., D.Sc., Ph.D. (Gottingen).

23. Khan Bahadur Aslam Saifie, Member, Municipal and District Boards, Meerut.

24. Moulvi Nazir Ahmad, Member, District Board, Allahabad.

25. Mr. Amir Hasan Khan, B.A., LL.B., Vakil, Municipal Commissioner, Fatehpur.

26. Mr. Mohammad Azim, B.A., LL.B., Vakil, Senior Vice-Chairman, District Board, Ghazipur.

27. Mr. Abdul Bari, B.A., LL.B., Vakil, Municipal Commissioner, Jhansi.

28. Hakim Hazir Ali, Municipal Commissioner, Cawnpore.

29. Mr. Ayub Siddiqi, B.A., LL.B., Vakil, Senior Vice-Chairman, District Board, Farrukhabad.

30. Mr. Anwar Ali Khan, Member, District Board, Bareilly.

The following gentlemen have expressed their desire to give evidence before the Statutory Commission next November:

1. Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan. Litt. D. (Trinity College, Dublin), Member of the U. P. Legislative Council, and *Chairman, Committee for the Demands of the United Provinces Muslims.*

2. Khan Bahadur Hafiz Hidait Husain, B.A., Bar-at-law, Member, U. P. Legislative Council.

3. Khan Bahadur Maulvi Fasi-Uddin, B.A., Retired Collector of Jaunpur, Member, U. P. Legislative Council.

4. Mr. Zahur Ahmad, Bar-at-law, Member, U. P. Legislative Council, *Secretary to the Committee.*

5. Khan Bahadur Masudul Hasan, ex-Chairman, Municipal Board, Moradabad, Bar-at-Law, Member, U. P. Legislative Council.

6. Khan Bahadur Fazlul-Rahman Khan, B.A., LL.B., Vakil, ex-Chairman, Municipal Board, Shahjahanpur, Member, U. P. Legislative Council.

7. Shaikh Abdulla Sahab, B.A., LL.B., Vakil, Treasurer, Muslim University, Aligarh, Member, U. P. Legislative Council.

8. Maulana Abdul Bari, Bar-at-Law, Member, U. P. Legislative Council.

9. Khan Bahadur Shaikh Zia-ul-Haq, Chairman, Municipal Board, Deoband, District Saharanpur, Member, U. P. Legislative Council.

10. Khan Bahadur Hakim Mahbub Ali Khan, ex-Chairman, District Board, Bareilly, Member, U. P. Legislative Council.

11. Khan Bahadur Gulam Husain Sahab, Member, U. P. Legislative Council.

12. Nawab Sajjad Ali Khan Sahab, Member, U. P. Legislative Council.

13. Syed Habib-Ullah, Esq., Bar-at-Law, Member, U. P. Legislative Council.

14. Khan Bahadur Maulvi Ubaidur Rahman Khan, Member, Executive Council, Muslim University, Aligarh; Member, U. P. Legislative Council.

15. Munshi Ihtisham Ali Sahab, President, U. P. Provincial Muslim League, Lucknow.

16. Mr. Amir Hasan Khan, B.A., LL.B., Vakil, Municipal Commissioner, Fatehpur.

17. Mr. Bashir Ahmad, Retired Assistant Inspector of Schools, Fyzabad.

18. Mr. Mohammad Afzal, Bar-at-Law, ex-Chairman, Municipal Board, Rae Bareli.

19. Mr. Shakir Ali, Bar-at-Law, ex-Member of the U. P. Legislative Council, Gorakhpur.

20. Khan Bahadur Mir Syed Husain, Retired Deputy Collector, and Member, District Board, Lucknow.

21. Khan Bahadur Nawab Murtaza Husain Khan Sahab, of Lucknow.

22. Mr. A. M. Qureshi, Principal, Intermediate College, Muslim University, Aligarh.

23. Mr. Mohammad Masih Uddin, Bar-at-Law, Bara Banki.

24. Lieutenant Nawab Jamshed Ali Khan, Member, U. P. Legislative Council.

25. Rao Sahib Abdul Hamid Khan, ex-member, U. P. Legislative Council; *Rais* of Muzaffarnagar district.

26. Mr. Akhtar Adil, Judge, Khairpur Mir's State.

27. Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad, C.I.E., Ph.D., D.Sc.

28. Mr. Abdul Bari, Vakil, Municipal Commissioner, Jhansi.

29. Mr. M. A. Aziz, M.A. (Cantab), LL.B., Advocate, Allahabad.

The witnesses will give evidence on the subjects comprised in this report. They will, of course, choose only those subjects in which they possess a sufficiency of experience and information; and it is not likely that any witness will give evidence on more than two subjects.

The material for the representation has been very carefully sifted and analysed. The committee has based its statement partly on the evidence supplied by the Government in the Civil List, the U. P. Legislative Council, and other Government publications, and partly on the experience of the members of our community in various bodies, such as the Universities, Intermediate Education Board, Municipal Boards, Government departments, and other bodies. Wherever possible, the source of information of the committee is indicated in the appendices to the various sections of this report, which will be found at the end of the book.

I may conclude this brief summary of our case by stating that if there had been a real, earnest, and a genuine desire for reconciliation, if a spirit of compromise and toleration had been shown by the majority community, the political situation in India would have been hopeful; but so long as the present mentality continues, so long will there be dissatisfaction, and disquiet. My only suggestion for this is a complete change of heart, and sincere desire for reconciling the interests of the minorities with those of the majority communities. I cannot do better than quote the following from the illuminating suggestion of that great man, Edmund Burke, "The combination, and the opposition of interests, their action, and the counteraction, in the natural and in the political world, from the reciprocal struggle of discordant powers, draws out the harmony of the universe. These opposed and conflicting interests, . . . interpose a salutary check to all precipitate resolutions, they render deliberation a matter not of choice, but of necessity; they make all change a subject of compromise, which naturally begets moderation; they produce temperaments, preventing the sore evil of harsh, crude, unqualified reformations; and rendering all the headlong exertions of arbitrary power, in the few or in many, for ever impracticable."

25 Stanley Road,
ALLAHABAD (India)
July 20, 1928.

SHAFAAT AHMAD KHAN, Litt. D.,
Member, U. P. Legislative Council,
Chairman, Committee for the Demands of U. P. Muslims.

25, STANLEY ROAD,

ALLAHABAD.

July 20th 1928.

To

THE SECRETARY,

EDUCATION COMMITTEE OF THE INDIAN STATUTORY COMMISSION,

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,

SIMLA.

SIR,

I have the honour to send herewith, on behalf of the Committee for the Demands of U. P. Muslims, seven copies of the *Representation of the Muslims of United Provinces.* As will be clear from a copy of the letter addressed to the Officer-in-charge, Indian Statutory Commission, the Committee represents the Muslims of these provinces, and embodies their views in the domain of education, local self-government, and other matters. The Committee attaches special importance to education, as it is strongly of the opinion that upon the right solution of many of problems connected with education depend the political, no less than the economic advancement of this country.

The Committee regrets its inability to supply the information required by the Education Committee in the form prescribed by the latter in its questionnaire. This is due to two chief reasons —(I)—In the first place, it regards the report on education as an integral part of its memorandum. It is of the opinion that the progress of education in these provinces cannot be studied with the comprehensiveness, grasp of principles, and wealth of detail, which are an essential requisite in inquiries of this type, unless the problem of education is viewed in its relation to the other problems which are discussed in its *Representation.* Hence the Report on Education is an organic part of the Report on Local Self-government. The local bodies in these provinces have been vested with control over primary education. An inquiry on education consequently necessitates an inquiry into the principles and methods which have guided local self-governing bodies in this country in the administration of primary education. Again, both the Reports on Education and on Local Self-Government are intimately connected with the sections of the *Representation* dealing with services, safeguards for minorities, and the working of safe-guards. These sections are interdependent, and we cannot discuss any one of the subjects comprised therein, without discussing the rest. The Committee would like to emphasise this point, as it feels that the division of such subjects as education and local self-government, and safeguards for minorities, into water-tight compartments is likely to convey a wrong impression of the place of education in the public economy of these provinces. I should, therefore, be grateful if the attention of the Education Committee could be drawn to this feature of our memorandum. (II)—Another reason for our failure to conform to the form prescribed in the questionnaire is that the

report on education was written about six weeks before the questionnaire was issued by the Education Committee. The proofs of the report had been composed, and passed for printing. The Committee could not consequently modify the plan it had originally adopted.

Though the report on education is not modelled on the form indicated in the questionnaires, the principles of classification adopted by the Committee are substantially the same as those explained by the Education Committee.

In the questionnaire, a copy of which is printed below, question section I deals with the progress of education in (a) primary education, (b) secondary education, (c) university education, (d) the training of teachers, (e) technical education, and (f) girls' education. As regards (a), (b), and (c), the matter is discussed exhaustively in our report. In fact, the report is divided into three sections, which deals with sub-sections (a), (b), and (c), of section I of the questionnaire. As regards (d), the matter is discussed partly in the section dealing with primary education and partly in other sections; the same remarks apply to the sub-sections (e) and (f). Both these subjects are discussed in connection with the discussion on primary and secondary education. They will, of course, be amplified by the witnesses who will appear on behalf of this Committee.

As regards section 2 of your questionnaire, the reasons for the failure have also been indicated in each case, and the educational and financial aspects of many of the schemes have been pointed out. It has not been possible to supply details in every case, as this would have swelled the size of the memorandum. The witnesses who will give evidence will, however, supplement the information contained in the memorandum by further information.

As regards section 3 of the questionnaire, I may add that (1) the question of the application of compulsion in primary education is dealt with in our report on primary education; and (2) the question of moral and religious instruction is dealt with in a note published in the appendices to our report on education; while the education of Muslims is discussed throughout our report.

As regards section 4 of the questionnaire, I am to add that sub-sections (a), (b), (c), (d), (l), and (n), have already been discussed in our report, and references to them will be found in the proper place. Some of the witnesses who will appear before the Committee may supplement the material in our report by memoranda relating to subjects other than those discussed in our report.

As regards the form to be used, I have already indicated the reasons which have compelled us to depart from the form prescribed in the questionnarie. The witnesses who will give evidence will do so on behalf of the Committee for the Demands of the U. P. Muslim, in which the Muslim community in these provinces is effectively organised. They will not give evidence in their individual capacity. Accordingly only such persons have been selected as possess experience of one or more branches of education. The names of witnesses who will give evidence are as follows :—

KHAN, SHAFAAT AHMAD, First class Honours in History and Politics at the B.A. Honours examination; Doctor of Literature, Trinity College, Dublin; Cambridge University Certificate in the Theory and Practice of Teaching; University Professor of Modern Indian History, Allahabad University; Author of a number of works on Indian History. *Fouuder and Editor, Journal*

of Indian History, 1921-24, Member, U. P. Legislative Council; Chairman, *Committee for the Demands of U. P. Muslims.*

HUSAIN, HAFIZ HIDAYAT. B. A. Bar-at-Law, M. L. C. Member, Board of High School and Intermediate Education, U. P.

HASAN, MASUDUL. Bar-at-Law; M. L. C. Chairman of the Municipal Board, Moradabad, for six years.

FASIHUDDIN, KHAN BAHADUR MOULVIE, B. A, M. L. C. Retired Collector of Fatehpur.

ALAM, IKRAM, B.A., LL. B. Vakil, Budaun.

AHMAD, BASHIR, Retired Assistant Inspector of Schools.

HUSAIN MIR SAIYED. KHAN BAHADUR, Retired Deputy Collector Member, District Board, Lucknow.

QUREISHY, A. M. ; M.A. Principal, Intermediate College, Muslim University, Aligarh.

HUSAIN, MAHDI. Headmaster, Shuabia Islamia High School, Agra.

AHMAD, ZIAUDDIN M.A. D. Sc. Ph. D. (Gottingen). Late Pro-vice-Chancellor, Muslim University, Aligarh.

ABULLAH, SHEIKH, Vakil, Trasurer, Muslim University, Aligarh.

RAZA, SAIYED SAJID. M. A., LL. B., Vakil.

SIDDIQI, Mr. AYUB B.A., LL.B., Senior-Vice Chairman, District Board, Farrukhabad.

AZIZ, MR. M. A. M.A., (Cantab) ; LL.B.; Advocate, High Court, Allahabad.

I may add that this list is provisional, as a number of other educationists may express their desire to give evidence, while some of the members, through some cause or other, may be unable to give evidence. The names of such persons will be forwarded to you in due course. A definitive list of witnesses will be sent to you in the last week of August.

I am to add that all correspondence relating to witnesses, etc. should be addressed to me at the address given above.

I am,

yours truly,

SHAFAAT AHMAD KHAN,

CHAIRMAN,

Committee for the Demands of U. P. Muslims.

INQUIRY INTO THE GROWTH OF EDUCATION.

QUESTIONNAIRE OF THE EDUCATION COMMITTEE.

The following questionnaire is issued by the Education Committee of the Indian Statutory Commission. All persons and associations interested in the subject matter of the questionnarie are invited to send replies (in the form printed in the note to the questionnarei) to the secretary of the Education Committee of the Indian Statutory Commission, Government of India, Simla:—

1. Do you consider that the growth of education during the last 10 years in the part or parts of India with which you are personally acquainted has been satisfactory ?

The subject should be dealt with under the following headings :—

(*a*) primary education,

(*b*) secondary education,

(*c*) university education,

(*d*) the training of teachers,

(*e*) technical (including commercial) education,

(*f*) girls and women's education ; but you are requested only to deal with those branches with which you have a personal acquaintance.

2. If your answer to question 1 is in the negative, please state the reasons which in your opinion have led to an unsatisfactory result, classifying them under the headings

(1) administrative,

(2) educational,

(3) social,

(4) financial,

and indicate concisely on what lines improvements should be made in each branch with which you deal.

3. You are invited, after dealing with questions (1) and (2) above, to submit separate memoranda on any of the subjects enumerated below :—

(1) The application of compulsion in primary education.

(2) Moral and religious instruction and character-training.

(3) Education of the following special classes : —

(*a*) Mahomedans.

(*b*) Sikhs.

(*c*) Europeans and Anglo-Indians.

(*d*) depressed classes.

(*e*) Hindus in those provinces in which Hindu education presents special problems.

You are requested only to deal with those subjects with which you have personal acquaintance.

4. You are invited to submit separate memoranda on any new departures, or experiments, with which you are personally acquainted in

(*a*) primary, and especially village education ;

(*b*) secondary education ;

(*c*) university education ;

(*d*) the education of girls and women ;

(*e*) the training of boy scouts and girl guides ;

(*f*) physical training generally ;

(*g*) medical inspection and treatment of school children ;

(*h*) the teaching of hygiene ;

(*i*) the use of popular libraries, including travelling libraries ;

(*j*) educational broadcasting ;

(*k*) night and continuation schools for children;

(*l*) adult education (including popular lectures and university extension work);

(*m*) technical education (i) for manual workers, including foremen, and (ii) higher;

(*n*) educational work by co-operative societies;

(*o*) education for social service.

(*Note.*—The question of agricultural education has been dealt with recently by the Royal Commission on Agriculture, and it will be unnecessary to re-submit evidence given before that Commission).

5. You are invited to submit memoranda on any points which you regard as of importance for the growth of education, of which you have a personal knowledge, and which are not covered by the headings given above.

Note on answers to the questionnaire of the Auxiliary Committee on the Growth of Education of the Indian Statutory Commission, and on memoranda to be submitted to the committee.

In submitting answers to the questionnaire and memoranda, contributors are requested to comply as far as possible with the following directions :—

(1) To append to the first sheet a statement in the form printed below duly filled up.

(2) Submit the answers or memoranda either in type-script, or clearly written on ruled foolscap paper before August 22.

(3) To divide the answers and memoranda into numbered paragraphs.

(4) To conclude the answers and memoranda by a summary of the principal points and recommendations, if any.

Form to be used as the first sheet of answers to the questionnaire and memoranda submitted to the Auxiliary Committee on the Growth of Education of the Indian Statutory Commission :

(1) Name of author, followed by degrees or other university distinctions, and name of the universty at which they have been obtained. The name should be written in black capitals.

(2) Present official or other position.

(3) Postal address for the purposes of acknowledgment.

(4) Sections of questionnaire to which answers are submitted and titles of any memoranda submitted under No. 5 of questionnaire.

(5) Statement of experience on which the answers or memoranda are based.

(6) Signature.

(7) Date.

Copy of a Letter to the Officer-in-charge, Indian Statutory Commission, Camp, Delhi.

25, Stanley Road,
Allahabad, 28th June, 1928.

To

The Officer-in-charge,

Indian Statutory Commission,

Camp, Delhi.

Dear Sir,

I have the honour to send, in a separate registered packet, twelve copies of the memorandum of the Committee for the Demands of the U. P. Muslims on behalf of its members. I am very sorry indeed that the memorandum could not be sent in time, as a large amount of material had to be printed at Allahabad. Only Chapter I of our memorandum was sent to you on 30th June, 1928, as it could not be printed in time. The committee will be deeply grateful if you will very kindly forward the twelve copies of this memorandum to the proper authorities.

The memorandum, which is entitled. *The Representation of the Muslims of United Provinces (India) to the Indian Statutory Commission*, is supported by the following gentlemen, who have authorised me to sign it on their behalf. The names of such persons, as may later on approve of the memorandum after it has been circulated to them, will be communicated to you.

The Committee has decided not to publish the representation, and I should be very glad indeed if it is treated as confidential for the present. The copies sent to you are intended only for the members of the Royal Commission.

The names of the gentlemen who have authorised their signature to the representation are as follows :—

(1) Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Litt. D. (Trinity College, Dublin), Member, U. P. Legislative Council, Chairman, *Committee for the Demands of U. P. Muslims.*

(2) Khan Bahadur Hafiz Hedayat Husain, B.A., Bar-at-Law, Member, U. P. Legislative Council.

(3) Khan Bahadur Moulvi Fasih Uddin, Member, U. P. Legislative Council.

(4) Zahur Ahmad Sahib, Bar-at-Law, Member, U. P. Legislative Council, *Secretary to the Committee.*

(5) Lieutenant Nawab Jamshed Ali Khan, Member, U. P. Legislative Council.

(6) Khan Bahadur Shah Badre Alam, Member, U. P. Legislative Council.

(7) Khan Bahadur Masudul Hasan, Bar-at-Law, Member, U. P. Legislative Council.

(8) Khan Bahadur Saiyed Muhammad *alias* Maiku Mian, Member, U. P. Legislative Council.

(9) Khan Bahadur Fazlur Rahman Khan, Vakil, Member, U. P. Legislative Council.

(10) Sheikh Abdullah, Vakil, Member, U. P. Legislative Council, Treasurer, Muslim University.

(11) Maulana Abdul Bari, Bar-at-Law, Member, U. P. Legislative Council.

(12) Khan Bahadur Shaikh Ziaul Haq, Member, U. P. Legislative Council, Chairman, Municipal Board, Deoband.

(13) Khan Bahadur Saiyed Jafar Husain, Bar-at-Law, Member, U. P. Legislative Council.

(14) Khan Bahadur Hakim Mahbub Ali Khan, Member, U. P. Legislative Council.

(15) Khan Bahadur Ghulam Husain, Member, U. P. Legislative Council.

(16) Nawab Sajjad Ali Khan, Member, U. P. Legislative Council.

(17) Saiyed Habib Ullah, Bar-at-Law, Member, U. P. Legislative Council.

(18) Khan Saheb Haji Abdul Qayum, Member, U. P. Legislative Council.

(19) Lieutenant Khan Bahadur Nawabzada Abdus Sami Khan, Member, U. P. Legislative Council.

(20) Khan Bahadur Ubaidur Rahman Khan, Member, U. P. Legislative Council.

(21) Munshi Ihtisham Ali Saheb, President, U. P. Provincial Muslim League.

(22) Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad, C.I.E., D.Sc., Ph.D. (Gottingen).

(23) Khan Bahadur Aslam Saifie, Member, Municipal Board, Meerut.

(24) Moulvi Nazir Ahmad, Member, District Board, Allahabad.

(25) Mr. Amir Hasan Khan, B.A., LL.B., Vakil, Municipal Commissioner, Fatehpur.

(26) Mr. Muhammad Azim, B.A., LL.B., Vakil, Senior Vice-Chairman, District Board, Gazipur.

(27) Mr. Abdul Bari, B.A., LL.B., Vakil, Municipal Commissioner, Jhansi.

(28) Hakim Hazir Ali Municipal Commissioner, Cawnpore.

(29) Mr. Ayub Siddiqi, B.A., LL.B., Vakil, Senior Vice-Chairman, District Board, Furrukhabad.

(30) Mr. Anwar Ali Khan, Member, District Board, Bareilly.

The following gentlemen have expressed their desire to give evidence before the Commission on behalf of the Committee. Most of them will confine themselves to one of the subjects discussed in our memorandum. There is, however, a comparatively large number of persons, who would like to give evidence on education as well as on another subject. As will be clear from our letter to the Secretary, Education Committee, a separate list of witnesses who are desirous of giving evidence before the Committee, has been sent to the Secretary to the Committee. The Committee has included the names of witnesses in the accompanying list, who wish to be examined on the subject of education, as our memorandum deals with education at considerable length.

I may also draw your attention to another important factor. The list of witnesses appended below shows that twenty-nine responsible and influential Muslims are desirous of giving evidence before the Commission. But this list is only a provisional one, as other gentlemen who have not yet been informed, may like to give evidence. On the other hand, some of these gentlemen may not be able to appear before the Commission owing to some accident or other causes, such as illness, etc. I should therefore be deeply grateful if you could be so kind as to represent this matter to the proper authorities, and let me know at least four weeks before the date of the examination;

(1) Whether the Commission proposes to take the evidence of all the persons whose names are given below. If so on what date and time?

(2) Whether the Commission will examine only a limited number of witnesses. If so, how many?

Should the Commission limit the number of witnesses to be examined on behalf of this Committee, the selection of witnesses should be left to this Committee, after the number has been fixed by the Commission. The Committee attaches very great importance to this provision, and hopes that it will be given an opportunity of sending a final list of its witnesses, whose number will be limited to the number fixed by the Commission.

The names of the gentlemen who are desirous of being examined by the Commission on the various subjects discussed in the memorandum are as follows. I may add that the subject on which each member will like to give evidence is not indicated in this list. Should the Commission desire this, a final list of witnesses together with the list of subjects or subject on which each witness would like to give evidence will be forwarded to the Commission four weeks before the visit of the latter to these provinces.

All communications concerning this committee should be sent to—

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Litt. D.;
Member, U. P. Legislative Council;
Chairman, *Committee for the Demands of U. P. Muslims*,
25, Stanley Road, Allahabad.

List of persons who are desirous of giving evidence before the Commission:—

(1) Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Litt. D. (Trinity College, Dublin), Member, U. P. Legislative Council, Chairman, *Committee for the Demands of the United Provinces Muslims.*

(2) Khan Bahadur Hafiz Hidayat Husain, B.A., Bar-at-Law, Member, U. P. Legislative Council.

(3) Khan Bahadur Moulvi Fasihuddin, B.A., Retired Collector of Jaunpur, Member, U. P. Legislative Council.

(4) Mr. Zahur Ahmad, Bar-at-Law, Member, U. P. Legislative Council, and *Secretary to the Committee.*

(5) Khan Bahadur Masudul Hasan, ex-Chairman, Municipal Board, Moradabad, Bar-at-Law, Member, U. P. Legislative Council.

(6) Khan Bahadur Fazlur Rahman Khan, B.A., LL.B., Vakil, ex-Chairman, Municipal Board, Shahjahanpur, Member, U. P. Legislative Council.

(7) Sheikh Abdulla Saheb, B.A., LL.B., Vakil, Treasurer, Muslim University Aligarh, Member, U. P. Legislative Council.

(8) Moulana Abdul Bari, Bar-at-Law, Member, U. P. Legislative Council.

(9) Khan Bahadur Sheikh Ziaulhaq, Chairman, Municipal Board. Deoband, District Saharanpur, Member, U. P. Legislative Council.

(10) Khan Bahadur Hakim Mahbub Ali Khan, ex-Chairman, District Board, Bareilly, Member, U. P. Legislative Council.

(11) Khan Bahadur Ghulam Husain Saheb, Member, U. P. Legislative Council.

(12) Nawab Sujjad Ali Khan Saheb, Member, U. P. Legislative Council.

(13) Saiyed Habib Ullah, Esq., Bar-at-Law, Member, U. P. Legislative Council.

(14) Khan Bahadur Moulvi Ubaidur Rahman Khan, Member, Executive Council, Muslim University, Aligarh, Member, U. P. Legislative Council.

(15) Munshi Ihtisham Ali Saheb, President, U. P. Provincial Muslim League, Lucknow.

(16) Mr. Amir Hasan Khan, B.A., LL.B., Vakil, Municipal Commissioner, Fatehpur.

(17) Mr. Bashir Ahmad, Retired Assistant Inspector of Schools, District Fyzabad.

(18) Mr. Muhammad Afzal, Bar-at-Law, ex-Chairman, Municipal Board, Rae Bareilly.

(19) Mr. Shakir Ali, Bar-at-Law, ex-Member, U. P. Legislative Council, Gorakhpur.

(20) Khan Bahadur Mir Syed Husain, Retired Deputy Collector, and Member, District Board, Lucknow.

(21) Khan Bahadur Nawab Murtaza Hussain Khan Saheb of Lucknow.

(22) Mr. A. M. Qureshi, Principal, Intermediate College, Muslim University, Aligarh.

(23) Mr. Muhammad Masih Uddin, Bar-at-Law, Barabanki.

(24) Mr. Akhtar Adil, B.A., LL.B., Vakil, Judge, Mir Khairpur's State, Sind.

(25) Lt. Nawab Jamshed Ali Khan, of Baghpat, Meerut District. Member, U. P. Legislative Council.

(26) Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad, C.I.E., D.Sc., Ph.D. (Gottingen).

(27) Rao Saheb Abdul Hamid Khan, ex-member, U. P. Legislative Council, Rais, Muzaffarnagar District.

(28) Mr. Abdul Bari, Vakil, Municipal Commissioner, Jhansi.

(29) Mr. M. A. Aziz, M.A. (Cantab), LL.B., Advocate, Allahabad.

I remain,

Yours truly,

SHAFAAT AHMAD KHAN, Litt. D.,

Member, U. P. Legislative Council,

Chairman, *Committee for the Demands of U. P. Muslims,*

Allahabad.

June 28th, 1928.

I. THE REPRESENTATIVE SYSTEM AS APPLIED TO BRITISH INDIA.

The Basis of Franchise.

There are two classes of constituencies in these provinces, the general and the special: under the United Provinces Legislative Council Electoral Rule 6 only persons whose names are borne on the electoral rolls are entitled to vote. A person is entitled to have his name registered on the electoral rolls of a general constituency provided he fulfils the following qualifications:—

1. Community,
2. Residence, and
3. (*a*) Occupation of a house, or
   (*b*) Assessment to property and tax on companies or profession tax, or
   (*c*) Assessment to income-tax,
   (*d*) Military service,
   (*e*) The holding of land.

The qualifications of electors are different for all the three legislative bodies. They are higher in the Legislative Assembly than in the Provincial Legislative Council and still higher in the Council of State; but the broad points of qualifications are those enumerated above. It will appear from this that the above table ignores many interests; the franchise, too, is high, the consequence being that a very small fraction of the provincial population is capable of exercising the right of voting for legislative bodies. The population of the United Provinces is in round figures 46,000,000. In 1920 the number of voters on roll for the Legislative Council elections was 1,347,958. In 1923 the number rose to 1,509,127, the number of male voters out of the latter being 1,440,190 while the number of females was 68,937. Thus on a rough calculation the percentage of voters to the population is barely 3 per cent. It follows then that the Legislative Council can hardly be said to be the real representative of the people. We would gladly advocate adult suffrage, but the considerations deterring us from our recommending this are lack of education in the electorate, and consequently lack of any sense of responsibility in the general mass of the population. There are now out of every thousand of the population 37 literate persons. The test of literacy being "those only are literate who can write a letter to a friend and read the answer to it." All the same it appears to us that with the gradual diffusion of knowledge a widening of franchise is called for. We therefore propose that persons possessing the following qualifications may further be enrolled as electors, *viz.*:

Every person ordinarily residing in a rural or urban area who is a matriculate, or has passed the School Leaving Certificate examination

or an examination recognized by the Local Government as equivalent thereto, or an examination of proficiency in Indian vernaculars or classical languages, recognized by any Indian University or by the Local Government.

Method of Election.

We recommend that the method of direct voting be maintained for the present. In course of time it will become obsolete, but we are unable to recommend the indirect method of election, *e.g.*, through the electoral colleges, just at present. Our reasons for this are: (1) the number of voters even with the increase above suggested would not be unmanageable for direct voting, (2) the country is not yet prepared for indirect voting, which, if resorted to, will result in compartments based on castes and employment of further unfair means at elections.

Method whereby particular interests, communal, local, social and economic may obtain adequate representation on local self-governing provincial and central representative bodies.

(1) The present division of the population for the purpose of election is very artificial. All Indians who are neither Christians nor Moslems are included in the term "Hindu." This has resulted in Hindus proper representing the great mass of our population known as the depressed classes. These constitute by far the major population of our province. The population of Hindus proper in these provinces is 10,597,917, according to the Census figures of 1921, the touchable depressed classes, *e.g.*, Tamolis, Kachies, and Kahars, etc., number 13,973,188 and the population of the untouchable depressed classes, *e.g.*, Doms, Bauriyas, Kanjars, Bhangies, etc., is 14,693,816, according to the same Census figures. Thus out of a total population of 46,000,000 of these Provinces about 28,800,000, *i.e.*, over 60 per cent are not represented in the Councils, except by one nominated seat, while the Hindus proper who constitute only 25 per cent of the population appropriate to themselves the majority of seats in the Council making the beginning of an oligarchy in the Province.

Our first proposal therefore is that this artificial division of the population be done away with, and representation on an adequate scale be given to the depressed classes. We advocate this also in sympathy with our Hindu brethren whose efforts for the uplift of these classes we greatly value. Our suggestion is that an appreciable number of seats be taken away from the general non-Moslem electorate for these classes, and that those seats be filled by election.

(2) *Moslem Representation.*—The present method of election of Moslem members of the Council is by separate constituencies formed of Moslem voters alone, with the number of seats fixed. The Moslems of these Provinces unanimously and emphatically demand that this method of election shall remain unaltered. We recognize that this is not an ideal system, but we most strongly feel that unless Moslem members are elected by separate electorate the interest of the Mussalmans will irretrievably suffer. The separate electorates came into being for the first time in the Minto-Morley Reform Scheme. They worked well. Indeed the result of separate representation

of Moslem was so satisfactory that much of the heart-burning that used to be engendered in both the communities at the time of election when the electorate was joint totally disappeared, and the relations became so cordial that the Hindus and Moslems entered into a compact called the Congress-League pact, under which separate electorates were proposed in all provinces even where the Moslems were in a majority, and wherever they were numerically weak the proportion suggested was in excess of their numerical strength or their representation under the Minto-Morley Scheme. The reason why separate representation of the Moslems was introduced is now a matter of history, and does not call for a detailed examination here. It will be sufficient to say that before separate elections were introduced no Moslem, however in the forefront of political life he may be, could have any chance of successfully competing with a mediocre Hindu. We witness exactly the same state of affairs today in electorates that are joint. Our meaning will be well illustrated by a reference to the constituencies of the U. P. Legislative Council that have joint electorate and could return a member of any community. There are six such constituencies, *i.e.*, Agra Landholders (North), Agra Landholders (South), Upper India Chamber of Commerce, United Provinces Chamber of Commerce, Allahabad University and Oudh Taluqadars. The following table will show the number of seats allotted and the number of Moslems returned in all the 3 elections under the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms Scheme :—

Serial No.	Name of Constituency.	No. of seats allotted.	No. of Moslems returned.		
			1920	1923	1926
1	Agra Landholders (North)	1			
2	Agra Landholders (South)	1			
3	Upper India Chamber of Commerce.	2			
4	U. P. Chamber of Commerce	1			
5	Allahabad University	1			
6	Taluqadars	4	1	1	

Thus it will be seen that even during the reformed Council only 2 seats out of 30 went to Moslems. It should not be forgotten that the Taluqadar constituency which returned one Moslem Taluqadar in the years 1920 and 1923, each has a lever of influential Moslem element. With the advent of the Hindu Mahasabha in the field during the last election, communal bitterness ran high, and not a single Moslem was returned out of the 10 seats. The Hindus proper occupied 9 seats while in the previous elections in 1920 and 1923, they held only 7 seats. This alone shows that being in the majority they could run the constituencies in the manner of their liking.

Moslems' Preference for Separate Electorate.

The reasons which lead the Moslems to prefer separate electorates are:—

(1) That they preclude all chances of communal bitterness. Before the Morley-Minto Reforms came into force elections resulted sometimes even in open fights. These chances have now been avoided. In fact the relations between the two communities have been improved by separate electorates. This was admitted by Mr. Chintamani, an ex-Minister of these provinces in his evidence before the Muddiman Committee on August 18, 1924, and it was on the basis of this reality that the U. P. Legislative Council introduced separate electorate for the Moslems in the district boards.

(2) The Moslems are backward in education and their economic condition has steadily deteriorated. In such a state of society it will be futile to expect their candidate to be acceptable to joint electorate. It will also be not possible for any Moslem returned by such joint electorate to advocate fearlessly the cause of Moslems. The result will be that Moslem interests will suffer.

(3) There is complete lack of confidence and trust among the members of both the communities. The Moslem public strongly feels and the realities of every-day life demonstrate it beyond any shadow of doubt that the Hindu cannot be trusted with Moslem rights. He has more often than not shown hostility to the Moslem interest, and in such a state of society it will be futile to expect any Hindu returned from an electorate which is formed by a majority of his community to in any way safeguard Moslem interests.

Joint Electorate with Reservation of Moslem Seats.

In order to deal effectively with this subject it will be necessary to examine in a little greater detail the condition of the Hindu and Moslem society in these provinces of the present day. The United Provinces of India have been the real home of the Moslem rulers of India. Delhi and Agra have been their capital. Oudh firstly a province of the Moslem emperors of India was later ruled by Moslem kings. The Moslems were thus the rulers and the Hindu the ruled. The British acquired these provinces from the Moslem, who naturally at that time had the largest interest in the country. Their interest in landed property was considerable. They occupied then and continued so to occupy for long afterwards a position of vantage in all public offices, judicial, executive and ministerial. The employment of their own language was also a great asset to them.

The Moslems kept sullenly aloof from all those institutions—educational and political—that the British rule brought in its wake. This attitude of the Moslem brought suspicion in the mind of the British, which was fed by the other communities anxious to secure benefits for themselves. He thus easily became the target of all those invectives and calumnies that were levelled against him. The cumulative result of all these disintegrating forces has been that the Moslem, despite his frantic efforts to

recover the ground lost during the last half a century, finds himself backward educationally and economically. His property has been steadily slipping from his hands, and as he is not allowed to engage in banking pursuits, is largely under the influence of the Hindu money-lender. Other communities, *e.g.*, the Hindus proper, on the other hand, took the fullest opportunity of every avenue of progress and advancement that was open to them. Added to this, their endeavour throughout has unfortunately been to dislodge the Moslems from all positions of influence and power. The attitude of *laissez-faire* that the Government adopted towards the Moslems has further contributed to their present position. The result is that while on the one hand the Hindus at present occupy in these provinces position of vantage—they are educationally far superior to the Moslem, they are economically on the strongest possible position, they are organised, they are capable of creating and keeping up agitations, they are imbued with a strong sentiment of creating a nationality of their own which means Hinduism, to the exclusion of all other faiths and peoples—while the Moslems, for reasons which have been detailed above, are less educated, are economically weak, are looked upon as foreigners by the Hindu, are disorganised principally because they are scattered over a large area, are not fond of agitations, and are by habit anxious to give as little trouble to the Government as possible.

Such being the present state of Hindu-Moslem society, could it for a minute be conceived that joint electorates will not mean another inroad on the Moslem position, and will the Moslem be far wrong, in further doubting the *bonafides* of the British Government towards the Mussalmans of the country if joint electorates were substituted for separate electorates ? There is thus no alternative for the Moslems in the present state of the country except to insist on separate electorates and separate representation of the Moslems, much indeed as is their desire that it should be done away with soon. Joint electorate with reservation of seats for the Moslems will not avail, for the following among other reasons :—

(1) If separate electorate is bad, joint electorate is bad enough, and both are the negation of democratic theory.

(2) Owing to various reasons, a considerable number of Moslem voters are influenced by Hindu money-lenders, and we fear that if joint electorates with even reservation of seats for the Moslems are established, Moslem voters will not be in a position to exercise their power of voting freely and Moslem interests will have no chance of representation. A Moslem elected from such a constituency will always be in the hands of the Hindus, and will never be able to stand for the purely Moslem rights. He will be nothing if not a mandatory of the Hindus.

(3) Election of Moslems in such joint electorates will further embitter the relations between the Hindus and the Moslems and will be a fruitful cause for constant friction. We will illustrate this by saying that in such an electorate, if two Moslems stand, one a nominee of Hindus and the, other a nominee of the Moslems, the latter will obviously have no chance. If two Moslems holding conflicting views come in and the Hindus back one who is a supporter of their views,

as the Moslems will be naturally opposed to such a candidate, an atmosphere of discord will be created, and the bitterness engendered will be further reflected in the every-day relations of the two communities.

(4) In all joint constituencies the numerical strength of the Moslems being necessarily very weak, no Hindu need approach the Moslem voters while the Moslem has no chance except by invoking the aid of the Hindu. The result being the Moslem is being put in a position of inferiority to the Hindu even in democratic institutions in the country and the further logical sequence following this will be that the Hindu will swamp the election by men, both Hindu and Moslem, of his views, while the Moslem cannot in the least influence the elections.

(5) Moslems standing against Hindu odds and wealth in joint electorates will emerge unsuccessful and financially a wreck. Therefore no Moslem, unless he is a protegee of the Hindu, dare stand in joint electorates.

The avowed aim of the British Parliament is to grant to the Indians responsible Government within the Empire. This is susceptible of successful fruition only if all the links in the chain of Indian nationalism are equally strongly forged. Unless and until the Moslem link is paid special attention to, will self-government have any chance of success in this country? The Hindus have so far done nothing and they refuse to do anything as the course of negotiations during the last few months has shown, to win the confidence of the Moslem minority. It is for the Government now to re-assure the Moslem mind by guaranteeing to him the safeguard of his special rights and by securing him separate seats by separate electorate. The member thus returned by separate electorate has manfully stood for the Moslem rights, has fought the Moslem battle, has represented to the Government the Moslem point of view. Could it for all this be ever said that he has ever betrayed the cause of the country in any one single instance? He has joined the Swarajist group, he has joined the Independent group in Legislature, and has in all cases thrown his weight on the popular side. He (*i.e.*, coming from separate electorate) is a necessity both for the Government, for the country and for the community.

We hope it is clear that if joint electorates are alone restored, Moslems will be wiped out of the Legislatures. If seats are reserved for them in joint electorates, Moslems returned from these electorates will be Moslems in name only, they will be the protegees of the Hindus and will in no way represent the Moslems.

A great deal has been lately made of the communal troubles. These are attributed to separate electorates granted to the Moslems. Any impartial observer of the trend of events will at once see the hollowness of these illogical assertions. This is a pure innovation and has been devised to sidetrack the issue. If separate representation has done anything, it has appeased the tension. The real cause of these disturbances is the determination of the majority community to establish in its own way its political dominance in India by wiping out and crushing the minority community which not long ago was its ruler.

This aggressive policy of the majority community has now taken a concrete shape in the organisation of the Hindu Mahasabha, a politico-religious body, which now dominates and guides the action of the Hindu community, in spite of resistance and opposition from the Congress and the ineffective and mild persuasions of other Hindu political bodies, with the result that the Hindus as a community regard the Mahasabha as a genuine organ of their communal aspiration in political, social and religious matters. In our province the Mahasabha has already displaced the influence of the Congress and other political bodies in which the Hindu element predominates. The preachings and activities of the Mahasabha have brought about all the evils which are attributed to separate electorate. The followers of this organisation interfere with the religious liberties of the Moslems, knowing that the community though inclined to put up with every kind of iniquities cannot tolerate in the least any violation of its religious rights. The hostility which the Hindu Mahasabhites entertain towards the Moslems is manifested by their insistence on the playing of music before mosques just at the prayer time and in such an aggressive way as to interfere with religious worship; in their parading the streets singing hymns execrable both in purport and prosody, in their staging tableau vilifying the achievements of the greatest and noblest of the Moslems; in their describing the Moslem rule as the most tyrannical and one whose sole mission in India was forceful conversion of the Hindus to Islam and dishonor of their womenfolk. These activities of the Hindu Mahasabha have made communal riots the normal feature of the life of these provinces. The latest exhibition of the antagonism of the majority community towards the Moslem is the Shuddhi and Sangathan movements whose preachers occupy the highest position in the political, economic, and social life of the Hindus. No Moslem could possibly have any objection to these movements if they were pursued, one of them for the propagation of religious faiths and beliefs, and the other for the consolidation of Hindus. Indeed we would welcome these movements if carried on within their legitimate ambit. But Shuddhi and Sangathan are preached merely to excite hatred against the Moslems. Shuddhi and Sangathan were started in 1923, after the possibilities of the reforms had been realised by the majority community. The former aims at securing greater numerical superiority for the sake of canvassing political ends, while Sangathan is nothing but a combination of forces for assuming physical triumph against the Moslems. The aim and object of all these activities is to weaken the Moslems as much as possible in order to involve him in financial ruin and creating a feeling of dread in him. We have described this in some detail in order to expose the mind which is anxious to sidetrack the issue to cover its own machinations. The *raison d'etre* of the Hindu mind is that he must create eventually a kingdom for the Hindus alone in India, and that all other communities must be so much reduced in numbers and strength that they must finally merge in them. The irony of the whole situation is that the Government of the land seems to have been so much overpowered by Hindu numbers and by their agitation, however spurious and artificial it may be, that it follows the line of the least resistance, with the result that the

minority communities are beginning to lose faith both in its strength and policy. This augurs ill for the future peace and prosperity, of the country.

Another reason why this charge against the separate representation is made is that the Moslem elected by means of the separate electorate feels quite independent of the Hindu, and is a free agent to represent boldly to the power that may be his grievances. This the Hindu does not like; he wants all his acts of unfairness and injustice to remain screened, indeed even under the Union Jack he wants to establish a despotic oligarchy for himself.

With separate representation comes the question of the proportion of Moslem representation. We maintain that the proportion of the Moslems arrived at under the Montague-Chelmsford Scheme be maintained. Our reasons are:—

1. We rely on the solemn pledges and assurances given to us by leading and responsible British statesmen and embodied in the Government of India Act of 1919 upon which is based the entire constitutional structure of these provinces and the rest of India.

2. That it is based on pact and has the sanctity of contractual obligations. Neither the Hindus nor the Moslems have repudiated the contract as far as this province is concerned, and the fact remains as of binding validity.

3. The Moslem in this province, as we have pointed out before, was the ruler of the land. Not to mention his past achievements in science, literature, art and political field, etc., he has given ample proof of his organising ability and executive capacity. The Moslems are only 14·28 of the total population of the province, but they still pay Rs. 1,24,50,348 yearly for land revenue as against Rs. 5,73,52,068 of the Hindus. They supply the sinews of war. They have fought for India and for the maintenance of the peace of the world. They therefore expect that in return for their services, their past achievements, and their present position, their political importance shall not be ignored and their proportion in the Council shall be maintained.

4. The Moslem in this province as in the rest of India is a homogeneous people bound together by the same common ties of religion, aspiration, social and political outlook. His representation in the Council therefore must be effective as he represents one set of interest.

5. The depressed classes both touchable and non-touchable who outnumber in these provinces the Hindus proper as well as the Moslems will take long time to come on a par either with the Hindus proper or the Moslems, being extraordinarily weak in intellect and low in social and economic status. It will be impolitic to let the caste Hindus alone monopolise the advantages that should have gone to the depressed classes had they been in a position to take advantage of the reformed constitution. In fairness to the Moslem, these advantages should be apportioned equally between the caste Hindu and the Moslem.

We, therefore, plead for Moslem representation by separate electorate and in order to make it in any way effective we further plead that the proportion of elected Moslem representation to the elected non-Moslem representation which now exists shall be maintained. Separate electorates have existed in Austria Hungary, they were introduced by the Labour Government in Kenya, they have been in operation in Cyprus, they are in force in Palestine. Wherever differences of race, religion and language exist, special safeguards have been devised for the protection of linguistic, racial and religious minorities. Nor is separate representation in any way antagonistic to the attainment of provincial autonomy and diffusion of democratic ideas and ideals in the peoples of India. Indeed if separate representations were taken away from the Moslems their political education will be greatly impeded.

Further Safeguard of Moslem Interests.

In the Congress-League scheme besides special electorate and a fixed ratio of representation for the Moslems a further safeguard was provided. The proposal was that no Bill nor any clause thereof nor a resolution introduced by a non-official affecting one or the other community (which question is to be determined by the members of that community in the Legislative Council concerned) shall be proceeded with if three-fourths of the members of that community in the particular Council, Imperial or Provincial, opposed the Bill or any clause thereof, or the resolution. This proposal was turned down by the authors of the report on Indian Constitutional Reforms on the ground that the clause being widely worded was unworkable, and secondly that any such proposal would be open to persistent and probably successful attack in the courts. The authors of the report thought that peculiar religious rights and customs of Islam were generally safeguarded by section 79 of the Government of India Bill (since repealed). We feel the force of these observations, but we would like to draw your attention to the hard, and at times, cruel, logic of facts. The Hindu placed in a majority can ride roughshod over Moslem sentiments, ideals and aspirations. Instances are not lacking where this has been done, and even in the U. P. Legislative Council resolutions have been repeatedly brought practically prohibiting the killing of cows. In some municipal and district boards such resolutions have already been passed even though they were *ultra vires*. The language question has been decided against the Moslem by several of the local bodies where Hindus predominate. Indeed attempts are being made to take the fullest advantage of the Hindu majority and bring everything in line with its likes and dislikes. The Moslem is powerless, for a minority is after all a minority. The Moslem position is that in cases which have to be determined by a majority of votes safeguard for his special interests be provided. The proviso referred to above relates only to private Bills and resolutions and has nothing to do with Government measures.

Thus for the Moslem we plead :—

(1) Representation by separate electorate.

(2) The present proportion of Moslems should be maintained in the provincial legislature in order to make their representation adequate and effective;

(3) The three-fourth proviso should be made a rule of the constitution.

(i) With regard to the representation of local, social and economic interests in the Provincial Legislature our opinion is that there are no sharply defined local and social interests in existence in these provinces that need special representation. We think, however, that a representation of labour in the legislature should be effected. Social organizations like Seva Samiti are indirectly represented by the caste Hindu members and our opinion is that these organizations have received a share of government patronage and public money in the hands of the government far in excess of either their importance or their services. Economic interests are directly represented in the Councils by the Chambers of Commerce.

(ii) The relationship between representatives and constituents.

(iii) The growth of parties.

(iv) The growth of informed public opinion.

It will be convenient to take all these sub-heads together. The Indian constituency continues to be something quite different to the constituencies of the West. In England, for example, the member chosen represents the political creed of his constituents. This is because in England political parties are formed outside legislatures on account of the educational and political advancement of the constituents. It is true that people have begun to take an active interest in politics but it will be quite wrong to say that voting is on party lines, or that voters vote for a candidate because they like his policy or because the voter has himself a policy which the candidate advocates.

Parties are formed on economic and political questions.

They are formed on the ground of different interests—political and economic. What is the predominant interest in India today? There are three separate interests. The European is absorbed in commercial interests. He has cared little so far for the political ideals of the country. The Moslem is more concerned now with his educational and economic advancement in order to fit him to take his proper share in the administration of the country. The intelligentsia of Hindus proper wants the entire administration of the country in its own hands, while the bulk of the Hindu community is groaning too much under the tyranny of its caste system to think of anything else except its own small interests. Thus unless all the constituents that go to compose India advance educationally, politically and economically on nearly equal level, it would be futile to expect party formation on European lines. Therefore, if the declaration of August 1917 has any meaning, Government must help in the natural

and orderly development of all the Indian people so that they may later on be able to draft a constitution for themselves, and thus alone will they be able to lay a foundation for the growth of parties which after all are of primary importance in a parliamentary system.

As things exist, public opinion is yet in the making, taking the province as a whole. There is generally speaking a demand for greater share in the government of the country by the people. Ten years is too short a time to bring into proper perspective the future potentialities of the country, but signs of the growth of responsibility in the people are not lacking.

Nomination of officials and non-officials as additional members of elected bodies.

The nomination of official and non-officials for membership of the Council or other elected bodies cannot yet be done away with. We have provided for a somewhat larger element of official and non-official nominations in order to make up for the inequalities of different interests, *e. g.*, science, literature and art, etc., and the representation of backward classes.

II. THE SUITABILITY OF EXISTING AREAS FOR LEGISLATIVE OR ADMINISTRATIVE PURPOSES AND FOR THE GROWTH OF REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS.

(a) Local Self-Government.

(b) Provincial, including the discussion of proposals for extension of self-governing institutions to other areas than the nine provinces.

Areas for legislative and administrative purposes generally correspond and we have no doubt are suitable for the growth of representative institutions. This heading has suggested to us if we could not extend the area for legislative purpose further than the administrative area and the consideration of this question leads us to the still broader question, *i.e.*, whether the future constitution of the country should be on a unitary or on federal basis. After very careful consideration we have come to the conclusion that it is only the government based on the federal system that would suit Indian conditions. Every province must be left to develop itself, the residuary power being left to the central government. Constituted on this basis, provincial autonomy will be secured to the various States constituting the federation, and this would prevent the creation of an oligarchy so disastrous to the interests of minority communities and so inconsistent with true democratic principles. Reference may be made here to our report on Central government and its discussion of the relations between the central and the provincial government.

We are firmly of opinion that reforms must be introduced in the North-Western Frontier Provinces and British Baluchistan and that Sindh must be separated from Bombay. The people of North-Western Frontier

Provinces and British Baluchistan have been crying themselves hoarse for the introduction of constitutional and administrative reforms calculated to bring these provinces into line with the rest of India. This demand is supported by the entire Moslem India and is justified on every possible educational and economic ground. The majority of the Bray Committee supported the reforms in the North-Western Frontier Province the only dissentients being its two Hindu members. The policy of the Hindu Mahasabha leads one to think that the Mahasabha politicians desire the introduction of constitutional reforms only in those provinces where the Hindus are in majority. The introduction of reforms in the North-Western Frontier Province will, we are sure, lead to reduction of our military expenditure.

The yoking of Sindh with Bombay is justified neither on ethnological, geographical nor any other ground. Indeed its absorption with that presidency has retarded its educational, material and civic progress, and has deprived it of its own University and its own High Court. Its agricultural advance has been impeded, and its port has not been developed. The agitation against the separation of Sindh is again led by the Hindu Mahasabhites purely on the ground that Sindh if separated would contain a majority of Moslem population. We hope that this spurious agitation against the granting of reforms to North-Western Frontier Province and the separation of Sindh from Bombay will not stand in the way of the Government taking measures calculated to materially advance the happiness and prosperity of the people living in those provinces.

The size of the Councils needs to be increased. As at present constituted they are extremely inadequate to secure effective representation of the Indian population. If the franchise is widened, as we have suggested above, the existing disproportion will still further be marked. We therefore propose 100 members for the Council of State, 400 for the Legislative Assembly and 200 members for the United Provinces Legislative Council to be made up as follows for the Legislative Council :

(1) Moslems			50
(2) Non-Moslems			100
(3) Special constituencies			20
1. British Indian Association ...		...	4
2. Agra Landholders ...		...	4
3. Universities		...	3
4. European and Indian Commerce		...	3
5. Anglo-Indians		...	2
6. Europeans		...	2
7. Indian Christians ...		...	2
Total		...	20
(4) Officials nominated ...	...	20	
(5) Non-officials nominated ...	...	10	

The elections in (1), (2) and (3) above, should preferably be by separate electorates for Moslems, and failing that by single transferable vote for which Government should frame rules.

We are further of opinion that most of the existing constituencies both rural and urban are too big and need adjustment to bring them to manageable proportions.

The area for local self-governing institutions must ultimately depend upon the territorial jurisdiction of a Revenue district for district boards and upon the urban area for a municipal board. We desire no change in the existing areas for local self-governing institutions.

III. THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT.

Constitution.

The Provincial Governments are now divided into two halves of the Government, the Reserved and the Transferred. The authors of the joint Report in order to effectuate the historic announcement made on August 20, 1917, recommended the provinces to be the domain in which earlier steps towards the progressive realization of responsible government may be taken. They therefore conceived the plan of dividing the functions of the Provincial Government between those which may be made over to popular control and those which were to remain in the bureaucratic hands. A division of the subjects of administration into reserved and transferred necessarily led to the division of the Executive Government into two parts. The Governor of a Province is charged with heavy duties and responsibilities imposed on him either by statutes or by the instrument of Royal Instructions issued to him. The principle of the united and indivisible responsibility with all its complications which is a feature of the central executive council applies equally well to the provincial executive council. The case of Ministers, is, however, different. They are appointed by the Governor and hold office during his pleasure. The proposal of the authors of the joint report that Ministers could be appointed for the lifetime of the Legislative Council was opposed by the Government of India and the proposal of the joint authors was modified in accordance with the recommendation of the Government of India.

The position now therefore is that on the one hand we have the executive council administering the "reserved" subjects with collective responsibility, on the other, we have Ministers appointed by the Governor holding office at his pleasure and disclaiming joint responsibility.

Working of Diarchy.

The joint select committee recommended that the status of ministers should be similar to that of the members of the Executive Council. They also said that in their work they will be assisted and guided by the Governor who will accept their advice. If he finds himself compelled to act against their advice it will only be in circumstances roughly analogous

to those in which he has to override his Executive Council. In paragraph 6 of their report the joint committee further made it clear that it was of the highest importance that the Governor should foster the habit of free consultation between both halves of his government, and indeed he should insist upon it in all important matters of common interest. Information regarding joint meetings has been denied to us by the Government, but we have reason to suspect that they have not taken place as frequently as they used to do before the spring of 1922. We are not overfond of diarchy, and in our considered opinion it is not a system that has much to commend itself. The Legislative Council is in theory the dictator of policy. But in practice it is the Secretariat that dictates. The position of Ministers has not been one of real responsibility. Their hands are completely tied owing to the lack of any control over finances. Ministers have no control over the members of the Imperial service working under them. Under this system the Secretary can go to the Governor over the head of the Ministers if the Minister differs from him, and we learn from repute that the voice of the Secretary sometimes finds credence with the Governor over the voice of the Minister. Thus we are not in any way satisfied that the diarchy has in any measure worked satisfactorily, and if we are not recommending its wholesale abolition it is because the present strained relations between the two communities and the Hindu mentality lead us to the conclusion that if it were abolished and provincial autonomy, that is, control by popularly elected legislature granted, a breakdown in the administration is bound to occur. We are nevertheless of opinion that diarchy being retained, all parliamentary conventions of popular control should be fully utilised.

Position and powers of Goveonor.

Under section 49 (1) of the Government of India Act the Governor of each province has been empowered to make provision by rules for distinguishing orders and other proceedings relating to transferred subjects from other orders and proceedings. Under section 49 (2) of the Act he has also been empowered to make rules and orders for the more convenient transaction of business in his Executive Council and with his Ministers, and further for regulating the relations between them. The authors of the joint report in para 221 of their report and the joint select committee report in para 5 lay down instructions as to how the business of the government is to be transacted. The joint select committee report in clause 6 goes so far as to lay down that in cases of acute divergence of opinion between the Governor and the Ministers the Governor should allow the Ministers to have their way and the Royal Instructions to the Governor lay down that the Governor shall encourage the habit of joint deliberation between the Governor, Councillors and Ministers, but that so far as may be possible, the responsibility for each of the subjects transferred and reserved may be kept clear and distinct. We have little to add to what has been so well laid down in the joint report, the Joint Select Committee Report and the Royal Instructions to the Governor. We realise that the position of the Governor in a province where there are two parts of the Government, one amenable to popular control and the other not so

responsible to legislature, is one of peculiar difficulty and considerable responsibility, but we also realise that if self-government is the goal of British connection with India, the position of the Governor must be analogous to that of a Dominion Governor and all initiative must come from the Ministers. We are therefore of opinion that the powers reserved to the Governor under sections 49 (1), 72 (a) (1), 72 B (a) (b), 72 B (2), 72 D (2) (b), 72 D (2) (c), 80 (1), 81 and 81 A should remain with him to be exercised with the advice of the Ministers. The following sections should further be retained:—

Sections 49 (2), 50 (2), 72 D (4), 72 E (1) and 80 (1), together with all those sections dealing with emergency powers.

Position of Ministers in relation to Governor and Members of Executive Council.

From what we have said above it will be clear that we advocate as frequent joint meetings of the Executive Council and the Ministers under the Presidentship of the Governor as possible. To us it seems that the exclusion of Ministers from the Executive Council meetings, though technically correct is against the spirit of the reforms. It is our experience that sometimes measures of the reserved half have been actively though clandestinely opposed by the Ministers. We therefore think that the government of a province should for all intents and purposes be unified and the Ministers should have the complete confidence by the Governor and the Executive Counsellors—even in the administration of reserved subjects. This will bring Ministers into touch with reserved departments and prepare the way for the assumption by Ministers of further responsibility as additional subjects are transferred.

Relationship of members to each other and question of collective responsibility.

We have no doubt that the time has long arrived when joint responsibility of the Ministers in the administration of transferred subjects should be enforced. The principle of collective responsibility of Ministers has not been recognised except in one or two provinces. This may be due to two reasons. *Firstly*, absence of well-organised parties in the provincial legislative council; *secondly*, the principle of collective responsibility of Ministers has not received much encouragement from most of the Governors. It is true that the Government of India Act has not provided for the joint responsibility of the Ministers. But it was so contemplated by the joint select committee (see Joint Select Committee Report on clause 4 of the Government of India Bill) and it is a matter which depends in many countries, *e.g.*, England and Italy, on mere conventions. Such conventions may be usefully built up in our country too. We are led to recommend this further for the reason that we hope party system will be encouraged in the Councils by the adoption of this rule.

Growth of party system.

We have treated this subject before under "The Representative System as applied to British India." Here we content ourselves by saying that

beyond the Congress party there are no political parties outside the Council, and therefore there are none inside. Whatever parties there are, are not political; but different considerations some of them even temporary go to make a party in the Council.

Working of particular departments.

We regret that the working of some of the particular departments, *e.g.*, education, industries, local self-government, has consistently favoured the Hindu majority. We have described this in some detail in our memorandum on chapter dealing with education, local self-government and services. But the position may broadly be laid down that unless the rights of Moslems in all the departments constituting government are fully safeguarded in all their branches and details, and are made an organic part of the constitution, the Moslem is bound to suffer at the hands of the majority. (Please consult our reports on safeguards, education, local self-government and services.)

Classification into transferred and reserved subjects.

We are of opinion that all subjects excepting the following be transferred to the control of the legislature, that is,

(1) Law and order, including general administration

(2) Land Revenue.

Desirability of Second Chamber.

Second Chambers in all constitutions are a sort of lever to counteract the vagaries of the Lower House and are most beneficial if all the varied interests and experiences are brought into requisition. But our position is that in these provinces if the official block with all its attributes and powers of voting is maintained a second chamber is not at present needed. But if the official and the non-official (nominated) block is removed, the franchise is widened, and the membership of the Lower House is increased, a second chamber will be required. We would suggest tentatively the following constitution :

1. Representatives of landed interests, of commerce, and industry, and of learned professions, paying revenue or income-tax on an income of Rs. 2,000 and over

or

2. Persons paying income-tax on an income of Rs. 7,500 and over.

3. Members or ex-members of U. P. Legislative Council or Indian Legislatures.

4. All those titleholders who receive their titles from H. M. the King.

5. Vice-Chancellors of Universities in these provinces. Ex-members of the Executive Government, and representatives of the High Court or Chief Court may also sit in this chamber.

Question of Provincial Autonomy.

We confess that we had been looking forward the immediate grant of provincial autonomy to these provinces and if we have had to change our mind, it is because we strongly feel that if under the circumstances obtaining at present provincial autonomy without any safeguard for special Moslem interests were granted, the existence of the Mussalmans will be jeopardised. We now have had nearly 8 years' experience of the working of the reforms in these provinces, and can therefore speak with some confidence. It is our unfortunate experience that the general Hindu mind particularly since the advent of the Hindu Mahasabha in the field has shown unfeigned hostility to Moslem interests in all branches of administration. We are not unmindful of the fact that some Hindu gentlemen of light and leading are willing to concede to the Mussalmans their just and proper share, but the mind that dreams of Hindu Swaraj and this constitutes the bulk, is intolerant of any Moslem element. Public offices owing to their machinations are being denuded of the Moslem; under local bodies they suffer beyond requital, and their education, the most powerful lever of political advancement of any people, is being retarded instead of being encouraged. Indeed the working of the reforms during the last 8 years has conclusively demonstrated that our very existence without necessary safeguards in this country is in danger. The Moslems can safely challenge any one to give one single instance in which they have done anything which would militate against the country's advancement as a whole. They can on the contrary cite instance after instance to prove beyond any shadow of doubt that whenever any opportunity has occurred, Moslem interests have been defiantly crushed. The Government of the land, true to its national instincts and its commitments, feels so powerless to redress the wrongs of the Moslems that it has created an impression in their minds that it is also a party to their annihilation. We have said before that the peace and the future of the country are under these circumstances at stake, and it therefore grieves us beyond all description to say that if no adequate safeguards for the proper Moslem interests are guaranteed by the British Parliament and made an organic part of the constitution, we will not only say halt to all further reforms, but we would strongly advocate going back to the pre-reform days. We would rather have a benevolent autocracy than a crushing and galling oligarchy. In our report dealing with the Central Government we have dealt with the safeguards that we require at some length, and we invite a reference to that chapter for a clear exposition of our meaning. Here we content ourselves by barely enumerating the safeguards that the Moslems of these provinces positively feel they must have before a further march on the road to self-government could be made. The safeguards are

1. separate electorates according to the Congress-Moslem League Compact of 1916 as embodied in the Government of India Act of 1919;

2. separate electorates in local bodies.

3. effective representation on all autonomous institutions created by the Legislature, such as Universities, Board of Intermediate and High School Examination, etc.;

4. insertion of proviso, *i.e.*, 3/4ths of the members objecting to private Bill or resolution in legislative and all local bodies;

5. safeguards for Urdu (Hindustani written in Persian character) in all educational institutions, courts, Government departments, and local and other elective bodies;

6. representation in the services maintained by the Government and the local bodies in the same proportion as their representation in these bodies;

7. representation in the cabinet of the Government both on the reserved and transferred side to be not less than 33 per cent;

8. adequate and effective safeguard for the exercise of Moslem religious rights;

9. due allocation of grants in aid of education, religion, charity, etc., by government and local bodies, for our community.

We submit that these safeguards should be embodied in the law of British India and enacted by the British Parliament. We have said before and we again repeat that we have been forced to ask for these safeguards because without them our very existence is in danger. Nothing would appeal to us more than to render unstinted service to our motherland, nothing would give us greater happiness than to work shoulder to shoulder with our Hindu brethren for the uplift of our country; but we are denied what is our just due by the mind which has no dream but of Hindu domination. With these safeguards all chances of friction will be removed, a new spirit of co-operation will arise, and the future of the country will be assured.

It should therefore be clearly understood that all the suggestions we have made in this portion of our memorandum relating to Provincial Government are subject to our demand for safeguards, and if we have spurned the call of the intelligentsia of the country to boycott the Statutory Commission, it is because we have strongly felt that unless the case of the Moslems was put before the Commission, an opportunity will be lost to them to emphasise their demands and the Commission will be denied the opportunity of considering how best to effectuate the Declaration of August, 1917. Our submissions in the part of the memorandum relating to the Central Government will show that these demands are not novel in character nor are they foreign to constitutions of countries which are inhabited by peoples of different creeds and diverse interests.

We have shown that no Moslem representing Moslem views has any chance in joint electorate even with reservation of seats. We do not call separate representation an ideal system, but we are forced to advocate it as a necessity, nor would we ask for any safeguard if the majority community had given any evidence of impartiality, justice, toleration,—qualities essential to responsible Government—in its dealings with the Moslem

minority. We insist that even if the present reforms are maintained or more subjects are transferred as we have suggested above, the safeguards are a *sina qua non* of our existence. All existing or prospective reforms postulate the grant of safeguards pointed by us before. And it is with this clear understanding that we further proceed to make our suggestions.

If the Commission is not able to recommend immediate grant of provincial autonomy and diarchy is maintained, we are of opinion that in the administration of the transferred subjects, the spirit and the letter of the constitution shall be enforced, and collective responsibility of Ministers shall be introduced; but in cases in which the interests of the Moslem community are involved, the Minister belonging to that community need not be bound by the majority if he commands a majority of three-fourths of the Moslem members of the Council, and without in any way fettering with the decision of the Governor or restricting his powers, the Governor, we are of opinion, should take this factor into his consideration in dealing with him.

Finances of Provincial Government of financial Control.

We learn with satisfaction that the amount payable to the Government of India under the Meston Award has been finally remitted. But we recommend that either the Secretary of State for India, or more preferably the Simon-Commission should appoint a special expert Finance Committee to re-examine and re-adjust the problem of central and provincial finance. Our opinion is that unless and until the question of redistribution of provinces is settled, it would be impossible to proceed with the question of provincial finance.

Broadly speaking, however, we do not propose any departure for the control of finances from the existing practice. We have no doubt however that the finance department itself should be one of the transferred subjects. This seems to us to be absolutely necessary.

Financial relations between reserved and transferred side of the Government including the question of joint or separate purse.

Complaints have repeatedly been made in the Legislative Council that the transferred subjects are being starved in order to feed the reserved subjects. We may observe that the relation of the finance department is under Devolution Rule 36 (1) controlled by a member of the Executive Council, and the Ministers have not been normally happy as they should have been, and this is partly responsible for the present unpopularity of diarchy. Making all allowances for the difficulties of the Finance Department, there is evidence of unimpeachable character to show that in some instances conscious bias against transferred departments has been shown and Rule 36 (1) of the Devolution Rules is itself a reflection upon the Ministers. It is difficult to say that the rule does not give an unfair and initial advantage to the reserved side of the Government over its transferred side, or that it does not operate to the disadvantage of the Ministers.

In order to meet these complaints a system of separate purse has been advocated under which certain special sources of revenue will be allotted

to the Reserved and some others to the transferred side. No doubt this system has certain advantages, but its great drawback to our thinking is that it will destroy the unity of provincial administration and in practice, will involve many difficulties equally serious, as the existing arrangement, arising particularly from the fluctuation of receipts from the heads of revenue allocated to the one or the other set of the Government and its consequent deficit budgets in some years. We therefore still prefer the system of joint purse now in vogue. We recommend, however, that on all considerations a proportion of revenue should be separately allocated for transferred subjects and the rules relating to Finance Department should be so amended as to limit its powers so that the Ministers may be enabled to carry through their schemes in the form approved by them and not in the form shaped for them after minute and meticulous scrutiny by the Finance Department of the smallest technical details of each project. This will take place if and when the Finance Department is not transferred.

LOCAL BODIES AND THE U. P. MUSLIMS.

Local Self-Government is the foundation of constitutional government. It is in, and through, the interest which the citizen of a locality takes in the practical, day-to-day problems of his own town that he cultivates the habit and develops the capacity for participating in the greater, broader, and national problems of his age. We do not think it is necessary for us to emphasise this, as we believe that all students of English and European politics are agreed on this point. Keen observers like Bryce and President Lawrence Lowell have pointed out the excellence of Swiss democracy, and shown lucidly and clearly that it is the result of the successful working of many of the self-governing bodies in Switzerland. We deem it to be axiomatic, and regard local self-government as a postulate of Indian politics. The great Indian nationalists of the past, who fought the battle of India's constitutional freedom and succeeded in enlarging the scope and widening the powers of local bodies, had perceived the need for liberalising these bodies and giving them greater powers. We need only refer to the yeoman service which the great Gopal Krishna Gokhale rendered to the cause. Nor need we refer to the work and character of Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea, who democratised the Calcutta Corporation and was instrumental in passing a law, which, in whatever light one may regard its details, is remarkable for its comprehensive vision, grasp of principles and grip of facts. We are firmly of the opinion that parliamentary government postulates vigorous, enterprising and efficient self-governing bodies, dealing impartially with the conflicting claims of various interests, and giving the towns and rural areas all that they need—pure water, light, medical aid, good roads, and efficient education amid healthy surroundings. We do not want—indeed we cannot insist on—those amenities of town life which the municipalities of Venice, Hamburg, Paris or London provide. We are aware of the fact that the resources of these bodies are vast; that they are managed by intelligent citizens, who are imbued with the zeal and endowed with the capacity for civic work and large industrial, social and political enterprises. The demands of the Indian citizen are limited to the bare necessities of life. As our local bodies grow in power, influence, riches and popularity they may, we hope, they will, take an active part in those undertakings for which the London County Council and other civic authorities in England are justly famous. At the present time it would be impracticable for them to do so. They must cut their coat according to their cloth.

In order that these bodies may function efficiently and realise those objects for which they are created, it is essential that they should be left comparatively free in the sphere which is allotted to them. This is necessary for the fullest and truest expression of their individuality; it is essential for that clear, consistent and honest discharge of their multifarious duties upon which depends the well-being of the citizens whom they represent. If they are hampered at every turn by the government, if their minutest action, slightest gesture and most harmless acts are subjected to

capricious coddling, or grandmotherly interference, either on the part of the government, or on the part of the legislature, their *raison d'etre* disappears. They need freedom; they require fresh air; they demand more elbow room; otherwise they will wither and die away.

We must not, however, be understood as advocating absolute freedom for local bodies, nor should we be regarded as champions of administrative nihilism. Our object in defining the sphere of work of these bodies is merely to indicate the broad lines along which we would like them to travel. We do not mean—indeed, we can never be regarded as holding the view—that each local body should be a master in its own household. This doctrine, if pushed to its logical conclusion, would reduce Indian society to its elements. The French Constitution of 1791, which was framed in the excitement of 1789—91, provided for about 40,000 parishes, each practically independent of the other, and all defiant of the central government. The result was chaos and anarchy and the whole administration was reduced to dust. This state of affairs was ended only by the merciless Reign of Terror, and the Napoleonic despotism. Such a policy is specially dangerous in a country like India, where centrifugal tendencies are constantly crossing and oftentimes nullifying the ardent desire of our patriots for a solid, compact, and united nation. We are in substantial agreement with the main principles and general policy outlined in the recommendations of the Decentralisation Commission. We believe that the local bodies constituted on principles which were so lucidly explained in the report of the Commission will be the corner-stone of our liberty.

Before, however, this aim can be realised, it is necessary that the limitations which are inherent in all local bodies should be vividly grasped. Every Government, as Burke says, is a government not only of laws, but also of men. Power, in whatever hands, is rarely guilty of too strict limitations upon itself. We believe that self-government can only be successful if it is accompanied by self-government personally; and if local bodies claim freedom within well-defined limits, they must exercise their sovereignty over themselves individually as well as over themselves in the aggregate—regulating their own lives, resisting their own temptations, subduing their own passions, and voluntarily imposing upon themselves some measure of that restraint and discipline which, under other systems, is supplied from the armouries of arbitrary power—the discipline of virtue, in place of the discipline of slavery. We are firmly of the opinion that men are qualified for civil liberty in exact proportion to their disposition to put moral chains upon their own appetite. If a local body tramples upon the rights of minorities, if it forces an alien civilisation on a race, a religious community, or a class, against its will and inclination, if it deliberately neglects, and systematically ignores, the most cherished rights of a cultural, religious or linguistic unit, it forfeits all claims to respect and obedience, and stands self-condemned. The principle of freedom of local bodies is dependent, therefore, upon two comprehensive provisos:—

I. The local body should be efficient, impartial, and honest in the discharge of its duties to the public. If it is inefficient and

incompetent, it is the right—nay, it is the duty—of the government to reform the abuses, purify the administration, rectify the blunders, and remove the defects of such a body.

II. Again, if a local body sets at naught the wishes of a linguistic or religious minority, if it abuses its power, and deliberately flouts the opinion of a large, respectable and influential body, animated by historical, religious, and racial traditions, which differ from the traditions of the majority community, it is the right and duty of the sovereign body—whether it be the provincial or central government, or the British Parliament—to call it to account, and to see to it that justice is meted out to all sections of the people committed to its charge. We believe these to be the fundamental principles of all systems of local government. They are exemplified in the working of local bodies in all European countries. Their due observance ensures contentment and happiness; their neglect leads to unhappiness and misery. We need only refer to the grave abuses which have crept into the working of self-governing bodies in America. They have been graphically described by Lord Bryce in his classical work on the *American Commonwealth*. They furnish an object lesson to the people who ardently advocate unlimited freedom, plead for limitless power, and champion uncontrolled and unregulated exercise of their power by local authorities.

In America these principles have led to the adoption of methods which are diametrically opposed to the conception upon which all self-governments are conducted. The Galveston plan practically supersedes all elective bodies, and reduces the governing body of the City to a Board of five members, presided over by an official known as Mayor-President. This Board has full legislative and administrative power over the city. It arranges for the City departments to be administered, and, by a majority vote, divides the administration of the departments among the members of the Board, including the Mayor. Such a plan is the negation of democracy, yet so flagrant and gross were the abuses in which many local bodies indulged, that the citizens rose against them, and voluntarily submitted to this benevolent autocracy. The plan has been adopted by about 130 cities in the United States of America. We have adduced this example, not because we wish to deprive the local bodies of any of the powers which they now possess, but because we feel that the abuse of the rights and powers with which they are invested is likely to be attended by disastrous results in India. We may be allowed to state the fundamental maxim that a government or a local body representing a given area, has a general superintending control over all the actions and over all the publicly propagated doctrines of men, without which it never could provide adequately for all the wants of society; but then it must use this power with equitable discretion, which is the only bond of sovereign authority. For it is not, perhaps, so much by the assumption of unlawful powers, as by the unwise or unwarrantable use of those which are most legal, that governments oppose their true end and object. There is such a thing as tyranny, as well as usurpation. One can hardly state to us a case for which the legislature is the most confessedly competent, in which, if the

rules of benignity and prudence are not observed, the most mischievous and oppressive things may not be done. So that after all it is a moral and virtuous disposition, and not any abstract theory of right, which keeps governments faithful to their ends. Indeed, crude, unconnected truths are in the world of practice, what falsehoods are in that of theory.

While we are opposed to the interference of the government in those spheres which are committed to the charge of these bodies and for which they are legally responsible, we are no less opposed to giving them a blank cheque, and investing them with power, which, however beneficial it may appear to devotees of abstractions and universals, will prevent the government from performing its necessary duties to the public at large. While we respect the autonomy of these bodies, and will strongly oppose all measures which undermine their power, abridge their privileges, or detract from their influence, we are determined on supporting the government in those cases—and they are neither few nor unimportant—which have for their object the development of efficient, honest, pure, and popular self-governing institutions, discharging their duties equitably, and with moderation, respecting the rights, studying the wants, and satisfying the desires of minorities of race, religion or language. Such bodies will command respect, inspire affection, foster civic patriotism, encourage local enterprise, and pave way for a strong, united, compact, and coherent India.

We have deemed it necessary to define our attitude on this intricate we may even say, elusive question—as our attitude is liable to be—and has actually been—misunderstood. It is an obvious truth that no constitution can defend itself; it must be defended by the wisdom and fortitude of men. We are convinced that civic patriotism—the patriotism for one's town, or locality—is the surest foundation for national patriotism. We begin our public affections in our families. We pass on to our neighbourhoods, and our habitual provincial connections. *These are inns and resting places.* Such divisions of our country as have been formed by habit, and not by a sudden jerk of authority, are so many little images of the great country in which the heart finds something which it can fill. The love to the whole is not extinguished by this subordinate partiality. Indeed, it is a kind of elemental training to those higher and larger regards, by which alone men come to be affected, as with their own concern, in the prosperity of a kingdom so extensive, historical and great as India. Lord Salisbury used to say that the choice of a policy is not so important as the methods whereby it is carried out. There is profound truth in this statement. We may indeed go further, and state that the efficacy of a law depends upon the method and manner in which it is carried out. The law touches us but here and there, and now and then. Methods and manners are what vex or soothe, corrupt or purify, exalt or debase, barbarise or refine us, by a constant, steady, uniform, insensible, operation, like that of the air we breathe in. They give their whole form and colour to our lives. According to their kinds, they aid morals, they supply them, or they totally destroy them.

We may briefly sum up the above by saying that if a local body acts efficiently and honestly, within the sphere of work committed to its

charge, and so long as the rights of racial, linguistic and religious minorities are respected, it should be left free from interference by the government. Its autonomy should be scrupulously respected, its privileges should be inviolate, and its powers should not be impaired.

Having stated these general maxims, let us now turn to the working of local bodies in these provinces, and see how far these conditions are fulfilled. The Municipal and District Boards of these provinces are governed by Act II of 1916, which deals with Municipalities, and by Act X of 1922, which deals with District Boards. We may also mention Act VI of 1920, which deals with the village Punchayats, and with Act II of 1914, which is concerned with Town Areas. We will leave the last two units of self-government out of account, as they exercise neither the powers nor the influence which the Municipal and District Boards command. We are here concerned only with the Municipal and District Boards. In order that the geographical position of our community may be clearly perceived, it is necessary that the relative proportion of Muslims and Hindus in the rural and urban areas should be carefully borne in mind. According to the Census Report of the United Provinces for the year 1921, out of every 10,000 of the urban population, 5,941 are Hindus, 3,741 Muslims, and 318 others. Again, out of every 10,000 of rural population, 8,745 are Hindus, 1,174 Muslims, and 81 others. We may take the total population of these provinces and state that out of every 10,000 of the population, 8,448 are Hindus, 1,446 Muslims, and 88 others. From this it will be clear that Muslims form a comparatively large proportion of the urban population, while in the rural areas, they are only 1,174 out of every 10,000, or nearly 9 per cent. Even in the urban areas, they have a majority over the Hindus only in the towns of Moradabad, Shajahanpur, Budaun and Bijnor. They are practically equal in number, though weak in actual voting strength, in one or two other towns. The U. P. Municipalities Act guarantees them separate electorate, and provides an equitable reservation of seats for our community. In the U. P. District Boards Act of 1922, separate electorates are provided for the Muslims, though the Muslim members protested then, and have protested since, against the meagre representation which the Hindu Ministers allowed to our community. We need only refer to the debates on the Bill in the U. P. Legislative Council in 1922 on this subject. That the powers of Municipal Boards are extensive will be clear from the perusal of sections 7 and 8 of the Act; while Chapter V, sections 91—107 of the Act define the powers of District Boards. We need not enumerate them here, as they resemble the powers enjoyed by local bodies in other countries. We would, however, like to draw your attention to two factors which were in our opinion, completely disregarded by the framers of these Acts. The first point which needs your attention is the difference between the rural and urban population of these provinces. It is well-known that the urban intelligentsia has played, and will continue to play, a large, we may even say, a predominant part in the political life of this province. It is in the towns that the resources of our civilisation are concentrated; it is the towns that supply the brains, and provide the energy, for all the social, religious and economic movements of Modern India. Again, the provision of

electric light, pure and wholesome water, good roads, well-stocked libraries, efficient secondary and technical schools, and the existence of a cultured and leisured society, forming the social and intellectual *milieu* of the town, act as an incentive to all enterprising, forceful and ambitious men, who leave the countryside and congregate in towns. There is consequently a substratum of solid commonsense, a fund of knowledge, and an amount of interest in the problems of these bodies, which are completely lacking in the country. In the latter, illiteracy is still the rule, and literacy the exception; dull, unfeeling, barren ignorance holds sway; the people are still steeped in the customs, superstitions and practices of the past. A movement which may sweep over a town like a hurricane will percolate through the countryside in an attenuated form, after a long, weary and dreary interval. Hence, while the urban voter is qualified to form sound judgment—unless, of course, his mind is warped by the communal virus—on the issues that frequently perplex the honest, though limited, citizens of a petty or a large municipality, the rural voter is unable to grasp the implications, or to understand the importance, of the problems which a typical District Board has to solve. The result is as might have been foreseen. While the District Boards are invested with large powers, they are not able to perform their functions satisfactorily. We will refer you to the resolutions on the District Boards by the Local Government for the last four years for details of the working of District Boards in these provinces. The rural voter has no doubt become conscious of his needs, and naturally and legitimately demands some return for the large amount of land revenue and rent which he pays to the government. He believes that a large part of his hard-earned money is spent in the towns; that this 'drain' from the country to the urban areas has pauperised his locality, impoverished his people, and deprived the countryside of those amenities which are such a striking feature of an English country house, or an Italian village. While, however, he gives vent to his feelings, he is utterly unable to grasp the mechanism, or visualise the powers, of district boards. We have given these examples to prove not that the rural voter should be deprived of his vote, but that he has suddenly been given powers which it will take him a generation or even more to use rightly. At the present time, he is incapable of taking an active part in those multifarious duties which the history of an English parish or borough, portrayed with the inimitable thoroughness of a Sidney Webb, exhibits. We are of the opinion that the District Boards Act of 1922 invested the rural voter with powers, it conferred on the newly created district boards privileges, which they did not, because they could not, use properly. We have no desire to detail the working of local bodies in these provinces since the reforms, as material exists in abundance in the debates of the local Legislative Council for the years 1924—28; the resolutions of the U. P. Government on the working of municipal and district boards; the administration reports of each of these bodies; and the account of the proceedings of these bodies in the press. Our statements are based partly on the material we have just cited, but chiefly on our personal experience and the experience of a large number of active, influential and representative men, with whom we have exchanged views, and to whom we are indebted for

an objective account of most of the municipal and district boards. We may say of municipal administration, in general, that though some of the boards have displayed admirable administrative qualities, and exhibited an example of efficiency and honesty which might serve as model to many a local body in England, the majority of these bodies have been hampered by lack of funds. The administration of such bodies was, consequently, bound to fall short of the expectations and hopes that had been raised by their supporters. It may be said, generally, that the finances of most of the municipal boards are in disorder, though this is not really the fault of these bodies, as their resources are limited and their duties multifarious. We are of the opinion that if municipal boards are given substantial grants by the government, if the members adhere closely and strictly to the duties for which they have been sent to these bodies—the duty of deliberation, pure and simple, and not of interference in the details of administration—and if the problems of services, contracts, and religious rights and duties of various communities are satisfactorily solved, the municipal boards will become the most vigorous, and the most successful instrument for the creation of a strong, virile, and self-reliant nation. Representative government can succeed here only if, and when, it is broad-based on the foundation of vigorous, local self-government. We may express the truth of this statement by quoting the following maxim: "There was a twilight before the dawn, and a dawn before the morning. and a morning before the day."

The problems of district boards are, however, too vast, their resources too limited, to lead anybody to hope of immediate success. We are convinced that it was a blunder on the part of the Hindu Ministers of the day to take practically all the powers of the District Magistrate away, and to invest these bodies with privileges and impose upon them duties, which they could not efficiently discharge. Anyone familiar with the working of these bodies will corroborate our statement.

All persons who have taken an active part in the working of these bodies are forced irresistibly to the conclusion that the district boards have proved singularly incapable of solving the problems of rural reconstruction. It is true that they spend, and have spent, a large part of their resources on education; and it must be admitted that a few district boards have shown both energy and enterprise in the construction of roads and bridges, and in the provision of facilities for the countryfolk. Again, we must take into account the fact that these boards are hampered by lack of funds, while their duties are so varied, and involve so great an expenditure, that no board could perform them efficiently. We are aware of the factors we have mentioned above, and have made allowances for them. We are, however, regretfully compelled to state that these bodies have proved, on the whole, incapable of developing our countryside, and of infusing that energy, interest, activity and zeal into the working of their machinery which we expected, and legitimately expected, would result from the passing of the law. To begin with, the roads have been neglected, and during the rainy season our countryside is like a vast river, flowing majestically over miles of land. Owing to the miserable state of our roads,

and the supineness of the boards, industry has received a setback, as communication is difficult, if not impossible. The pucca roads which the Government handed over to them are in some places impassable, at other places absolutely dangerous. Sanitation is in practically the same condition. It is true that something has been done with the help of the Government; that rural dispensaries have been opened in a number of places; and doctors have settled in rural areas. Even so, the amount of help actually rendered is miserably inadequate for the purpose. The one gratifying feature of the activities of these boards is the expansion of education. This is a work which deserves the encouragement of all patriotic sons of India; but it must be carried on in a spirit, and executed in a manner, which would not wound the susceptibilities of the minority communities. This is, we are sorry to say, not the case. We refer you to the Report on Education in which the policy of the boards towards Muslims is discussed. Again, the boards have shown themselves thoroughly unfit to deal with the question of appointments. They have shown over and over again how partial, inefficient, incapable, and incompetent they are in this matter. Nepotism, caste-feeling, "log-rolling," vote-catching and other devices have frequently been resorted to in the filling of vacancies. The question of contracts is as important and necessary as any other question. Yet the fact remains that in the giving of contracts, numerous malpractices are indulged in, the rules framed by the government are violated, and contractors do work in a way that is thoroughly unsatisfactory; while public money is wasted, and public rights, convenience, comfort and peace are generally disregarded. We may summarise our remarks by saying that the District Boards Act was precipitate; it conferred power on an ignorant and illiterate peasantry, and this power was, and has been utilised, by members of the majority community for the organisation and consolidation of their party, community, or caste, in the rural areas.

(2) We have referred to the first condition which in our opinion is the *sine qua non* of all government. We have shown that the district boards have not fulfilled the hopes which their champions had raised in the minds of all the people of these provinces. There is another test which seems to us to be as important as the first. This test has reference mainly to the treatment of the Muslim minority in these provinces. We deem it to be of crucial importance. We believe that unless this is fulfilled, all local bodies deserve the severest condemnation. We are convinced that a profound and irreparable mistake was made by the failure of the legislature to provide effective safeguards for our community at the time of the passage of the Municipalities and District Boards Bills into law. We admit that separate electorate was guaranteed to us by these laws. We are ready to acknowledge that this was, and is, one of the means for the protection of our rights. We would, however, like to point out that this is not the only, nor the chief, means for the safeguarding of Muslim interests. It is true that, as will appear from the Appendices to this report, owing to the lack of separate electorate in the municipal boards before 1916, our community was very unjustly treated; Muslim rights were ignored; and Muslim candidates were invariably defeated in a contest with the Hindus.

The figures adduced by us for the year 1915 are given in an appendix to this report. We grant that to this extent, the interests of our community have been safeguarded. We would, however, like to remind you that separate electorate without effective safeguards for the education of our children, the representation of our community in the administration of each body, and the defence of our religious rights, are ineffective. We form only 9 per cent of the rural population of these provinces. How will our community benefit if it is represented by 5 members out of 30 members in a district board? They might—they do—protest against unfair treatment; they might and do actually, on many occasions, record their protest. But they cannot do more. On the other hand, if they are adequately represented on all the committees of all the district boards, and in every department of the board; if our children are instructed in Urdu by Muslim teachers; if a fair proportion of Muslims are given contracts; if our religious rights are respected and our educational and other institutions granted fair and equitable grants-in-aid, we shall certainly have achieved that for which we have long fought and are still fighting. Separate electorate, by itself, is barren and hollow. Our experience of the working of these bodies has convinced us that unless it is supplemented by effective safeguards for the defence of our rights, it will be useless. We base this statement not on any metaphysical theory of rights of man, or on a philosophical theory of the state, but on the hard, real, vivid and bitter experience of the work and policy of these bodies which all of us have gained since the reforms. In practically every municipal and district board, the election of the chairman is determined solely and simply by communal considerations. If the number of Hindu voters in a board is greater, the number of Hindu members on that board will also be greater. If the latter is the case, a Hindu chairman is bound to be elected. This is due to the fact that Hindu members give preference to Hindus. When a local body contains a Hindu chairman, the administration is Hinduised. Very few Muslims are appointed to important posts, and the Muslim rights are ignored. A glance at the figures appended to this report will show that with the exception of a few municipal boards in the Rohilkhand division, where Muslim population is large and Muslim culture has leavened the mass, an overwhelming majority of municipal boards have Hindu chairmen, and consequently Hindus have established their ascendancy in these towns and cities. In district boards the situation is still worse. Out of 48 districts, there is only one board which boasts of a Muslim chairman. This is the strongest possible testimony to the narrow vision, oblique views, blurred horizon, and distorted conception of local self-government held by the majority community. Indeed, the picture has faded into the canvas, and district boards have subjected our community to a species of social and political ostracism for which it would be difficult to find a parallel in modern India. For the district boards contain an overwhelming number of Hindus, and are imbued with the idea of Hinduising every department and all services. We would draw your attention to the appendices to our report on Services, which contain a statement showing the number of Muslim and Hindu employees in each department of all the municipal and district boards of

these provinces, and show at a glance the unjust treatment which is meted out to our community. The boards have deliberately trampled upon Muslim rights by compelling Muslim children to learn Hindi; and they have violated all rules of neighbourliness, good taste, and camaraderie by resorting to actions which have made an honourable existence for our community impossible. We refer you to our Report on Education for details of their policy towards Muslim children, Muslim teachers, Muslim culture and Muslim civilisation. We do not exaggerate when we say that the District Boards Act of 1922 established a Hindu Raj in the rural areas. The bitter experience of the Raj in the last six years has convinced us that the only safe, sound, and effective solution for the minority communities in India is the insertion of adequate safeguards for the protection of our community in an Act of British Parliament. We are firmly of the opinion that the general formula which we have enunciated in our Report on Safeguards for the protection of our community in the domain of education, services, and grants-in-aid of education, etc., should be binding upon all local bodies, local legislature, and central legislature. At present the only check on the exercise of the power of local bodies is that exercised by the Commissioner and the Government. The decision of the former is liable to be reversed by the Government, and as the latter is responsible to the Hindu majority which dominates the legislative council, we feel that the insertion of a provision, which we have indicated above, in an Act of British Parliament, is absolutely essential. As the Minister in charge of the department of local self-government happens to be a Muslim, any attempt by the latter to reform local bodies, to purify their administration, and to make them more efficient, is regarded by the majority of Hindus as a deliberate design by Muslims to curtail the power of these bodies.

We will give briefly a few examples of the ways in which Muslims are treated in local bodies. The list is not exhaustive, as we have culled only a few facts. We hope to give fuller and detailed accounts of these bodies through our witnesses, a list of whom is appended:

Kalpi Municipal Board.

Here Muslim children have to learn Hindi, and as Muslim parents object to it, many go without education. The teachers do not know Urdu, and hence they can only teach in Hindi. In girls' schools, only Hindi is taught, and as Muslim parents object to it, they go without education. The administration is Hinduised, and there is only one Muslim clerk who works as an ahalmad. All the important contracts are given to Hindu contractors.

Bara Banki District Board.

This district contains a large number of influential Muslim landholders. Before the Reform scheme, there were only 5 Hindu clerks in the office of the Board; the rest were Muslims. After the reform schemes most of the Muslim clerks were eliminated. During the last two years only 34 contracts were given to Muslims, and 115 to Hindus. The total amount of contracts given to Muslims is Rs. 41,380; while that given to the Hindus is Rs. 1,29,148. The number of Muslim pupils in schools is 4,556, and of Muslim teachers 363. It is worthy of note that the number of Islamia schools before the reforms was double that of the

existing number. Not only has there been no increase in the number of Islamia schools, but their number has been halved. A leading Muslim member of the Bara Banki District Board writes :—"Owing to the Reform scheme, there is a Hindu Raj in this district. Every day Muslims are subjected to new hardships, and their condition has grown worse. Just before the inauguration of the Reform scheme, there were four Muslim headmasters of middle schools. After the operation of the Reform scheme, two middle schools were abolished, and the Muslim headmasters relegated to lower positions. The Muslim headmaster of the local training school was replaced by a Hindu; the Islamia training school was also abolished; while nearly half the number of Islamia schools were dissolved. Numerous pathshalas were opened by the Hindu district board, and substantial grants were allotted to them. The sons of Hindu teachers are given several scholarships, while Muslim students go without any ; all the libraries stocked in the primary schools contain Hindi books, which are violently anti-Muslim in tone. Muslim servants have been unjustly treated and deprived of all opportunities of promotion. With the exception of a few schools, prayers are offered in Hindi, and songs sung which anger the Muslim boys. *In all grades of schools, Muslims are being eliminated.* The district has a Hindu Deputy Inspector of Schools, a Hindu Chairman of the District Board, and a Hindu Engineer; all the officers of the Public Health Department are Hindus." In fact, the district has been effectively Hinduised.

(3) THE MUSLIMS OF ETAH are in the same condition. Hindi language has been made compulsory in most of the schools; there is a girls' school which is maintained by the municipal board, but there is no arrangement for the education of Muslim girls. Out of 410 teachers in primary schools maintained by the district board, only 31 are Muslims and 379 Hindus.

Jhansi Municipal Board.

We reproduce below an account of this Board, which has been drawn up by some of the Muslim members of the board:

Report of the Municipal Members of the Jhansi Municipal Board on the working of the Municipality.

Slaughter House.—There were three branches of the Burma meat trade up to 1924 in the Jhansi Municipality. Nearly all of the butchers made a living from this source. Hundreds of menial classes of Hindus and poor Muslims found support therefrom. A little prior to 1924 the Board failed to keep proper arrangement of the sanitation. The trenches that were dug were so shallow that they could be disturbed even by the dogs. The result of this was that the Military authorities found that the trenches were unwholesome to the health of the troops, and brought it to the notice of the district authorities. The Collector then stopped the trade of the Burma meat by serving a notice under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code. The Municipal Board was also asked to clean the ground. The Municipal Board, as acknowledged in the annual report of 1924-25, failed to carry out the necessary sanitary improvement. The

important trade in hides was also severely hit. The butchers approached the local bodies in the hope that their professional earnings would not be affected, but to no avail. Their aim having been frustrated, they approached the District Board authorities and sought permission to carry out this trade on any land outside the Jhansi Municipal Board. But their ceaseless efforts have not yet been crowned with success. The repair of the slaughter house is also not up to the mark. The repeated reports of Muslim members are not attended to.

During 1926 the Board got the Licensing fee on hide, and bone godowns increased with a view to hampering the trade.

The Board started a new cattle market near Khaki Shah's band, during 1927, in order that the Hindu Swarajist members might get an opportunity of prevailing upon the sellers of cows not to sell their animals to Muslim butchers. These persons also made a similar attempt in the Cantonment market. Their attempt having failed, the market was closed.

The oxen of the Store Department, when unserviceable, were given to Gaushala on a nominal price of Re. 1 per head, and even free, in spite of the dissenting note of the Muslim members to the effect that they should be sold by public auction. Each ox must have fetched not less than Rs. 25.

Meat is not allowed to be sold on head in the street. The butchers sought such permission but were refused.

On 3rd February, 1928, the date of the arrival of the Simon Commission, the Muslims did not join the *hartal*. The Health Officer, who is a Government employee, ordered on 2nd February, 1928, the Veterinary Assistant not to pass any animal for slaughter on 3rd February, 1928. Thus the business was hampered.

Urdu language.—Nearly all the office work was done in Urdu up to 1924-25. In 1926 a resolution was passed to the effect that the moharrirs should issue receipts in Hindi if demanded by the recipients. For this purpose a Hindu teacher was appointed to teach Hindi to the Urdu-knowing officials who were ordered to learn it within three months. In case of their failure to do so they were threatened with dismissal. Later on there was another proposal that Hindi should be inserted along with Urdu in the Octroi receipts. The late Secretary Babu Jagdish Sahai set aside the proposal. But the local forms were generally published in Hindi as well as in Urdu. The notices of all description are generally in Hindi. Building bye-laws which are given to all applicants on price are now published in Hindi only. The annual report for 1926-27 for the use of members was also printed in Hindi. M. Abdul Bari Siddiqi, Vakil, and Municipal member, refused to accept it in Hindi. *The Board has resolved that any candidate not well-versed in Hindi will not be admitted to the service of the Board.* But candidates not knowing Urdu are selected, as, for example, the acting Supervisor of the Education Department, appointed by the Chairman, does not know Urdu. The Municipal petition-writers have been directed to write their petitions in Hindi. Several instances have come to notice in which applications written in Urdu have not been accepted.

Ratio between Hindus and Muslims in the Education Department of the Jhansi Municipal Board.

(1) There are 5 Muslim teachers drawing a salary of Rs. 106 per mensem, whereas there are 48 Hindu teachers drawing a salary of Rs. 1,196.

(2) There are 2 menial servants who are Muslims and draw a salary of Rs. 9 per mensem, though there are 42 Hindu menial servants on a salary of Rs. 199 per mensem.

The total Hindu and Muslim population within the Municipal Board of Jhansi according to the last census is as follows :

Hindus	38,348
Muslims	10,829

Thus there are 78 per cent of Hindus and 22 per cent of Muslims in the Municipality.

In view of this ratio there ought to have been 14 Muslim teachers, as against 48 Hindu teachers, but unfortunately there are only 5 Muslim teachers. The ratio among the inferior servants of this department is still great, *viz.*, there ought to have been 12 Muslim inferior servants, against 42 of the Hindu community. The same ratio will hold good as regards the pay.

Hindi language to Muslim boys.—The teachers of the Municipal schools where compulsory education is enforced *do not generally know Urdu.* The students are therefore compelled to read Hindi. Their parents' warning that they should be taught Urdu is not attended to.

Ratio between Hindu and Muslim Contractors.

There is only one Muslim contractor as against about 25 Hindu contractors working in the Jhansi Municipal Board. Formerly there were several Muslim contractors working in the Municipality. They had to suffer a good deal of hardship and trouble at the hands of the non-Muslim functionaries of the Board. The Muslim members could not help them, as their existence in view of their small minority, was not worth counting. The poor contractors had no alternative but to give up their work in this branch. The fact that there are a good number of well-to-do Muslim contractors working in other Government Departments of the Jhansi District supports this allegation.

The only Muslim working as a contractor in the Board is suffering all sorts of hardship. His bill is cut down: the payment is made to him with no less difficulty. He has recently appealed to the Board against the withholding of his contract money.

General.

The Chairman of the Board has been selected twice for the Chairmanship from among the outsiders. There has been no Muslim senior or junior Chairman of the Board for the last two years. The present Board did not allow any Muslim members to take any part in the Building Board Committee or the P.W.D. Committee. This proved to be detrimental to the house properties of the Muslims. Applications for constructions

were rejected on petty technical grounds. The Muslims could therefore make no progress whatsoever in this direction.

A Muslim Chairman was selected for the Tax Committee, simply because no Hindu member was willing to devote his time to this thankless task.

(1) Drainages were constructed in the Hindu quarters only : *no drainage was constructed in the Muslim quarters by the present Board. The same is the case with light.* The gas lamp is therefore lighted in the merchants' quarters the whole night, whereas in other Mohallas such as Talaiya Bazar it is lighted up to 10 P.M. There is a proposal for installing a gas lamp in the Bisatkhana Bazar, which is mainly occupied by the Muslims. This proposal has not materialized, though there are several spare lamps in the store.

(2) Very severe restrictions are imposed by the Board in regard to the construction of mosques. In 1925 one Muslim applied for the construction of a mosque over the site of his house. In view of the building bye-law that no mosque should be constructed within 100 yards of the temple, permission was refused. On the strength of the fact that the Hindus had given their willingness, he appealed to the Board. Despite the Muslim members' entreaty his appeal was dismissed. *The Chairman's report on this case was that the permission could be given if he agreed to the playing of music before the mosque.* This shows conclusively that the request was refused merely on communal grounds. As a matter of fact, the question of music had no bearing in the case of the construction of the mosque. This example shows the mentality of the majority community.

On the other hand temples generally encroach on the Municipal or Nazul land. A few examples are cited below :—

(*a*) In Mohalla Talpura there is large *Nazul* land under the control of the Municipal Board of Jhansi. There is also an old mosque on this plot. This mosque was admittedly constructed prior to treating this plot as Government *Nazul*. Within a few yards of this mosque the Hindus living in Talpura, who are generally Chamars, spurred on by the Hindu gentry of the city, began to lay the foundation of a temple. This was not acknowledged to be the construction of a temple by Mr. Williamson, the Collector of Jhansi. He ordered that the Hindus were devising some means with a view to altering the heap of brick and mud, etc., into a temple. He therefore ordered the stoppage of construction. When the Hindus began to molest the Muslims, they applied during 1927 that the contstruction of the Hindus should be removed, as it was clearly an encroachment on the Government land. The result of this application was that the Hindus were given the land in question on a nominal rent on a long lease. Now they are free to construct a temple over the Government land which has in fact been permanently alienated in contravention of the rules of the Government on the subject. Now the Muslims are being put to trouble for taking the water from a well which is quite close to the mosque.

(*b*) In Najhai bazar there was an old temple adjacent to the road, but on the thoroughfare as shown in the plan of 1910. Recently it was reconstructed and a Municipal land of a few yards was encroached upon. This land was very important in view of the bazar site. It is indeed admitted by all responsible persons that it *was* an encroachment that an encroachment had been made. But no action has been taken.

(*c*) There was a temple called *Mahabir ki Madhia* in mohalla Bhaji Wali ki Narya. While reconstructing it, the Hindus have encroached upon a few feet of Municipal land, which has hampered the traffic.

(3) The board has constructed a tomb and a garden of Raja Ganga Dhar Rao, and has spent a lot of money over this old building. Other crying needs of the public, such as the construction of a townhall, have deliberately been lost sight of.

(4) Orders are issued to the *Bhatiaras* (bakers) that they should keep their articles hidden from public sight. This is right. Delinquent fellows have recently been prosecuted. It is a pity that no such orders are enforced in the case of sweetmeat sellers.

(5) During 1925 all the Muslim members being dissatisfied with the treatment they had received resigned about eight months prior to the end of their terms. The posts remained vacant. This and other examples are on eloquent testimony to the intensity of the feeling between the two communities, and the lack of confidence in the equity and justice of the Hindus.

Report on the working of the District Board of Jhansi.

Slaughter Houses.—The District Board closed the slaughter house for Burma meat trade, *vide* their resolution No. 13, dated 22nd December 1923. The Muslims made several applications soliciting permission to reopen it, but to no avail. Their request was finally rejected in the Board's resolution No. 8 dated 16th January, 1926, and No. 20, dated 31st May, 1917. A report regarding the slaughter house within the Municipal limits has separately been drafted by the Municipal members.

Attitude of the District Board towards Urdu language.—Formerly the office work of the District Board was done in Urdu. The District Board in their resolution No. 5 dated 28th July, 1923, resolved that the work in the office should be done in Hindi. This resolution was stringently enforced. The resolution of the Board was again renewed in their resolution No. 14, dated 31st July, 1924. The work is now mostly done in Hindi: 50 per cent Sanskrit words are now used. The citizens of the Jhansi city approached the Commissioner more than once, and produced a copy of the document for an examination. The matter was ultimately discussed with the Hon'ble Minister for the Local Self-Government. On his orders it was resolved that the office work should be done in the language convenient to the officials. This resolution is not being acted upon fully.

Hindi Education to Muslim boys.—As the teachers generally know Hindi, the boys are naturally compelled to learn Hindi instead of Urdu.

Ratio of Muslim and Hindu teachers.—There are 476 Hindu teachers in the District Board, as against 7 teachers who are Muslims.

Ratio of Hindu and Muslim Contractors of the Board.—There are 80 Hindu and 10 Muslim contractors who are working in the District Board.

DISTRICT BOARD.

Ratio of schools.—

Hindu ordinary schools.		Muslim Schools.	
Middle Schools	13	Islamia Schools ...	3
Primary Schools	236	Maqtab ,, ...	7
Aided ,,	40	Aided Islamia ,, ...	5
Hindu Pathshalas	18	Girls' School ...	1
Girls' Schools ...	26		
School for depressed classes ...	23	Total 16, with 770 Muslim students.	
Aided ...	2		
Total 358, with about 11,372 students.			

There is also a weaving school in the Jhansi city in which there are 7 Hindu teachers on a monthly salary of Rs. 219 p.m. On the other hand there is only one Muslim teacher who gets Rs. 35 p.m. There is also one carpenter's school at Barwasagar in this district. There are three Hindu teachers on a salary of Rs. 120 p.m., but there is no Muslim in this school.

GENERAL.

There is a Muhammadan Education Committee of the District Board, for the supervision of Muslim schools. Sufficient allotment is not made in the budget under this head. The Committee cannot therefore carry out their suggestions properly. There was a proposal of the Committee for the entertainment of a supervisor for Muslim schools; but this proposal has not yet materialized. The committee must therefore be vested with some additional powers.

Municipal Board, Koonch, district Jalaun.

Burma meat trade has been prohibited, and a Hindu Magistrate ordered on January 6, 1926, the closure of all shops that dealt in this article. All licenses for this trade were cancelled. The Muslims sustained a loss of Rs. 50,000 through this policy. The Urdu language was used in the proceedings of the board, but on 27th and 28th May, 1923, the Hindu "Nationalists" passed a resolution making Hindi compulsory. Muslim boys are mostly taught Hindi. The upper primary schools teach Hindi. In no upper primary schools Urdu is taught. The number of Hindu students is 756, and of Muslim students, 253. Muslims form nearly 23 per cent of the population, yet their rights are violated, their language is discouraged,

and their children are deprived of the education which they require, and to which they are entitled.

Municipal Board, Almora.

In the Municipal Board all the ten employees are Hindus. In the district board office, there are 385 schools, and nearly 900 teachers. Of these there are only 5 Muslim schools, and six Muslim teachers. There is no Muslim contractor.

Khairabad Municipal Board, District Sitapur.

In this town, though the number of elected Muslim members is greater than that of Hindus, yet as a member of the depressed classes has been nominated by the Hindu Minister, and the Muslim majority has been converted into a minority. *Hindus say, on the one hand, that these classes are an integral part of Hindu society, while, on the other hand, they demand special seats for them, over and above those which are earmarked for the Hindus, and at the expense of the Muslims.*

Cawnpore Municipal Board.

The Hindu population of Cawnpore is 135,000, and the Muslim population 51,000. There are 23 Hindu, 10 Muslim and 3 European members of the Board. As the Chairman is a Hindu, the number of Hindu members is 24. Hindus were entitled only to 17 seats on the board, if we take only population into account, but they have an increase of 7 seats, through special constituencies and other methods. Except the Tax Superintendent, all the officers of the Board are Hindus. Altogether Rs. 4,424 is spent on their salaries. There are 454 Hindu clerks and others, holding the best appointments and drawing altogether Rs. 19,957 per month in salaries. With the exception of 4 Muslim clerks, Muslims occupy the lowest rung of the service ladder, and draw only Rs. 3,700 per month in salaries. The number of Muslim teachers is 26 and they draw only Rs. 625 in salaries. While the number of Hindu teachers is 210, and they draw Rs. 5,752 in pay. Though there are 20 Muslim contractors whose names are on the register, against 85 Hindu contractors, only two or three Muslim contractors get decent contracts. Muslim institutions for charity, libraries, etc., received a grant of Rs. 565, while Hindu institutions are granted Rs. 3,055 per month. While Hindu colleges and other institutions have been given grants to the tune of Rs. 1½ lakhs at various periods in recent times, it was only after great difficulty that a sum of Rs. 7,500 was sanctioned for the local Islamia High School. Severe restrictions are imposed upon the sale of meat, and Muslim mohallas contain few shops where beef can be purchased. More irritating restrictions are imposed upon Muslims who wish to purchase meat. In the office, the proceedings of the Board used to be conducted in English and Urdu. But after the election of a Hindu Chairman, nearly all the work of the municipal board is done in Hindi. Though the Board has actually passed the following resolution, on the motion of a Muslim member, there is reason to believe that it is followed more in the breach, than in the observance.

Copy of resolution No. 197, dated 31st March, 1926, passed by the Municipal Board, Cawnpore.

197. Notice of Pandit Raghubar Dayal Vaid to move the following resolution :—

(1) Complete agenda of the Board and other committees including proceedings, Government letters, audit notes and other papers which are circulated with the agenda be sent to members in Hindi language to Hindi-knowing members and printed in Hindi type.

(2) Cattle pound registers, and statements of income and expenditure, connected vouchers, house tax receipts, notices to be served on the Hindu public, replies to letters and numbering of ekkas, tongas, etc., should all be in Hindi language.

(3) Birth and death register and receipts, Terminal Tax registers and receipts, Burning Ghat receipts, voting papers and envelopes be printed and issued in Hindi.

(4) Orders on building plans, forms of building plans, nazul and contract forms, etc., with which public may be concerned, be printed in Hindi.

(5) In addition to this the Chairman may from time to time encourage the use of Hindi language as he may think necessary.

(6) The Chairmen desiring to write proceedings in Hindi may do so.

Pandit Raghubar Dayal Vaid moved the above resolutions which were seconded by Pandit Manni Lal Avasthi and further supported by L. Ram Kumar. We may add that these members are Hindus.

M. Hazir Ali, the Muslim member of the Board, moved the following amendments to the above *seriatim* :—

(1) As the agenda for the meetings of Board and Committees is sent to English, Hindi and Urdu-knowing members in English, Hindi and Urdu languages respectively, and all proceedings of the Board and Committees are published in the Municipal Gazette in Urdu and Hindi, and the members themselves know all the proceedings of Committees, it is, under the circumstances, rather a waste to print the agenda in Hindi. It is therefore resolved that no change is necessary in the practice already in vogue.

(2) Cattle pound registers, statements of income and expenditure receipts relating to cattle pounds and house tax, notices, etc., be printed both in Hindi and Urdu together, and replies to Hindi and Urdu-knowing persons be sent in Hindi and Urdu respectively, and the number plates for ekkas and tongas and thelas be given in all the three languages, *viz.*, English, Urdu, and Hindi.

(3) Birth and death registers, terminal tax registers and receipts as well as receipts relating to burning ghat and grave-yard be printed in both Hindi and Urdu together. Envelopes be also printed in English. English, Urdu, and Hindi envelopes be sent to English Urdu and Hindi-knowing men respectively, and the voting paper be also printed in Hindi and Urdu, as in English, so that Hindustani members may be supplied with a voting paper in the Hindustani language.

(4) The words "and Urdu" be added after the word "Hindi" in the resolution.

(5) Municipal Board is a joint body. Hindi language being a language of a particular community cannot be introduced in general.

(6) It rests with the Chairman of the Board and sub-committees to write proceedings in any language in which it may be convenient to him and the office.

After much discussion in which Messrs. K. S. Bashiruddin Ahmad, Dwarka Prasad Singh, Narain Prasad Arora, Sheonandan Misra, and Girjanandan took part, the mover withdrew parts 5 and 6, and on the motion of Dr. Jawahar Lal it was resolved unanimously that Part 1 of Pandit Raghubar Dayal's resolution be adopted by 17 votes against 4, and that parts (2) (3) and (4) of M. Hazir Ali's amendment be accepted.

In most of the municipal schools, there is lack of suitable arrangements for the education of Muslim boys. An overwhelming number of teachers are Hindus, who do not know, and cannot, and really do not want to, teach Urdu. In the text books, Hindu Dharma is highly praised, and Hindus are glorified. Hindu culture and Hindu civilization are inculcated in the tender minds of young Muslims. The Municipal Board is as liberal in its permission to the Hindus to build temples, as it is niggardly and severe upon those Muslims who wish to build mosques. Parks are named after Hindu heroes, whose chief merit lay in their deadly hatred of Islam. In Hindu streets and Hindu localities, good arrangements are made for cleaning, lighting and watering, while Muslim quarters are either neglected, or accorded a step-motherly treatment. Muslim members have protested against the cavalier treatment meted out to them by the chairman of the Board and appealed to the Government for help.

We may summarise the account of the Cawnpore Municipal Board—

119	Muslim employees of the Board drawing	Rs. 3,700	per mensem
496	Hindu employees	,, 19,957	,,
26	Muslim teachers	,, 625	,,
210	Hindu ,,	,, 5,752	,,
20	(Nominal) Muslim contractors.		
80	Hindu contractors.		

Kashipur Municipal Board, District Naini Tal.—We give below a report on the policy of the Kashipur Municipal Board:

Municipal Board, Kashipur, Nainital District.

1. Although the *Mohamedans* constitute about *one-half* of the total population of Kashipur, *cow slaughter* is *absolutely prohibited* at Kashipur even on the occasion of the Bakr-Id. Beef can only be brought from Thakurdwara, a place in the Moradabad District, at a distance of no less than seven miles from Kashipur. There is the Dhela river between Thakurdwara and Kashipur, which is absolutely impassable during the rainy season. The result is that a legitimate, reasonable, moral, and religious right of the Muslims is violated.

2. *Urdu* is so despised that no application in Urdu is accepted in the Municipality. Such *applications* are *refused.* The office language is Hindi.

3. *Hindi* is *compulsory in* the Municipal *schools* for Muslim students, excepting the Islamia Schools.

4. Approximately *two thousand rupees* are spent *monthly* by the Municipal Board *in* the *salaries.* There is *no permanent Municipal Muslim employee* in the lighting, the plague duties, the male and female hospital, the office, the vaccination, the sanitation, the tax, and the toll departments, *except one* pound Moharrir (who gets only Rs. 15 per month) and *two* Jamadars. According to the ratio of Muslims to Hindus at Kashipur the number of Muslim and Hindu employees ought to have been half and half in every department.

5. There is one Attendance Officer (who gets Rs. 50 per month) and *17* teachers. Only *two* teachers are Mohamedan.

6. No list of contractors is kept in the office of the Municipal Board. The *contracts* are *invariably* given *to Hindus;* because the Hindus are in a majority in the Board and they little care for Muslim rights.

7. *Seven Day Schools* are maintained or aided by the Municipal Board out of which *only one* is *Islamia* School (this is aided by the Board). The Islamia School gets an aid of only 18 rupees per month although it has no less than 150 students.

General Remarks.

Almost all the *quarters mainly inhabited by the Hindus* have *Pucca roads and drains,* while *those* inhabited mainly *by the Muslims* have *Kachcha roads* aed have *no drains,* so much so that they are impassable during the rains. The *money* set apart *for* the *improvement and construction* of roads and drains is *spent over the roads and drains in the Hindu quarters.* The Muslims are in a minority on the body of the Municipal Board and, therefore, they are deprived of their legitimate rights.

No Middle School is maintained by the Municipal Board. The *Muslim students* after passing the Primary Schools have to go to the *District Board Middle School,* where only *5 % of the teachers are Muslims.* They *are hooted and ill-treated* there with the *result* that they are *obliged to leave* the school.

Four Muslim and *six Hindu members* are *elected* to the Municipal Board and *two* are *nominated. These two are also Hindus,* although the Government should have sympathised with the Muslim minority.

Amroha Municipal Board, District Moradabad.

We are of the opinion that a Muslim should be nominated in this Board to represent Muslim backward classes. There is a vigorous and enterprising association of backward classes, headed by an enlightened gentleman. We think that at the time of nomination to local bodies, Muslim backward classes should also be nominated in all important boards—whether municipal, or district.

Ujhani Municipal Board, District Budaun.

The slaughter house is situated in a grave-yard, where bones, etc., are collected. This is most unhealthy. No place is fixed for the sale of meat, and it is generally sold in private houses. The administration is virtually Hinduised, as there are only 3 Muslim employees against 28 Hindu officers of the board. In the local English School, too, there is only one Muslim teacher occupying a low position, against 11 Hindu teachers. In the Urdu Branch School there is only one Muslim, against 3 Hindu teachers. The Board gives liberal grants-in-aid to Hindu Pathshalas, and does not maintain a single Islamia school or give grant to any Muslim institution. Hindu streets and roads are well lighted and Muslim localities are uncared for.

Town Area Ramnagar, District Naini Tal.

As there is joint electorate in this area, only Hindus are elected; again, the nominated members are also Hindus. Muslims are either not taxed at all, so that they may not be eligible for voting, or if the circumstance tax is levied, it is so excessive as to be absolutely crushing. This area supplies a classical example of the working of joint electorate. Muslim rights are systematically ignored; Muslim sentiments disregarded, and Muslim children deprived of education in their own tongue. *Jhatka* meat is sold, though Muslims were for a long time prohibited from slaughtering cattle. Muslims find it difficult to secure land for the construction and repair of their mosques, while Hindus are encouraged. No application in Urdu is received in the office. Muslim students here number only 12, and they are compelled to learn Hindi. The office is practically Hinduised.

Hamirpur.

In all places, all kinds of obstacles are placed in the performance of ordinary rights of citizenship. In this district, places like Maudaha, Mahoba, Panwari, etc., contain a large number of Muslims, who generally eat beef. In Panwari the Burma meat trade was carried on for a comparatively long time, and though the Hindu district board had prohibited it, the prohibition had been concelled by the District Magistrate. The new district board passed the same resolution, and though the Commissioner repeatedly urged the Board to reconsider its decision, the Hindu majority stuck to its guns, and violated one of the most elementary rights of Muslims. Before this period a brisk and lucrative trade was carried on in Rath, Mahoba and Maudaha. Now the whole countryside contains a plethora of Hindu officials, who connive at the prohibition of cow-slaughter. Every attempt is being made to blot out Urdu language and literature. Practically all teachers know only Hindi. Muslim boys are advised not to read Urdu and they are instructed to offer their prayers in Hindi. In all offices, Hindi holds sway. School registers are printed in Hindi. The text-books are mostly in Hindi. All old Muslim contractors have been weeded out, and Hindus replaced. The Muhamedan Education Committee is rarely consulted, and is practically defunct.

Little money is granted for Islamia schools.

Town Area Jaspur, District Naini Tal.—We give below a brief account of the working of Town Area Jaspur, District Naini Tal.

Town Area Jaspur, Tahsil Kashipur, District Nainital.

1. Slaughter of cows is absolutely prohibited here. It is not allowed even on the day of Bakr-Id. Beef comes from outside. The most convenient ways by which beef used to be brought have recently been closed for it. Now it can be brought only by one circuitous and inconvenient way.

2. The policy of the board is to uproot the Urdu language. Almost all the teachers of schools maintained or aided by the Board are Hindus and they are ignorant and contemptuous of Urdu. The treatment meted out to Muslim students is most unsympathetic and, consequently, they have to abandon their studies.

3. The office language is Hindi. Hindi is a compulsory subject in all the schools maintained or aided by the District Board, with the solitary exception of the Muslim school.

4. *Mohamedans are more than half of the total population of Jaspur.* Yet the number of Mohamedans employed in the *Jaspur Town Area is nil.*

5. Excepting the Muslim school, there is only one *Mohamedan teacher out of a total of eleven.*

6. The names of Mohamedan contractors on the list of the District Board are merely nominal. The Hindus being in a majority in the District Board—both among the members and the employees—the contracts are invariably given to Hindus.

7. One Muslim and three Hindu schools are aided by the Board. The schools managed by the Hindus have only a very few Muslim students, for they are discouraged and badly treated by Hindus.

The crying need of the day is the encouragement of Muslim education and the granting of facilities for the slaughter of cows.

There is no District Board building for the education of Muslim students, although there are 103 students in the Muslim school, while considerable sums are spent by the Board over the construction of buildings for the schools managed by the Hindus and in which Hindu students are educated,—*e.g.*, Rs. 8,000 for the Girls' School building, and about Rs. 50,000 over the Middle School buildings.*

The Sub-Divisional Officer of Kashipur (a Hindu) is the President of the Town Area. *There is joint-electorate in the Town Area. We badly want, and strongly support, separate electorate in the Town Area.*

Municipal Board, Lucknow.

A close study of the working of this Board will reveal at a glance the consistent and persistent efforts of the Hindu community. After the riots which disgraced the fair name of this beautiful city, after an excitement that was unprecedented in the modern annals of Lucknow, the Hindu Sabha organised elections to the municipal board. The Hindu members

* The path leading to the Idgah is closed by the Hindu zamindars; only a footpath—about a foot wide—is left for the passage, which is almost impassable during the rainy-season.

were followers of the Sabha, and they set about carrying its resolutions into effect ; the Muslim Chairman had absolutely no chance of election, and Hindus elected their own chairman. Since the advent of this party to power, Muslim citizens have been subjected to a species of tyranny which has rarely been paralleled in this province. The minutest and most insignificant items are raised to the dignity of communal quarrels ; Hindus pack the committees, monopolise the important posts, and oppose the most reasonable as well as the most moderate demands of the Muslim members. We cannot detail all their actions, or discuss their policy fully, as this would require a volume. We content ourselves with giving a brief account of a controversy that has stirred every Muslim in these provinces, and throws a flood of light on the policy and method of our brethren.

The Lucknow Milad Sharif Quarrel.

In 1908 the Gulab Bari (Rose Garden) situated at the back of the eastern row of shops of the old Aminabad Bazar together with the shops was acquired under the land Acquisition Act for laying out the Aminabad Park, the whole of the land so acquired having belonged to the heirs of Nawab Aminuddaulah or their assignees, all of whom were Mussalmans.

Later on in the same year, land to the further east of the land so acquired situated between the latter and the Touche Road was also similarly acquired for the Aminabad Park scheme, as before its layout was prepared a larger scheme for the park was considered desirable.

The land subsequently acquired contained mostly houses *katcha* as well as *pakka* and included the sites of the well and the temple now found in the south-eastern corner of the Aminabad Park, and the Municipality paid full compensation for all of these and took over possession of the whole after the completion of land acquisition proceedings.

The acquisition map of the subsequently acquired land now included in the park to be found on the Aminabad Park Lay-out File of the Lucknow Municipality gives the settlement numbers of the land included in it, but contains no mark of any temple therein. The numbers given to the sites of the well, temple and grounds attached thereto, as they are now found at the south-east corner of the Park Lawn, appear from the last settlement Khasra of 1866 to consist only of certain houses, nor is there any record of any sanction being ever obtained for erecting a temple on the site.

In the first plan of the Aminabad Park site prepared by the Municipal Board after the said acquisition in 1908, the well near the present temple is indicated, and at a distance of several feet from it a house is shown, but no temple or any other construction is shown to exist in the intervening space at the time.

The first lay-out plan of the Aminabad Park prepared by the Municipality after clearing the site in 1908 shows the said well and a small circle at the site of the present temple at a distance of several feet from the well to the south of it, as coming within the proposed road-way to the south of the Park lawn, just in front of the southern row of the shops, and therefore obviously intended to be removed and covered up by the road-way.

In the earlier stages of the Park scheme it was resolved to build a temple, right in the middle of the Park lawn, where the clock tower at present stands, and work thereon was immediately taken in hand. Such a strong protest was however raised against this that further construction of the temple was stopped, and the Chabutra built for it was allowed to remain and was afterwards utilised for the present clock tower. At the same time on 9th January, 1908, a revised plan of the proposed park was approved by the Park Sub-committee, whereby the line of sites for shops on the south was moved back so as to leave a clear road-way of 25 feet between " the existing shiwala " and the proposed shops on that side.

In 1909 the sites for shops in the Aminabad Park were sold, and a considerable majority of them were purchased by Mussalmans and up to this day, the majority of the shops are held by Mussalmans.

On 18th May, 1910, the Park Sub-committee of the Board resolved that " the temple and Pujaris' residence in the south-east corner of the Park be excluded from the park lawn area." Although the resolution never received the sanction of the Board, a good portion of the Park has been used as an appurtenance to " the temple and Pujaris' residence" and kept separate along with these, from the Municipal park to which they all appertained, without objection on the part of the Mussalmans. Similarly without objection on the part of the Hindus the Mussalman shopkeepers and frequenters of the Park have been used to say their evening prayers including Tarawih prayers in the month of Ramzan, and to hold Milad Sharif (Birthday Anniversary of the Prophet) once a year, to which even Christians and Hindus are invited. As the latter is held in a pandal specially erected for the purpose and properly decorated and illuminated, the written permission of the Chairman of the Board has always been annually obtained for it, though no express permission was required for the prayers. Both Hindus and Mussalmans went along peacefully with their respective religious observances in the Aminabad Park until 1924, when a dispute suddenly arose between them.

In September, 1924, the Mussalmans had cause to complain that music from the temple was so timed and tuned as to disturb the evening prayers contrary to the old practice. This disturbance was removed by magisterial action under Section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, which was resented by some Hindus who got the *Arti* to be stopped at the temple as a protest. Thereupon some Hindus claimed that the evening prayers were contrary to Municipal bye-laws and should be countermanded by the Municipality. The old Municipal Board, however, did not agree to take action in this behalf. Under an amicable arrangement subsequently arrived at between representative Hindus and Mussalmans under the guidance of Mr. Gwynne, Deputy Commissioner, the evening prayers have continued with a safeguard provided against their disturbance by music from the temple. Magisterial action was also several times taken to prevent attempted disturbance of the evening prayers at the Park by religious processions whose timing was controlled so as not to clash with the prayer time. This action was also resented by mischief-mongers, who excited Hindu feeling against the prayers in the Park. The result of the above was that during

the course of the general Municipal elections of November, 1925, the local Hindu Sabha raised a cry against the old Hindu members of the Board for failure to countermand Muslim prayers in the Aminabad Park, and the Hindu Sabha candidates mostly succeeded in securing election to the Municipal Board on the understanding that they would endeavour to stop the prayers in the Park. For a long time after the election, however, better counsels prevailed and Hindu members did not actually make any attempt in this direction.

In March, 1927, the later evening prayers of Mussalman shop-keepers at which the Holy Koran is regularly recited for the congregation to listen during the month of Ramzan in the costomary form known as Tarawih, attracted the attention of certain Hindu Sabha members of the Board, and the question raised by them for countermanding the *Tarawih Namas* in the Aminabad Park was put down for the consideration of a meeting of the Board specially held on their requisition for this purpose, on the 1st April, 1927. There was a good deal of delay in commencing the requisition meeting which was called for at 8 A.M., on account of an ordinary meeting of the Board which commenced first and lasted till 10 A.M., and for this reason it was proposed by a Mussalman member that the discussion on the Tarawih question which was likely to take long should be postponed to another date, as there was no time to begin it on that day, on account of its being the last Friday of the Ramzan, for observing which all courts and offices had been closed, and as the month of Ramzan and Tarawih had practically come to an end, the question under discussion was of importance only for the next year. An earnest appeal was made to the Hindu members to let their Muslim colleagues go home to prepare for their Friday prayers. All the Mussalman members backed this proposal and appeal, but the Hindu members were opposed to the adjournment motion and it was negatived by their majority. The Muslim members thereupon walked out of the meeting in a body.

The result of this withdrawal of all the Muslim members in a body from the said meeting was rather peculiar. Instead of becoming more cautious in passing a resolution affecting the Mussalmans in the absence of Muslim members in the matter of *Tarawih* prayers which was the only question for the requisition meeting, the Hindu members seem to have made up their minds to take full advantage of the absence of the former and to propose and pass resolutions on other subjects, and by the force of their majority in the Municipal Board to obtain what was apparently meant as a compensation for the supposed communal wrong inflicted on the Hindus by the aforesaid magisterial action taken to prevent the disturbance of the evening prayers in the Park. They did not even stop to think how unconstitutional and questionable their procedure might be. This is obvious from the fact that after all the Muslim members had left, a resolution was moved and unanimously passed by the remaining Hindu members for a dual purpose, which was different from that of the *Tarawih Namas* for which alone the meeting had been specially requisitioned *viz.* (1) The question of the ordinary evening prayers in Aminabad Park for which a special committee was formed to make a

report, and (2) the question of the discretion of the Chairman of the Board in permitting the use of the Aminabad Park for religious purposes, a discretion which is vested in him under the bye-laws framed under the Municipalities Act with the sanction of the Commissioner, and which the resolution was designed to take away from the Chairman, in order to prevent the grant of such permission. This resolution purported to be based on " the fact that Aminabad Park has become a centre of communal quarrels " and on the desire " to avoid trouble in future," ignoring that of the three Muslim religious observances which took place in the Park as explained above the Tarawih and the Milad had never actually caused any quarrel or trouble in the past, and that so far as the evening prayers were concerned such quarrel or trouble as had arisen was only due to the attempt to disturb an old practice, and the amicable arrangement between representative Hindus and Mussalmans mentioned above had for more than two years avoided all causes of friction. It also ignored the fact that while Aminabad Park was sought to be closed for Muslim religious meetings, it was kept practically open for Hindu religious meetings, by the continued treatment of a part of it as excluded from the Park lawn area, under the Park Sub-committee resolution of 1910 specified above.

No action was, however, taken to alter or amend the bye-laws of the Board in accordance with the requirements of the law, so as to give effect to the said resolution, whose validity is obviously open to doubt, particularly having regard to the circumstances in which it was passed, at a requisition meeting called for a different purpose. The Muslim members did not consider it right themselves to challenge the powerful majority of their Hindu colleagues by calling the resolution into question until an attempt was made to put it into force, lest it should be placed on a firmer ground by the force of their majority. When the time for the next annual Milad Sharif however arrived, an application on behalf of the Milad committee of the Mussalman shopkeepers of Aminabad Park was formally made to the Chairman of the Board according to the practice of the past years, for sanction to erect the necessary pandal for the Milad meeting upon the usual terms.

The Chairman thereupon convened a special meeting to consider the application. At this meeting held on the 3rd of September last, the Chairman read a note and made various verbal observations during the course of the discussions, from which it was evident that but for the aforesaid resolution of the 1st of April, 1927, he saw no reason for withholding the sanction that had been given by himself in 1926, and appeared to have been given by his predecessors year after year in the past. He also made it clear that the said resolution if it meant to modify the bye-laws and restrain the discretion of the Chairman in the matter of the grant of the sanction was *ultra vires*, as the bye-laws could only be altered in the special manner provided by the Municipalities Act. At the same time the Chairman expressed his own feeling that however irregular or illegal the resolution might be, his duty as an elected Chairman was not to ignore it, and that without reference to the Board he should not grant the sanction, though legally he regarded himself as fully authorised to do

so. For this reason rather than decide upon the application for sanction himself, he left it for decision by the Municipal Board. Votes were therefore called for, and the 11 Mussalman members present voted for its grant, while all the 11 Hindu members present voted against the grant. The Chairman had thus to decide it by his own casting vote. Strange to tell, he did not act upon his own personal judgment, which had been plainly expressed to be in favour of the application, but tossed up a coin, in a manner unseen by other members, after asking the members not to observe his action, and then declared that his casting vote was against the grant of the application and that the application was refused.

All the eleven elected Mussalman members of the Board thereupon tendered their resignation as a protest, believing that the policy on which the Board had embarked with the vident approval of the Chairman presaged the stopping of Muslim religious functions in public places, and an increased intolerance in future, by more frequent use of the mere force of the Hindu majority, making it practically impossible for the Muslim members to protect the interest of their community.

Before the resignation was handed over to the Chairman of the Board for submission to the Commissioner, a strong committee of seven representative Mussalmans of Lucknow consisting of the two elected Muslim M.L.C.'s residing in Lucknow, *viz.*, Chaudri Niamatullah, and Raja of Saleempur, Ehtisham Ali Saheb, and Mr. E. R. Kidwai, President, and Honorary Secretary of the U. P. Muslim League respectively, Khan Bahadur Maulvi Mehdi Hasan and Mirza Abid Husain, B.A., LL.B., the Honorary Secretaries of the Shia Conference and Shia College respectively, and Hakim Wazir Hasan, a Vice-President of the local Anjuman Islahul Muslamin, was formed at a public meeting of the Mussalmans of Lucknow, to wait in a deputation on the Deputy Commissioner and Commissioner of Lucknow. This deputation committee endeavoured, though in vain, to get the officers of the Government to realise the gravity of the situation, and to take such action as they thought fit to find a solution of it. It continued to function for a considerable time, advising the Muslim ex-members of the Board and trying to find a solution, by negotiation either with the officers of the Government or with the Chairman of the Board, but although Muslim members even sought election to the Board at the bye-election held in consequence of their resignation and resigned again, after waiting for some time after their unopposed re-election, to see if their Hindu colleagues made any advance or showed any disposition to come to a settlement, the same action was repeated again, to make it clear beyond all doubt that their first resignation under protest was fully endorsed by the Mussalmans of Lucknow who form 40% of its population. The deputation committee has so far failed in all its attempts, for want of any such advance or disposition.

The object of these repeated resignations following unopposed re-elections was to awaken the officers of the Government as well as the Hindu citizens of Lucknow and their representatives on the Board, to a sense of the bitterness which the Mussalmans felt at the attitude of the latter. It was thought that when the latter realised the extent of that bitterness

either by themselves or through the influence of the officers of the Government, an attempt will be made to remove the causes of that bitterness and to bring about a reconciliation. The action taken by the Board on the last resignation of the Muslim members tendered in February last, seems however to show that the Hindu members of the Board do not at all care for the feelings of the Mussalmans and would be happier if the representatives of the latter continue to keep out of the Board. Far from seeking a reconciliation they have now asked the Government to permit them to bang the doors of their Board against Muslim members for good. In their resolution of the 12th March, they have decided to refer to the Government the desirability of holding no more bye-elections to fill the vacancies caused by the last resignation of the eleven Muslim members, on the ground that they have resigned thrice. This is so obviously contrary to the rules on the subject that Governmant is not likely to accede to their wishes and to permit them to abuse their powers and to contravene the law, but it fully discloses the mentality of the Hindu members of the Board and their contemptuous disregard of Muslim feelings in a matter in respect of which they feel that they are dominant, on account of their communal majority in the Board. How long is such abuse of the communal majority to be allowed to continue? Is nothing to be done to put an end to it? Will Muslims be compelled to emigrate to Islamic countries?

Lucknow District Board.

The Lucknow district contains a large number of small towns, like Kakori, Amethi, Nighasan, Bijnor, Mahena, Jugore and Malihabad, where there are a large number of Muslim gentry. Yet, in the District Board the process of Hinduisation has been persistently and consistently continued. During the regime of the official chairman, there were 3 Muslim headmasters out of 8 head-masters of middle schools. All the Muslim headmasters except one have been dismissed. Except in the middle school at Kakori, all the headmasters of such schools are Hindus. They have no sympathy with Muslim children and care little for Muslim sentiments. Owing to the lack of Muslim teachers, Muslim boys find it difficult to gain admission to schools. In the primary schools, there are 89 Hindu and 29 Muslim headmasters, while among the assistants, there are 243 Hindu and only 67 Muslim teachers. The District Board refuses to grant adequate amount for Islamia Schools. They have consequently remained stationary. Again, a very small number of Muslims are taken for training as teachers. The Hindu Mahasabha passed a resolution that Hindus should not take part in any Muslim festival, hence a number of Hindu headmasters, who are imbued with the tenets of the Arya Samaj, did not close their schools during the Muharram. Muslim students were either marked absent, or given holidays. In either case their education suffered. The board employs 3 Vaids and 2 Hakims. Last year 1 Hakim died. He was replaced by an unqualified Hindu. On the District Board roads, a small mound is made at various places with the image of Mahadeo on it. This is gradually converted into a Hindu temple, in spite of the protests of the public.

Lakhimpur District Board.

The Chairman, Secretary, Engineer, Overseer, Head Clerk, and Deputy Inspector of Schools are Hindus. The total number of teachers is 390, out of whom 68 are Muslims. There are four Engineers and Overseers, and all of them are Hindus. There is no Muslim contractor. The Board pursues the typical Hindu "Nationalist" policy.

Azamgarh.

The report of the Muslims of Azamgarh states:—"Shuddhi and Sangathan have at last assumed a phase which leaves the Muslims of this district only two courses, either to get converted to Hinduism, or to leave India, and emigrate to some other country." This hopeless feeling is reflected in the accounts of all the local bodies of this district. Last year, the Hindu nationalists resolved that no cows that are auctioned for want of an owner should be sold to butchers. This was objected to by the Muslim members, but the Hindu majority got its way. The Muslim members walked out of the meeting and sent in their resignations. This resolution was disallowed by the Commissioner. It is not necessary to discuss other acts of the Board. They are characterised by tendencies that generally operate throughout this province.

District Board, Hardoi.

Every attempt is being made to blot out the Urdu language. The District *Gazette* is published in Hindi; the agenda is also published in Hindi; Muslim boys are generally taught in Hindi, and the number of Muslim Schools is ridiculously small when compared with the Hindu Pathsalas. Of the total number of 193 primary schools, only 16 are Islamia Schools, 12 schools for depressed classes, and the rest 169 ordinary schools, which Muslim boys cannot attend, as they contain few Muslim teachers, and are dominated by the cult of Hindu supremacy. The secretary, engineer, head clerk, health officer, etc., are Hindus. Indeed, the Board is properly and thoroughly Hinduised, and only a few Muslims in mean and low offices are appointed as a camouflage. Muslims occupy low positions in the schools as well, and there is only one Muslim headmaster of middle grade school against 5 Hindu headmasters. There are altogether 80 Muslim teachers against 315 Hindu teachers.

District Board, Moradabad.

The Board has assumed supervision over all slaughter houses, and various obstacles are thrown in the way of persons desirous of procuring licenses. They are subjected to all sorts of worries, and have to dance attendance on various officials before their request is granted. Some Sub-Deputy Inspectors of Schools give preference to the Hindi language, with the result that the Muslim boys avoid such institutions and their education suffers. The number of Muslim employees in the offices of the board is only 4 and their pay is merely Rs. 119 per mensem; the number of Hindu employees is 33, with the total pay of Rs. 1,407 per mensem. In the tax assessment office, the number of Hindu employees is 26, and they draw a salary of Rs. 592 per mensem, while the number of Muslim

employees is only 6, and their pay is Rs. 104 per mensem. In schools of various grades, the number of Islamia schools and Muslim teachers is small.

District Board, Naini Tal.

This is the summer capital of the government. Yet Muslim rights are not safeguarded. The Muslim constituencies of the board are badly arranged, for though nine seats are reserved for them out of 31 elected seats; five out of the nine go practically unrepresented, the reason being that one Muslim constituency has only two voters, the other 10, and the third only 13. Hence Muslim representation is very uneven, and consequently ineffective; we recommend that Muslim constituencies should be reorganised on a rational basis. All the posts in the District Board are monopolised by non-Muslims, and only one Muslim has, after great difficulty, been appointed as a clerk in the office.

In this Board, the number of Muslim teachers is very small indeed. The ratio of Muslim teachers in the Board to Hindu teachers is only 5 per cent. This is scandalously low. We strongly recommend the abolition of joint electorate at Haldwani and Ramnagar Notified Areas. Our experience of the working of mixed electorate has convinced us of the absolute necessity of separate electorates. Haldwani contains a Muslim population whose ratio to non-Muslim population is 55 per cent; and the Hindus tried to convert our majority into a minority, and included Kathgodam and Ranibagh, places 4 or 5 miles distant from Haldwani, in the Notified Area. The result of it is that out of the total number of 7 members, only 2 are Muslims. We strongly recommend the appointment of a Muslim Sub-Deputy Inspector of Schools in the three districts of Kumaun, and a Muslim Deputy Inspector of Schools for the division.

The policy of the Board is essentially the same—the policy of rapid, complete, systematic and deliberate Hinduisation, which is dictated to it by the Hindu Mahasabha. Even in those villages where Muslims have a majority, Muslims are not allowed to slaughter cows. In all offices Hindi is used. No application written in Urdu can be presented at any office of the Board. This is most inconvenient, and harassing to the Muslims of the district. Muslim students are compelled to learn Hindi. No trained teacher who does not know Hindi can get employment here. All the important offices are monopolised by the Hindus, and Muslims have no chance. The names of Muslim contractors are entered for formality's sake, and nearly all the contracts are given to Hindus. Hindu villages are plentifully supplied with well-equipped schools, while Muslim villages are systematically neglected. In village *Dhunde Wala*, pargana Kashipur, District Naini Tal, which contains 2,500 Muslims, out of the total population of 3,000, there is only a small school staffed by two Arya Samajists, whose virulence against Islam is well known. Muslims have complained again and again, but the Hindu majority is deaf to their appeals. If this is the state of affairs in the summer capital of the government, if Muslims are subjected to a species of tyranny which reminds one of the slow but sure methods employed by the Germans against the Poles,

the Hungarians against the Slovaks, and the Spanish Dominicans against "heretics," and "infidels," is it any wonder that the Muslim minority, which is, and has always been, noted for its high, noble and courageous spirit, its remarkable power of administration and organisation, its innate capacity for religious and racial toleration, and its democratic instincts, tempered by a disposition that is as conciliatory as it is strong, is desirous of adequate, substantial and effective safeguards in the domain of local self-government? The wonder is that it has not risen into open revolt, but borne patiently and resignedly all the insults to which it has lately been subjected. ... ...

District Board, Bulandshahr.

The number of Muslim employees in the office of the Board is scandalously small. Though the District Board spends one lakh 86 thousand rupees on education, on Islamia schools only Rs. 6,500 per annum is spent. The roads are in a frightful condition, and are absolutely dangerous.

Municipal Board and District Board, Gonda.

The number of Hindu employees occupying responsible position is 21, while that of Muslim employees is only 5. Almost all posts are held by Hindus with the exception of 3 jamadars, one octroi clerk and one lighting clerk. These Muslims have been employed since the time of the official Chairman, otherwise no Muslim would have had a chance in the new regime. Nine scholarships are given for education, and all of them are given to Hindus. All thekas (contracts) are given to Hindus.

District Board, Bijnor.

1. Innumerable obstacles were put in the bye-laws framed by the District Board concerning the slaughter houses, but the Government did not sanction them.

2. The previous Board proposed several resolutions for the advancement of Hindi, but almost all of them were rejected. One of the members refused to accept the agenda generally prepared in Urdu on the plea that he did not know Urdu, though he was a graduate and a High Court vakil.

The present Board has opened several Dharmak Pathshalas at different places for the advancement of Hindi, and grants are freely given to them. Nagri is being taught to the depressed classes, and teachers from among Hindus or depressed classes are appointed to teach them.

3. The census of this district is 740,182, out of which 389,643 are males. Among the males 242,444 are Hindus, and 137,488 are Muslims, the rest are Christians and others. There are 15 officials in the office of the District Board, Bijnor, out of whom *one only is a Muslim* on account of the percentage of our population, we should get at least one-third of all posts. There are 4 Sub-overseers—all Hindus and no Mohamedan.

(5) The total number of teachers in the Primary schools is 438.

Head teachers				Assistant teachers		
Muslims—33	...	...	...	57	=	90
Hindus —83	...	...	...	265	=	$\frac{348}{438}$

E.g. :—The teaching staff of the district contains 90 Muslims and 348 Hindus, though even the population proportion requires 146 to be Muslims and 292 to be Hindus.

Note.—The Moslem teachers of the Islamia Schools are included in the above number.

In schools teaching up to Middle Anglo-verncular classes, there are 76 teachers.

	Head teachers		Assistant teachers	
Hindus	10	... ...	45	= 55
Muslims	2	... ...	19	= $\frac{21}{76}$

E.g. :—There are only 21 Muslim teachers out of 76.

There are 50 aided schools for children in this district. Out of these 31 are Dharmak, to which a grant of Rs. 377 is given per month. The rest 19 are combined schools in which the course of studies is that of primary schools. In these 19 schools there are 4 Muslim teachers in 4 schools, and in the rest 15 there are Hindu teachers only. There are 17 girl schools, out of which 5 are meant for Muslim girls.

A grant of Rs. 397 per month is given to 40 Islamia Maktabs.

Note :—The number of Hindu and Mohammadan employees is given below in a tabular form.

One teacher for Hindi has been engaged for every middle school, and Hindi has been made compulsory as a second language. Muslim boys are compelled to learn Hindi upto the 4th class.

Kind of School.	No.	Grade of pay.	Total.	Muslims.	Hindus.
Middle Schools ...	12	60/-	5	1	4
		50/-	5	1	4
		40/-	2	...	2
		35/-	12	2	10
		30/-	31	10	21
		25/-	21	7	14
	Total ...		76	21	55
Upper Primary Schools.	115	30/-	23	6	17
		25/-	34	10	24
		22/-	58	16	42
		20/-	57	7	50
		19/-	148	23	125
		17/-	87	20	67
		14/-	29	7	22
	Total ...		436	89	347
	Grand Total		512	110	402

DISTRICT BOARD OFFICE.

Employees.	No.	Muslims.	Hindus.
Clerks	16	1	15
Chaprasi	4	2	2
Daftri	1	...	1
Total ...	21	3	18
Head Teachers, Middle Schools	12	2	10
Head Teachers, Upper Primary Schools ...	115	32	83
Menial Officials of Schools	48	...	48
Islamia Schools ..		...	20
Upper Primary ...		...	7
Lower Primary ...		...	13
Islamia Maktabs ...		...	39
Pathshalas		...	16
Hindu Girl Schools ...		...	19
Depressed Class Schools		...	7

The ratio of population in the district is 40 Muslims : 60 Hindus.

6. There are 152 thekadars (contractors) in this district; out of whom 50 are Hindus, who have been registered as such in the time of non-official Board with the Hindu chairman and the majority.

The Board has made no arrangement for the advancement or protection of the Urdu language. As the majority of the teachers are Hindu, the Hindi language has been greatly advanced, and Urdu is in the background and has greatly decreased during the last five years. In several of the schools, the entry in registers and other correspondence is done in Hindi and the Board takes no notice of it. The Hindu members encourage Hindi as much as they can and issue instructions to this effect to the teachers, so much so that in some schools Muslim boys are admitted in Hindi classes.

District Board, Sitapur.

Every attempt is being made to blot out Urdu language. Muslim children are forced to learn Hindi. The total pay drawn by Hindu employees of the Board is Rs. 750 per mensem, and Muslim employees draw only Rs. 55 per mensem. Before the reforms the number of Muslim contractors was quite large. Now there are only two Muslim contractors, who get little work. In middle schools, the number of Muslim teachers is 11, and of Hindu teachers 51. In primary schools, the number of Hindu teachers is 520, and of Muslim teachers 102. This is scandalously small, and thoroughly unsatisfactory.

Orai District Board.

Here, too, the number of Muslim employees and teachers is ridiculously low. There are only 39 Muslim teachers in schools of different grades against 426 Hindu teachers. The number of Muslim contractors is 9, against 50 Hindu contractors. Muslim contractors have not been given any contract for a long time. Indeed Muslims get little work from the Board. The administration and policy of the Board are, as usual, thoroughly Hinduised.

Municipal and District Boards, Saharanpur.

Number of Muslim students 5,179, non-Muslim students 12,103. Muslim teachers 104, Hindu teachers 226. There are 38 maktab and 28 Islamia primary and preparatory schools. In the year 1927-28, the district board spent Rs. 11,324 on Islamia schools. More money is urgently needed. All the important offices in the municipal and district boards are monopolised by the Hindus.

Municipal Board, Ballia.

In the Board, there are 6 Muslim and 25 non-Muslim employees. Hindus monopolise, as usual, all the important posts.

Contracts to the value of Rs. 5,347-8-3 were given in the year 1927-28 to Hindus. Not one Muslim contractor was given any contract. The pay drawn by the Muslim employees of the board is Rs. 60 per mensem,

while non-Muslim employees get Rs. 806-4-0 per mensem. Most of the grants-in-aid of education are given to Hindu schools and institutions and Muslim needs are ignored.

District Board, Partabgarh.

The number of Muslim contractors is 9, and the value of their contracts is Rs. 1,704; while that of Hindu contractors is 33, and they have contracts to the value of Rs. 24,209; only Rs. 4,560 is spent on Islamia schools and maktabs. That the administration is Hinduised will be clear from the fact that Hindus occupy 638 posts with a salary of Rs. 1,60,910, while Muslims are content with 141, most of which are mean and low, and draw in salaries only Rs. 36,164.

Municipal Board, Aligarh.

All the important posts are held by Hindus in the office of the municipal board, and all matters are decided by the majority community by the power and influence of their numbers. In district board, the number of Muslim contractors in 1925-26, 1926-27 and 1927-28 respectively was 6, 8, and 3, and the total value of contracts given to them was Rs. 23,527, Rs. 8,014, and Rs. 6,960. The corresponding figures for Hindus are—number of Hindu contractors 44, 34, and 40; value of contracts Rs. 1,52,630, Rs. 1,17,647 and Rs. 1,20,234. This shows the iniquitous treatment to which Muslims are subjected.

District Board, Ballia.

The number of contractors is 79, of which Muslims got contracts to the value of Rs. 2,850; and non-Muslims Rs. 52,851. The iniquity is glaring and palpable. This is not all. The number of Muslim teachers in mixed schools is 17, and of Hindu teachers it is 1,972. The number of Islamia schools is 33, and aided maktabs 36. Muslim students in mixed schools number 900, and non-Muslim students 28,414. The board does not spend a penny more than the amount earmarked by the Government for Islamia schools, etc. Owing to the lack of Muslim teachers, out of 1,972 Muslim students, nearly 500 Muslims are taught in Hindi. This is a state of affairs which ought to be remedied without further delay. The proportion of Muslims to non-Muslims in the administration of the Board is 1 : 13, and the total amount drawn by Muslim employees is Rs. 300; while that drawn by Hindu employees is Rs. 11,862. Though both Urdu and Hindi are used, yet as all officers are keen on the spread of Hindi, nearly all the proceedings and the entire work of the board are conducted in Hindi. The activities of this Board throw a lurid light on the mentality of the Hindu majority and the perversity of its outlook.

District Board, Shahjahanpur.

This board has nearly 15 middle schools; out of which only two schools contain Muslim headmasters.

Most of the contracts are given to Hindus, and Muslim contractors are avoided. The *theka* of Rajghat bridge is put up to auction. A Muslim bade for it. It was knocked down to a Hindu, who paid only Rs. 5 more, and who was excused part of the amount at the end of the year. This is an example of the methods employed by these boards. In the district board, the chairman and the vice-chairman are Hindus. Muslims tried to get a vice-chairman elected, but Hindus opposed it. To all important committees, few Muslims are elected. So hostile was the attitude of this board towards Muslims, that all Muslim members with the exception of one, tendered their resignations. All the important offices are properly Hinduised, and Muslims have no chance of appointment.

Review of the above facts. Their moral.

The review of the working of local bodies which we have given above is necessarily brief; we hope, however, the work and policy of typical district boards and municipal boards have been clearly brought out in the examples cited above. The list is by no means exhaustive, and we hope to supplement it by details of the working of other bodies. We may say that, generally, the administration of the bodies has been Hinduised; Hindi language is thrust on Muslim children, and every attempt is made to denationalise them and to cut them completely off from the main stream of Islamic life and thought. Our culture is despised, discouraged, and steadily opposed. Our civilisation is held up to ridicule; the greatest, noblest and truest heroes of our community, who built up this mighty land we call India, who imparted to it all the blessings of civilisation, and all the gifts of well-ordered, prosperous, and successful administration, are traduced, while those Hindus who rose into rebellion against our rulers, and sullied their hands with the blood of innocent women and children, are revered and even deified. The Hindus, feeling absolutely secure under the protecting care of British bayonets, use the Municipal and District Boards Act for the consolidation of their influence in the towns no less than in the country, to the fullest extent, and trample upon the rights of all minorities. In most of the district boards, deliberate and sustained efforts are made to throttle Urdu, to force Hindi on Muslim children, to Hinduise the administration, to drive out the Muslim contractors, and to establish virtually a Hindu Raj in the rural areas. The Muslims had welcomed the District Boards Act, as Islam is essentially a democratic religion, and our community genuinely desired the extension of reforms to our countryside. We confess we did not know the implications of the scheme. We admit that in the heyday of our enthusiasm for this reform, we forgot to insert provisions for the protection of our rights. Bitter experience of local bodies has taught us the absolute necessity of adequate and substantial safeguards for our community. Unless these are guaranteed to us in an Act of the British Parliament, we will never consent to any change in the constitution. These bodies alone touch rural and urban life at all points, and are invested with large and important powers. We insist on all local bodies being prohibited from interfering with the right of the Muslims to

representation in their administration, to primary education of their children in their cultural language, and to religious freedom. These safeguards should be fundamental, and nobody in India, whether it be a municipal or a district board, or a provincial or central legislature, should be allowed to touch them. Precisely the same safeguards are provided by some of the constitutions cited by us in our discussion of safeguards for minorities. The majority community has not yet developed that spirit of compromise, that capacity for give-and-take, that faculty of reconciling differences, which are of the essence of parlimentary government in every part of the world. It is torn up by numerous dissensions in its own ranks, and is united only on occasions when Muslim rights are attacked and Muslim culture is opposed. We demand that we should be represented in the administration of every local body, in proportion to the amount of our representation in that body. All these posts should be filled up by the Public Services Commission, after a competitive examination, in which seats are reserved for Muslim candidates.

The present system of Local Self-Government is purely of Western origin and not of indigenous growth. The ancient Hindu system of local Government, whatever may be its virtues, is unknown to the people of this age. It has got only a historical value, and does not appeal to the minds of the present generation.

We beg to offer our criticism in the hope that the present system be so improved as to afford equal opportunities and facilities to all communities that have a stake in these provinces.

The Mohamedans form only 14·28 p. c. of the population of these Provinces, but it cannot be denied that they have played a glorious part for centuries past in the material, social and cultural progress of these Provinces. A major portion of these Provinces is considered to be the heart of the Muslims of India. They were the rulers and the landed magnates of the country in the last century, and they still hold a prominent place in these Provinces. Their civic rights should be judged more on these considerations than on their numerical strength.

Both the District Boards and Municipal Boards constituted as they are at present are autonomous bodies. The Government through their agents, the Commissioner and the District Magistrate, exercise some control over their activities. It is in the interest of the public that these bodies should be efficient and free from undue interference on the part of the Government officials. But this ideal can only be achieved if these institutions are worked with a true democratic spirit. Unfortunately, in spite of the training that we have undergone in the sphere of local self-government, we have not created a true public opinion which would have been a real power behind these institutions. It has to be admitted as a bitter truth that even educated Indians, at times, when they have to deal with realities of life, exhibit a lack of responsibility and fair play. It is to be regretted that educated people generally speaking do not take so much interest in these bodies as they do in legislative bodies. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that they have not been as successful in their achievement as they ought to have been. No serious

attempt so far has been made to educate public opinion, and the result is that an average voter does not understand what his rights and duties are. We venture to submit that even many of the so-called representatives on these bodies do not fully realise the responsibility which they owe to the public. It is deplorable that owing to the apathy shown by educated people towards these institutions they in many cases have drifted into undesirable hands, and have become hotbeds of intrigue, and selfish propaganda. At present our electors are not quite intelligent, and in many cases are ignorant and illiterate. They easily become victims of all sorts of mischievous electioneering propaganda. They are taken to polling booths like innocent lambs, and made to cast their votes in the majority of cases under powerful influences, without for a moment judging the merits or demerits of a candidate.

Unless a radical change is made in the qualifications of a candidate, no real improvement can be expected for generations to come.

We venture to suggest that while property and other qualifications for a voter should remain as low as they are at present, the qualifications for membership should necessarily include educational qualifications of a certain standard. It is in the public interest that no one should be entrusted with civic duties who is not endowed with education and character. We hope that by making an improvement in the qualifications of membership we may be able to get better type of men to administer local affairs and thereby improve the working of these bodies.

The powers conferred upon municipal and district boards include many important items of nation-building programme, such as primary and industrial education, public health, etc. If we discharge our duties efficiently we shall thereby be proving our fitness to wield greater powers in the domain of provincial Government. We are anxiously looking forward to a time when our local bodies are purged of their existing evils and transformed into useful institutions for carrying out works of public utility. It has already been pointed out that the Muslims form only 14·28 of the population of these Provinces, and if we look to the population of various districts we find that in the majority of them they are in a hopeless minority. It is only in urban areas, and that too specially in western districts, that they can hold their own. Before the advent of Minto-Morley Reforms, it was impossible for the Muslims to secure their due share of representation on the local bodies. This will be clear from the appendices to this report. A glance at a number of municipal boards which contain a high percentage of Moslems will show that the rights of Moslem before 1916 were not only ignored but actually violated. Having failed to secure their legitimate share in the administration of these bodies they approached His Excellency Lord Minto with their memorable address in 1906, in which they emphasised the desirability of establishing communal electorates as the only means by which they could safeguard their interests.

His Excellency fully realising the political condition of the country, and the reasonableness of the Muslim demands, was pleased to accede to their request. The Muslim deputation that waited on Lord Morley

in 1908 reiterated the same demands, and further urged that to confine the election of Muslim representatives to mixed electorates would be most detrimental to the Muslims. We hope that the members of the Commission are fully aware by now of the sharp cleavage that exists between the political conceptions of the Muslims and the Hindu community. The divergence of opinion does not exist only in the domain of politics, but it is visible in other directions also. Muslims by their birth and traditions are more democratic than their Hindu brethren. The events that have been narrated above demonstrate fully that the majority community is not gifted with that spirit of toleration and broadmindedness which is essential for all democratic institutions. The rights of minorities are primary, essential, and inalienable. In our humble opinion the future success of the Indian constitution entirely depends on the protection that may be afforded to the minority communities. The problem of the rights of minorities is not peculiar to India. It became the subject of serious consideration for the European statesmen who framed the constitutions of the newly established kingdoms of Europe. Protection to minorities in local bodies on linguistic, racial and religious grounds has been granted in the constitution, laws, and regulations made by Poland, Jugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and other new states. The provision for these minorities cannot be amended or abrogated at the sweet will of the majorities.

We beg to submit that in our case the British Parliament should assume the responsibility for the due and proper execution of these protective provisions, and Indian legislatures should not be allowed to interfere with them. All provisions regarding safeguarding of the interests of the minorities should form an organic part of Indian constitution. It is due solely to communal electorates that Muslims can return their genuine representatives in local bodies.

The example of Bihar is conclusive on the point. Here even the seats are not reserved. *The result is that during the last two elections to the local bodies 27 out of 43 boards were completely unrepresented by the Muslims.* The results of joint electorate without fixed reservation of seats in our own Province point in the same direction. The University, the landholders' constituency, the Taluqdar's constituency, the Indian Chamber of Commerce are all represented by members of the majority community. The rights of the Muslim minority which have been guaranteed by responsible ministers of the crown, and embodied in legislative enactments, should never be taken away from them till the spirit of confidence, toleration and trust between the two great communities of India is fully demonstrated by their mutual dealings. But that time has not yet arrived.

We are confident that the Royal Commission will fully realise the peculiar Indian conditions and would not suggest a modification in the existing arrangements which may jeopardise the future of India.

We beg to suggest a few points for the consideration of the Commission with a view to making some improvement in the system of local self-government.

1. The strength of the Boards in many cases is not quite adequate. If the number is increased we are confident that the people will take more

interest in the Boards. It may also afford an opportunity for at least some good people to be elected. We hope that if the number is increased it may on the whole be conducive to public good.

2. The Chairman of every Board should alternately be a Hindu and a Muslim. There are 92 Municipal Boards and 48 District Boards in these provinces. The Chairmen of most of Municipal Boards are Hindus, and there are few Municipal Boards where a Muslim has got a chance of being elected a Chairman. The Chairman is the chief controlling authority in the affairs of the local bodies. The unfortunate result of this is that Muslims are not adequately represented in the administration of local bodies, and owing to the absence of their voice in the inner working of these institutions they are frequently subjected to all sorts of hardships. In the case of District Boards the case is still worse. In the whole of U.P., *i.e.*, out of 48 District Boards, there is only one Muslim Chairman and 6 Muslim Secretaries. As we have pointed out above, in the services ever since the non-officials have taken the place of the official Chairmen, the gradual elimination of the Muslim element has been going on. Muslims occupy only unimportant places in the administration, such as petty clerks and menial servants. This state of affairs must be reformed. The question of posts and services is not a question of "loaves and fishes," but is a matter of vital importance to the wellbeing of the people, because it is the permanent services that wield the real power and responsibility in the due discharge of civic duties.

3. Chairmen should be elected only for one term, and should not be eligible for the next term in succession. The system of Alderman should be introduced, and Chairmen should always be elected from among the aldermen or ex-chairmen. In many important corporations of civilised countries the mayors are generally elected for a term. In India generally a Chairman keeps an eye on his next chance, and at times would maintain popularity at the sacrifice of efficiency. If he is not eligible for the next term, it is hoped that he would exercise his powers more independently.

4. The Board should have only deliberative and legislative functions, and not executive powers. The latter power should vest in the executive officers assisted by the various heads of the departments. The boards, at times, create insurmountable difficulties in the smooth working of municipal machinery, and instead of discussing public matters and laying down broad lines of policy interfere in the routine work of departments and hinder progress.

5. Certain superior posts under the boards should be provincialised. It will give them a security of tenure and liberty of action. Under the present system, however qualified and experienced the executive officer or secretary may be, he has to keep his Chairman and other members in good humour, and has to carry out their wishes, whether good, bad, or indifferent. Failing that his position becomes untenable. With the changing boards and their Chairmen, the favourite of yesterday becomes the suspect of today.

6. A Provincial Commission consisting of not less than 3 members be constituted. This commission should supervise and control the services under the local bodies and the Government more or less on the same lines as

the Indian Services Commission. It should be given power to hear appeals of the aggrieved servants, and it should make rules and regulations about the qualifications and other conditions affecting the municipal services.

7. *Control over local bodies.*—In every civilised country some sort of control over the local bodies is maintained by the Government. We are not of opinion that the control of the Local Government should altogether be withdrawn, but at the same time we suggest that the time has arrived when local bodies should enjoy more freedom in the discharge of their duties, and only a minimum control in important matters such as finance and questions affecting the divergent interests of the communities be maintained through the Collector of the district. While in matters affecting broad policy and general control the boards should be placed under the control of a local self-government board that should be constituted under the minister of the department. It should include besides the Minister, a Council Secretary, 3 members of the Council possessing sufficient experience of local self-government to be nominated by the Government, and provincial heads of such departments as are under the local bodies.

8. *Inspection of local bodies.*—In our opinion it is absolutely necessary that heads of all such departments as are under the local bodies should periodically inspect the working of such departments. They should on the one hand submit their report to local self-government board on the working of these bodies, and on the other hand should advise the local bodies on the spot on those questions which in their opinion deserve their special attention.

9. Our community should be represented in the local administration of each body. The extent of its representation in the services of these bodies should be in proportion to its representation in that body.

10. The Urdu language should be guaranteed in the proceedings of the local bodies and in the schools and offices of local bodies.

11. Grants-in-aid to Muslims should be given according to their representation in these bodies.

12. Committees of the Boards should be elected on the system of single transferable vote, with a view to giving a chance to the minorities to secure proportional representation on these Committees.

13. No resolution or motion or any part thereof affecting any community, which question is to be determined by the community in the elected body concerned, shall be passed, if three-fourths of the members of that community oppose the resolution, or motion or part thereof.

14. The following fundamental safeguards should be inserted in a parliamentary statute and no local body or legislature in India should be allowed to touch them. These safeguards deal only with local bodies. For a fuller discussion of safeguards, reference may be made to the sections of this book, that deal on "Safeguards for Minorities," and the "Working of Safeguards."

1. Separate electorate in local bodies.
2. Representation in the administration of these bodies, in accordance with the formula, enunciated in No. 9, above.

3. Protection of the Urdu language, and instruction of Muslim children in Urdu, provided they form a certain proportion of the population.
4. Exercise of religious rights, provided the laws of the State are not affected thereby.
5. Grants-in-aid to Muslim institutions, in proportion to their representation in each body.

15. The Government has a right—nay—it is its duty to intervene if a local body is inefficient, or violates the rights of minorities. The Collector of the district should not be merely a critic, but should help the Boards with his advice.

16. Muslim contractors should be given a substantial percentage of contracts by all bodies.

17. All the regulations and resolutions which are repugnant to any one of these provisions should be null and void to the extent of such repugnancy.

Summary of the hardships to which Muslims are subjected by local bodies in these provinces.

We have already dealt with the policy of various boards in the early part of our report; here we summarise the policy of various bodies under appropriate headings. We have not deemed it necessary to give details of all the reports we have received from Muslim members of local bodies in these provinces, as this would have swelled the *size* of the memorandum. The reports that we have received throw a powerful searchlight on the working of these bodies, and reveal a state of affairs which it is difficult for us to describe. We hope to be able to supply complete information through the witnesses deputed by our Committee for this purpose.

Contracts.—In almost all the Municipal and District Boards the number of Mohamedan contractors in proportion to their population is very low. There are several Boards where there is not a single Mohamedan contractor, for example, the Almora Municipal and District Boards. Even those Mohamedans who have been enlisted as contractors in the offices of local bodies are not generally given contract for works, and, if given at all, the quantity and quality of the work given to them are miserably small.

Slaughter Houses.—Since the advent of the non-official Chairman in the Municipal and District Boards, efforts are constantly made in almost all the boards to stop the slaughter of cows. In some places such as Kashipur, though the Mussalmans constitute about one-half of the total population yet they are not given permission to sacrifice a cow even on the occasion of "Bakr Id." If a Mohamedan does such an act in the performance of his religious duties, he is subjected to all sorts of worries and troubles and is seriously dealt with by his Hindu brethren. At some places the Burma meat trade has been totally stopped, which has caused a considerable loss to the business of Mussalmans carrying on meat trade, *viz.*, Jhansi and Panwari. Meat shops, though allowed in all civilized countries, have been closed at many places in these Provinces. In Cawnpore Municipality as well as in other municipalities license is not given to Mohamedans to open meat shops even in Muslim quarters. With a view to hampering the trade the license fee on hide and bone godowns has been intolerably increased (*e.g.*, Jhansi Municipal Board).

Services.—The Hindu community being in an overwhelming majority in almost all the Municipal and District Boards, creates difficulties in the way of Moslems who wish to enter service under local boards. There are some boards where neither in the school staff nor in the offices a single Muslim servant is to be seen. For instance, take the case of Ballia where there is no Mohamedan in the office of the District Board. Details will be found in the Appendix to the Report on Services.

In Nainital—the summer seat of U. P. Government—all posts under the District Board are given to non-Muslims, and it was with the greatest difficulty that of late a Mohamedan clerk has been appointed in the office.

Superior posts are not usually given to Mohamedans, and with a view to keep up the show that Mussalmans are employed in the service, a few menials such as peons, water-carriers and the like are taken in.

Out of the 12 officials in a big municipality like Cawnpore, there is only one Mohamedan, a tax superintendent.

Another example of the Hindu fairplay is to be seen in the Jhansi Municipal Board, which has passed a resolution that no candidate will be appointed to any vacancy who is not well-versed in Hindi language. This is a device to shut out Muslims from the Municipal service.

Sanitation and Public Conveniences.—The Hindu community is so prejudiced against the minorities and specially the Mohamedans that it cannot see them enjoying the privilege of good roads, and light. At certain places steps are taken for the cleanliness of the Hindu quarters alone. Hindu streets are well paved and well lighted, while Muslim quarters are either totally ignored or not properly attended to. Money granted for the improvement and construction of roads and drains is spent lavishly on Hindu quarters. In short, the majority community tries its best to provide the amenities of life for its people, and ignores the Mohamedan claims with impunity.

From the perusal of Appendix to this Report it will be clear that the Muslims are not only unfortunate in not being elected as Chairmen of District Boards, but they are not even adequately represented amongst the nominated members. The strength of the majority community can be seen from the figures when we find that out of the 48 district boards in these Provinces there are only 9 Muslim Chairmen of the Public Works Committees.

In the case of dispensaries the Hindu towns are accorded a preferential treatment, and the majority of the medical officers appointed by the local bodies are Hindus. Complaints are not uncommon that these Hindu doctors pay more attention to Hindu patients than to unfortunate Mohamedans. Sanitary Inspectors in the Health Department of the Boards are generally Hindus, who at times ignore the sanitation of Muslim quarters. There are places where no Mohamedan is employed in this department, for instance, Bara Banki District Board.

Education.—The subject of Primary Education has been fully dealt with separately, but at this place it will suffice to show that in all the District Boards there are only 6 Muslim Chairmen of Education Committees. The figures of the Municipal Boards are not available, and therefore cannot be pointed out with certainty. Details will be found in the Appendix to this Report.

General.—Such is the highhandedness of the Hindus that the proposals sent by Muslim members are not placed before the board promptly, and even questions put by Muslim members are not answered. There have been cases of this nature at various places.

In the Cawnpore Municipality (which boasts of an enlightened and educated chairman), the Mussalman applicants have been prohibited from constructing mosques on their own ground, while the Hindus are

allowed to construct temples on public lands, in spite of the objections raised by the Mohamedans.

Muslim graveyards are absolutely neglected by the said bodies, while large sums of money are spent on the *ghats* where Hindus are cremated.

In certain places applicants are required to put in applications in Hindi character, and applications written in the Urdu script are not accepted.

Differentiation is visible even in the assessment of taxes in certain places. Mohamedans are heavily assessed as compared to Hindus. And where it suits the political convenience of the majority community, the tax on Mussalmans is reduced in such a way as to disqualify them from exercising their vote for the local body.

Town and Notified Areas.—The case of Mohamedans in Town and Notified Areas is still more deplorable than that of the Municipal and District Boards. They are not adequately represented in the Notified and Town Area Committees, because the election to these bodies is carried out by means of joint electorates. At many places though the Mohamedans predominate in the population yet the number of their representatives in the Town and Notified Area Committees is insufficient as compared to Hindus. We may summarise the information at our disposal by saying that out of the total population of town areas of about 11 lakhs, of which Muslims constitute nearly two-thirds, their representation is only 55 out of the total number of 234 members. If we take population as the basis of our calculation, our representation ought to be at least 80 out of the total number. We are strongly of opinion that adequate, and effective representation should be secured for us in all the town areas of these provinces.

Languages.—A number of local bodies have passed resolutions making the use of Hindi in Nagri script compulsory in the proceedings of these bodies. For instance, Saharanpur, Muzaffarnagar, Almora, Garhwal, Nainital and Rae Bareli have passed resolutions against the wishes of Moslem members, and in spite of their strong protests. The District Boards of Banda and Hamirpur adopted the practice without passing any resolution. Moreover, Muslim boys are compelled to learn Hindi in primary schools maintained by local bodies. This is a violation of the fundamental rights of minorities.

Statistics on the subjects discussed above will be found in the Appendix to this Report, as well to the Report on Services.

SAFEGUARDS FOR THE PROTECTION OF U. P. MUSLIMS.

The European powers have been familiar with the difficulties of the problem of minorities since the Treaty of Vienna, 1814. As a result of the gradual dissolution of the Turkish empire there had, during the 19th century, been established in Europe five new States—Greece, Serbia, Roumania, Bulgaria and Montenegro. In each case the recognition of these states had been the subject of consultation between the great powers of Europe, and had been accompanied by certain conditions, the object of which was to insure religious freedom, and to prevent the newly established State from interfering unduly with the freedom of commercial intercourse. These were incorporated in treaties, to which some or all of the great powers were parties. Again, in 1863, when a change of dynasty took place, and when the Ionian Islands were ceded to Greece, the new arrangements were embodied in a separate treaty between Great Britain, France, Russia and Denmark, in which this principle was re-affirmed. Both at the Congress of Paris and at the Congress of Berlin of 1878, the application of these principles was not neglected, though their form was different. It may be said without any hesitation that by the end of the XIXth Century whenever a new State arose, the European powers assumed the right of imposing upon it certain principles of government which had come to hold the position of *fundamental principles*, to which all civilized governments conformed. The Peace Conference of Paris 1919 carried out these principles to their logical conclusion. The whole of the East and South-East of Europe was rearranged; not only were the Turkish Dominions further reduced, but the Austro-Hungarian Empire had ceased to exist. Two new States were created—Poland and Czechoslovakia, and to others very great additions of territory were awarded. In the very nature of things it was inevitable that in every case these States were assigned considerable population, alien in race, language, and religion. Some guarantee, some security, must be provided that they should not be subjected to injustice, that they should not be deprived of their political rights, nor exposed to persecution. In some districts. languages, races, religions, were so closely intermingled that the population of a single village might be divided between three classes. The principles underlying the policy of the allies towards the minorities were clearly enunciated by Monsieur Clemenceau in a letter, dated June 24, 1919, addressed to the President of the Polish Republic. One extract from this letter will make the position of the Great Powers clear.

" The situation with which the powers have now to deal is new, and experience has shown that new provisions are necessary. The territories, now being transferred both to Poland and to other States, inevitably include a large population, speaking languages and belonging to races different from that of the people, with whom they will be incorporated. Unfortunately, the races have been estranged by long years of bitter hostility. It is believed that these populations will be more easily reconciled to their new position, if they know that from the very beginning they have assured protection and adequate guarantees against any danger of unjust treatment

or oppression. The very knowledge that these guarantees exist will, it is hoped, materially help the reconciliation which all desire; and will, indeed, do much to prevent the necessity of its enforcement."

The principle upon which all these treaties are based is this, that in the act of assigning new territories to an already existing State, the powers lay down condition on which they transfer the territories to such States.

The following articles of the *Treaty* with Poland will show conclusively the nature of these treaties.

Article 7.

All Polish nationals shall be equal before the law, and shall enjoy the same civil and political rights, without distinction as to race, language, or religion.

Differences of religion, creed or confession shall not prejudice any Polish national in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil or political rights, as, for instance, admission to public employments, functions, and honours, or the exercise of professions and industries.

No restriction shall be imposed on the free use by any Polish national of any language in private intercourse, in commerce, in religion, in the press, or in publications of any kind, or at any public meetings.

Notwithstanding any establishment by the Polish Government of any official language, adequate facilities shall be given to Polish nationals of non-Polish speech for the use of their language, either orally or in writing before the courts.

Article 8.

Polish nationals who belong to racial, religious, or linguistic minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as the other Polish nationals. In particular they shall have an equal right to establish, manage, and control at their own expense charitable, religious, and social institutions, schools, and other educational establishments, with the right to use their own language and to exercise their religion freely therein.

Article 9.

Poland will provide in the public educational system in towns and districts in which a considerable proportion of Polish nationals of other than Polish speech are residents, adequate facilities for ensuring that in the primary schools the instruction shall be given to the children of such Polish nationals through the medium of their own language. This provision shall not prevent the Polish Government from making the teaching of the Polish language obligatory in the said schools.

In towns and districts where there is a considerable proportion of Polish nationals belonging to racial, religious, or linguistic minorities, these minorities shall be assured an equitable share in the enjoyment and application of the sums which may be provided out of public funds under the *State, municipal, or other budget* for educational, religious or charitable purposes

The provisions of this Article shall apply to Polish citizens of German speech only in that part of Poland which was German territory on August 1, 1914.

Article 10.

Educational committees appointed locally by the Jewish communities of Poland will, subject to the general control of the State, provide for the distribution of the proportional share of public funds allocated to Jewish schools in accordance with Article 9, and for the organisation and management of these schools.

The provisions of Article 9 concerning the use of languages in schools shall apply to these schools."

Precisely the same terms were used and the same conditions incorporated in the treaties signed by Czecho-Slovakia, Yugo-Slavia and other countries. All these States incorporated the provisions relating to minorities in their constitutions. The following extracts from the constitutions of these countries are significant.

Czecho-Slovakian Constitution. Section 6, Article 130.

Article 130.

In so far as citizens of these Czechoslovak Republic entitled by the common law to establish, manage, and administer, at their own cost, philanthropic, religious, or social institutions, they are all equal, no matter what be their nationality, language, religion, or race, and may, in such institutions, make use of their own language and worship according to their own religious ceremonies.

Article 131.

In towns and districts in which there lives a considerable fraction of Czechoslovak citizens speaking a language other than Czechoslovak, the children of such Czechoslovak citizens shall, in public instruction and within the bounds of the general regulations relating thereto, be guaranteed due opportunity to receive instruction in their own tongue. The Czechoslovak language may at the same time be prescribed as a compulsory subject of instruction.

Article 132.

In towns and districts where there is living a considerable fraction of Czechoslovak citizens belonging to some minority, whether in respect of religion or nationality or language, and where specific sums of money from public funds as set out in the State budget or in the budget of local or other public authorities, are to be devoted to education, religion or philanthropy, a due share in the use and enjoyment of such sums shall be secured to such minorities, within the limits of the general regulations for public administration.

Article 133.

The method of carrying out the principles embodied in Articles 131 and 132, and especially the interpretation to be assigned to the expression " considerable fraction," shall be determined by a special enactment.

Article 134.

Every manner whatsoever of forcible denationalization is prohibited. Non-observance of this principle may be proclaimed by law to be a punishable act."

Constitution of the Esthonian Republic.

Article 20—Article 23.

Article 20.

Every Esthonian citizen is free to declare to what nationality he belongs. In cases where personal determination of nationality is impossible, the decision shall be taken in the manner prescribed by law.

Article 21.

Racial minorities in the country have the right to establish autonomous institutions for the preservation and development of their national culture, and to maintain special organisations for their welfare, so far as it is not incompatible with the interests of the State.

Article 22.

In districts where the majority of the population is not Esthonian, but belongs to a racial minority, the language used in the administration of local self-governing authorities may be the language of that racial minority but every citizen has the right to use the language of the State in dealings with such authorities. Local self-governing bodies which use the language of a racial minority must use the national language in their communications with governmental institutions, and with other local self-governing bodies which do not make use of the language of the same racial minority.

Article 23.

Citizens of German, Russian, or Swedish nationality have the right to address the central administration of the State in their own language. The use of these languages in the courts and in dealings with the local administrations of the State, or of self-governing bodies, shall be the subject of detailed regulations by special laws."

Constitution of Jugoslavia.

Article 16.

" Religious training is given according to the wishes of the parent or elders, based on their creeds, and in accordance with their religious beliefs. Technical schools will be established according to the needs of vocations. Education is given by the government without entrance fees, tuition, or other taxes. The manner in which private schools, their like, and under what conditions they shall be permitted, will be provided by law. All institutions for education are under government control. The government will aid the work of national education. Minorities of race, and language are given elementary education in their mother tongue, under provisions which will be prescribed by law."

Polish Constitution. Article 109 and Article 120.

Article 109.

Every citizen possesses the right of safeguarding his nationality and of cultivating his national language and customs.

Special laws of the State guarantee the full and free development of their national customs to minorities in the Polish State, aided by autonomous federations of minorities, to which statutory recognition may be given within the limits governing general autonomous federations.

Article 120.

In all educational establishments for the instruction of young people who have not reached the age of eighteen years, controlled in whole or part by the State, or by local autonomous bodies, the teaching of religion is compulsory for all pupils. The direction and control of this teaching is the province of the particular religious body, without prejudice to the supreme right of control reserved to the State educational authorities."

German Constitution. Articles 113, 146 and 149.

Article 113.

The foreign language parts of the population of the Reich may not be interfered with by legislative or administrative action on their free racial development, especially in the use of their mother tongue in education, as well as in the local administration and the administration of justice.

Article 146.

. . . . . Within the municipalities, upon the request of those persons having the right to education, elementary schools of their own religious belief or of their '*Weltanschauung*' shall be established, provided that an organised school system in the sense of Para. 1 is not thereby interfered with. The wishes of those persons having the right to education shall be considered so far as possible. Detailed regulations shall be prescribed by State legislation on the basis of a national law.

Article 149.

Religious instruction shall be a part of the regular school curriculum with the exception of secular schools. Such instruction shall be regulated by the school laws. Religious instruction shall be given in harmony with the fundamental principles of the religious association concerned, without prejudice to the right of supervision by the State.

Teachers shall give religious instruction and conduct church ceremonies only upon a declaration of their willingness to do so; participation in religious instruction and in church celebrations and acts shall depend upon a declaration of willingness by those who control the religious education of the child.

Theological faculties in institutions of higher learning shall be maintained."

We should like to emphasise a few points here.

1. In the first place, the clauses relating to minorities are a *fundamental* part of the constitution.

2. In the next place, the Great Powers, through the League of Nations, have made themselves responsible for their execution. The following example from Article 69 of the Treaty with Austria will suffice.

" Austria agrees that the stipulation in the foregoing Articles of this section, so far as they affect persons belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities, constitute obligations of international concern, and shall be placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations. They shall not be modified without the assent of the majority of the Council of the League of Nations." From this it is perfectly clear that *even the sovereign European states*, cannot modify the provisions relating to racial, religious and linguistic minorities *without the consent of the League of Nations*. Precisely the same conditions are embodied in every treaty with other powers.

The English colonies themselves have been greatly troubled by the problem of minorities. The history of Canada from 1760 to the present day contains numerous incidents throwing a vivid light on the relations between the English and the French in Canada. Every student of Lord Durham's classical report on Canada knows the difficulties experienced by British administrators in effecting reconciliation between the two races. Let us quote the following from Durham's letter dated August 9, 1838:

" If the difference between the two races were one of party or principles only, we should find on each side a mixture of persons of both races; whereas the truth is that, with exceptions which tend to prove the rule, all the British are on one side, and all the Canadians (French) are on the other. The mutual dislike of the two classes extends beyond politics into social life, where, with some trifling exceptions, all intercourse is confined to persons of the same origin. Grown-up persons of a different origin seldom or never meet in private society; and even the children, when they quarrel, divide themselves into French and English, like their parents." (*Documents of the Canadian Constitution, 1759—1915, by W. P. M. Kennedy.*)

This is borne out by the highest authority on Canadian history, Prof. G. M. Wrong, who says in a work on the *Federation of Canada*, that " our language, our institutions, and our laws " was the cry then of the French in Canada, and it has continued ever since. The English Government succeeded in reconciling these differences, and establishing peace in Canada. How was the problem solved? Let me quote a passage from the speech of Lord Carnarvon, who stated in a speech in the House of Lords in introducing the British *North America Bill* on February 19, 1867:

" Lastly, in the 93rd clause, which contains the exceptional provisions to which I referred, your Lordships will observe some rather complicated arrangements in reference to education. I need hardly say that that great question gives rise to nearly as much earnestness and division of opinion on that as on this side of the Atlantic. This clause has been framed after long and anxious controversy, in which all parties have been represented, and on conditions to which all have given their consent. It is an understanding which, as it only concerns the local interests affected, is

not one that Parliament would be willing to disturb, even if in the opinion of Parliament it were susceptible of amendment; but I am bound to add as the expression of my own opinion that the terms of the agreement appear to me to be equitable and judicious. For the object of the clause is to secure to the religious minority of one Province the same rights, privileges, and protection, which the religious minority of another Province may enjoy. The Roman Catholic minority of Upper Canada, the Protestant minority of Lower Canada, and the Roman Catholic minority of the Maritime Provinces, will thus stand on a footing of entire equality. But in the event of any wrong at the hand of the local majority, the minority have a right to appeal to the Governor-General in Council, and may claim the application of any remedial laws that may be necessary from the Central Parliament of the Confederation."

Article 93 of the British North America Act of 1867 referred to above, may be quoted here:—

Article 93, British North America Act, 1867.

"In and for each Province the Legislature may exclusively make laws in relation to Education, subject and according to the following Provisions:—

(1) Nothing in any such Law shall prejudicially affect any Right or Privilege with respect to Denominational Schools which any class of Persons have by Law on the Province at the Union.

(2) All the Powers, Privileges, and Duties at the Union by Law conferred and imposed in Upper Canada on the Separate Schools and School Trustees of the Queen's Roman Catholic Subjects shall be and the same are hereby extended to the Dissentient Schools of the Queen's Protestant and Roman Catholic Subjects in Quebec.

(3) Where in any Province a system of Separate or Dissentient Schools exists by Law at the Union or is thereafter established by the Legislature of the Province, an appeal shall lie to the Governor-General in Council from any Act or Decision of any Provincial Authority affecting any Right or Privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic Minority of the Queen's subjects in relation to Education.

(4) In case any such Provincial law as from Time to Time seems to the Governor-General in Council requisite for the due Execution of the Provisions of this Section is not made, or in case any Decision of the Governor-General in Council on any Appeal under this Section is not duly executed by the proper Provincial Authority in that Behalf, then and in every such case and as far only as the circumstances of each case require, the Parliament of Canada may make remedial laws for the due Execution of the Provisions of this Section, and of any Decision of the Governor-General in Council under this Section."

This section has been amended, and the Governor-in-Council can refer the matter to the Supreme Court. The amendment is as follows:—

[Sec. 4. Repealing Sec. 37, Cap. 135, Revised Statutes, 1886.]

"(1) Important questions of law or fact touching provincial legislation, or the appellate jurisdiction as to educational matters vested in the

Governor in Council by *The British North America Act*, 1867 or by any other Act or law, or touching any other matter with reference to which he sees fit to exercise this power, may be referred by the Governor in Council to the Supreme Court for hearing or consideration; and the Court shall thereupon hear and consider the same.

(2) The Court shall certify to the Governor in Council for his information, its opinion on questions so referred with the reasons therefor, which shall be given in like manner as in the case of a judgment upon an appeal to the said Court; and any Judge who differs from the opinion of the majority shall, in like manner, certify his opinion and his reasons."

The results of this settlement are thus summed up by Professor G. M. Wrong, in his book, "*The Federation of Canada*" (1867—1917).

"The true, and, we may hope, the final solution was to be found neither in isolation nor in complete union, but rather in both union and separation, union in the great affairs which touch trade, tariffs, public services, like the post office and the administration of justice; separation in respect to those things in which the two races had differing ideals, such as religion and education."

The Bilingual School Question in Canada has aroused intense excitement in Canada, for more than half a century.

Racial Conflict in the Union of South Africa.

The problem of the rights of the two white races in South Africa bristled with difficulties. Let us quote Hon. Mr. R. H. Brand, who in his book entitled the "*Union of South Africa*" deals with this question:

"The new spirit animating the leaders of both sides has been generously welcomed by both the British and Dutch communities. But in the working out of the constitution the differing ideals of the two races cannot fail to clash. Bilingualism, whether in education or in the public service, will cause trouble for many years. Recent events are a sufficient proof. The education law of the Orange River Colony, whatever its merits or demerits, has certainly been read by the British population as an attempt to deprive their children of any proper instruction in the English tongue. Efforts have been made to found private schools where English can be properly taught. The government has dismissed English and Scotch inspectors for their alleged unsympathetic administration of the law. A deputation has been sent to England to represent the grievances of the British people. There is every sign of strong feeling. Less is heard of the difficulties in the Transvaal, where the law is less rigid. But any one who has any knowledge of the subject is aware that there, too, administration is hampered by constant friction, arising from local quarrels and jealousies over language. Nevertheless one cannot doubt that these difficulties will in time disappear. There are influences at work too strong to be controlled by legislation. As a general rule English parents are prepared that their children shall learn Dutch; while Dutch parents see how essential is a knowledge of English. A story which well illustrates this tendency is told by a small dorp in the Orange River Colony. A Scotch parent complained to the Education Department that his small daughter had been submitted in the playground

of the school to the indignity of having a wooden collar placed round her neck. On inquiry it was found that the parents, most of whom were Dutch, thinking that too little English was taught in school hours, had asked that that language might be used during the play hours. There had been invented, in consequence, a mode of punishment which consisted in fastening a wooden collar round the neck of any child who used a Dutch word in the playground."

The Hungarian Law for the protection of Minorities.

The new kingdom of Hungary issued a decree on August 21, 1919, for the effectual protection of its linguistic, racial, and religious minorities. This was done in compliance with the minority clauses of the Treaty with Hungary. It provides comprehensive safeguards for the protection of people who belong to non-Hungarian races, and is of special interest to minorities in India.

1. " All Hungarian citizens have completely equal rights.

2. " Subjects of the State belonging to racial minorities can freely make use of their native language in the Hungarian Parliament, in district and communal assemblies, as well as in their committees, wherever they have the right to make speeches.

3. " The laws and decrees of the Government are to be published in the languages of all the racial minorities: the Magyar text is authoritative. District and communal regulations will be published in the administrative language of the communal area, and also in the language used there at the meetings of the administrative bodies.

4. " The administrative language of a district assembly is fixed by the district at a general meeting. Proceedings are to be reported in that language and also in those languages which at least one-fifth of the members of the departmental representative body desire to use. The administrative language is the authoritative one.

5. " The district assemblies can make use of their administrative language in all their requests and decisions, but if this language is not Magyar they are bound to subjoin a Magyar text.

6. " The administrative language of communal bodies is determined by their assembly. As regards the reports of their proceedings, see para. 4.

7. " The communal bodies can use their administrative language on their requests and decisions.

8. " Subjects of the State belonging to racial minorities can use their native language in communicating with legislative bodies, the Government, the Ministries, district and communal administrative authorities as well as with the public services.

9. " The administrative bodies will issue their decisions and replies in the same language as the applications, complaints and requests submitted to them, and in communicating with the communal bodies, societies, institu-

tions, and private persons they will use the same language as the latter, provided it is the administrative language of the area.

10. " Whosoever requires the protection of the law and the assistance of the law courts, either as plaintiff, defendant or appellant, can use his native language, provided that it is the administrative language for the area within the jurisdiction of the court concerned.

11. " The law courts will issue their decisions in the same language as the application, etc. The evidence of witnesses and other judicial procedure will be taken in the language of the witness or the parties interested with the same proviso as in para. 10. Under the same conditions, appeals will be made in the language of the appellant provided that the court is aware which language this is. All other judicial decisions, including the verdict of the highest appeal court, will be given in the language of the interested parties at their request.

12. " Ecclesiastical administrative authorities, religious communities and parishes, can decide freely what is to be the official language of their church or the language of instruction in their schools and they can make use of it in their dealings with State and autonomous administrative bodies.

13. " Care must be taken that citizens of the State belonging to racial minorities and living in sufficiently considerable compact masses in the territory of the State may have facilities in the State educational establishments of the area where they reside for their children to be educated in their native language as far as the initial stages of higher education. In the universities special chairs will be established for the study of the languages and literatures of each racial minority.

14. " Municipalities, communal areas, churches, parishes or private persons belonging to any minority may found elementary, secondary or higher schools from their own resources or jointly. For this purpose, and in the interests of developing the national and economic resources, citizens of the State belonging to racial minorities can form societies and make collections under the legal control of the State. Educational and other establishments founded in this manner will enjoy the same rights as other schools and establishments. The founders will decide what language is to be used in them.

15. " The fact of belonging to any racial minority will not be an obstacle in the way of attaining rank or employment, whatever they may be. *The Government binds itself to see that judicial and administrative posts especially those of sub-prefects are filled wherever possible, by persons belonging to racial minorities and knowing their languages.* Officials now in office are obliged to take the necessary steps so as to be able within a period of two years, to satisfy the linguistic requirements of racial minorities inhabiting the area in which they are carrying out their duties.

16. " The competent Ministerial authorities are entrusted with carrying out the present decree in co-operation with the Minister of racial minorities, who will keep a continual check on the manner in which this is done, and who will organise for this purpose a special section for each of the racial minorities.

" The present decree will come into force on the day of its publication."

The Czechoslovakian Law for the protection of the Languages of Minorities in Czechoslovakia.

The Constitution of Czechoslovakia provided for the passing of a language law for the protection of minorities. This promise was fulfilled in a law passed on February 29, 1920, by the Czechoslovakian Government. It is a document of far-reaching importance, and lays down detailed and minute provisions for the protection of the languages of minorities. The Republic, it will be noticed, contains several millions of Germans and Magyars, who speak different languages, belong to different races and profess different religions. The law is as follows:—

Article 1.

The Czechoslovak language shall be the State official language of the Republic (Art. 7 of the Treaty made between the leading Allied and Associated Powers and the Czechoslovak Republic and signed at St. Germain-en-Laye on Sept. 10, 1919).

It is, thus, in particular the language:

(1) In which the work of all the courts, offices, institutions, undertakings, and organs of the Republic shall be conducted, in which they shall issue their proclamations and notices as well as their inscriptions and designations. (Exceptions to this section are laid down in Article 2 and Article 5 as well as in Article 6 relating to Russinia.)

(2) In which the principal text on State and other bank notes shall be printed.

(3) Which the armed forces of the country shall use for the purpose of command and as the language of the service; in dealings with men and companies not knowing this language their mother tongue may also be used.

Detailed regulations will be issued as to the duty of State officials and employees, as well as of officials and employees of state institutions and undertakings to know the Czechoslovak.

Article 2.

In respect of national and language minorities (Chap. I, Treaty of St. Germain) the following rules shall apply:

It shall be the duty of courts, offices and organs of the Republic whose competence relates to a jurisdictional district in which, according to the latest census, at least 20 per cent of the citizens speak the same language—and that a language other than Czechoslovak—to accept (in all matters which they have to settle on the ground of their competence applying to such a district) from any member of this minority any complaints in this language, and to deal with the complaints not only in the Czechoslovak language, but also in that in which the complaint itself is presented. Where there are several district courts in one community, that whole community shall be deemed to be a single jurisdictional district.

It shall be laid down by regulations to what extent and for what courts and offices it will be possible to restrict the settlement of cases to the language of the parties themselves. These courts and offices are those

whose competence is limited to one district, namely, a district with such a national minority, as well as courts and offices immediately subordinate to them.

Under similar conditions, it is the duty of the public prosecutor to frame the charges against an accused speaking another tongue in this language, too, or even in this language alone. The executive authority shall determine in such cases what language shall be used.

If the party to any matter is not the initiator of the proceedings, he shall (if the other conditions of Article 2 are fulfilled) be entitled on the same principles to have his case dealt with also in his own language, or even in it alone so far as it is known or otherwise at his request.

In districts where there lives a national minority in the terms of Article 2, the language of the national minority shall be used concurrently with the Czechoslovak language in proclamations and notices issued by the State courts, offices and organs and for their inscriptions and designations.

Article 3.

It is the duty of autonomous offices, representative councils and all public corporations in the State whatsoever to accept and to deal with oral or written matter in the Czechoslovak language.

It shall always be possible to make use of this language in meetings and conferences ; proposals and suggestions put forward in this language must be dealt with.

The State executive authority shall determine upon the language to be used for public proclamations and notices and for the inscriptions and designations for which the autonomous offices are responsible.

It is the duty of the autonomous offices, representative councils and public corporations to accept—under the conditions of Article 2—all matters presented to them in a language other than Czechoslovak and to deal with the same and also to permit the use of another language in meetings and conferences.

Article 4.

The State offices, using the State official language, shall, in their official proceedings in those parts of the Republic which before October 28, 1918, pertained to Kingdoms and Lands represented in the Imperial (Austro-Hungarian) Council or to the Kingdom of Prussia, use regularly the Czech language in Slovakia.

Matters presented in the Czech language are officially dealt with in the language in which they were presented.

Article 5.

The instruction in all schools established for members of a national minority shall be given in their language. Likewise educational and cultural institutions set up for them shall be administered in their language (Article 9, Treaty of St. Germain).

Article 6.

The Diet which shall be set up for Russinia shall have the right reserved to it for settling the language question for this territory in a

manner consonant with the unity of the Czechoslovak State (Article 10, Treaty of St. Germain).

Until this settlement has been made this law shall apply, due regard, however, being paid to the special circumstances of that territory in respect of language.

Article 7.

Disputes regarding the use of a language in courts, offices, institutions, undertakings and organs of the State as well as in the autonomous offices and public corporations shall be settled by the competent organs of state control as matters of state administration detached from the causes of which they arose.

Article 8.

Details as to the carrying out of this law shall be fixed by the state executive authority which will, in the spirit of this law, lay down rules regulating the use of languages for autonomous offices, representative bodies and public corporations, as well as for those offices and public organs whose competence extends to districts which are less than jurisdictional districts, or for organs which have no district of their own.

The rules shall also prescribe what measures shall be taken towards facilitating the dealings of officials with persons who do not speak the language in which the court, office, or organ conducts its business in the sense of this law. They shall also prescribe measures to be taken to protect the different parties from legal damage which might accrue to them from ignorance of the language in question.

Exceptions to the terms of this act necessary for securing undisturbed administration may also be made by regulation for the period of 5 years, commencing from the day on which this law comes into force.

Finally, rules shall be laid down which are essential for securing the successful carrying out of this law.

Article 9.

This law shall come into force on the day on which it is promulgated. It abrogates all rules relating to language which were in force previous to October 28, 1918. All ministers are entrusted with the execution of this law."

The significance of these minority clauses to minorities in India.

The minority clauses are of profound importance to the minority communities. It is futile to apply the conception of nationality prevalent in England or France to Indian conditions. People who are fond of using the word " nation " glibly are either ignorant of the factors that have brought about the " unitary and organic states " in Western Europe, or deliberately shut their eyes to inconvenient facts, and act and talk on the assumption that no differences exist. It is the aim of every Indian to remove them, it is the desire of every patriot, to bridge the gulf. But this is not achieved by merely asserting that no differences exist. A better

method would be to analyse them, to investigate them calmly, and to find remedies for them. As Dr. Harold Temperlly says in his classical work entitled the *History of the Peace Conference of Paris of 1919* (Vol. V, page 138) " If this system has succeeded in this country (England), it is owing to two reasons: (1) the presence of a very strong government with traditions of over 1,000 years, and the inherited political experience of a nation long accustomed to self-administration ; (2) natural frontiers which are unalterable, so that the very possibility of the secession of any part of the United Kingdom is excluded."

In Hungary, the Slovaks were subjected to humiliating treatment. Their children were forced to learn the Magyar language ; the bulk of the elementary, secondary and University teachers were Magyars ; and very few Slovaks were able to enter the Hungarian parliament. Their nomination papers were, in most cases, rejected, while troops were quartered in the polling booths ; elections were skilfully manipulated, and a systematic attempt was made to denationalise them. This reign of terror lasted nearly 60 years, and at last the Slovaks got their chance, and united themselves with the Czechs to found the kingdom of Czechoslovakia. Take the case of Roumania. That country acquired the whole of Transylvania, which contains an overwhelming number of Hungarians. In an exhaustive work on the *Minorities in Roumanian Transylvania* by Dr. Szasz, the author shows the methods employed by the Roumanian Government to coerce and terrorise the racial minorities in Transylvania. Most of the old officials have been dismissed ; the old University has been Roumanised ; Hungarian language is systematically discouraged ; their schools have been closed ; their religion condemned ; soldiers have been, and are quartered at the time of election to terrorise the Transylvanians ; ballot boxes are stuffed, and the property of the minorities has been confiscated on the pretext of an agrarian law. Mr. Szasz thus concludes his extraordinary book on the Transylvanian minorities in Roumania, " It is only when the rights of minorities will be recognised in Roumania, based on international treaties, and not dependent upon party politics ; only when their problem will become, not a phrase, but a reality, that they will be able to follow a policy which will serve both their own interests and those of Roumania."

Representation of minorities in the public services.

The Magyar population in Slovakia does not exceed 20 per cent, yet, as shown by Mr. Street, in *Democracy in Hungary* the Magyar minority in Czechoslovakia obtained better terms as regards education than were promised them in the Treaty. The latter only provides for facilities for elementary education for the racial minorities, whereas the Magyar minority not only gets this in greater proportion than its strength warrants, but also gets the advantages of higher elementary and secondary education in its own language. As for the Slovak majority, their lot is so different now that Slovakia is released from the Magyar yoke, that it is almost unrecognizable. The population has now complete freedom in educational matters, and enjoys many facilities. Instead of being compelled to imbibe what knowledge it could in a foreign language, it has at its hand a modern and

extensive system of schools of all grades. The outlay on education in Slovakia for the year 1921-22 was:—

For State elementary schools	...	41,661,957 Crowns.
For Private elementary schools	...	90,808,142
Total	...	132,470,099

Out of this total expenditure, the following grants were made for non-Slovak schools:—

	State schools.	Private schools.
Magyar	5,770,173	24,245,763
German	1,587,318	4,267,981
Roumanian	141,650	4,177,172
	7,499,141	32,690,916

This shows that the grants-in-aid are apportioned among the different races equitably. Mr. Street remarks, "The Magyar schools receive 22·5 p.c. of the whole sum spent on elementary education in Slovakia."

As regards the admission of Magyars to the public services, the Czechoslovak Government adopts an entirely unprejudiced attitude. The following figures show the distribution of nationalities in the various branches of the public services of Slovakia for the year 1921. It will be remembered that Magyars form only 20·6 per cent of the population of Slovakia:—

	Czechoslovaks.	Magyars.
1. Political administration	1,763	397
2. Posts, Telegraphs and Telephones ...	4,676	1,685
3. Higher elementary school teachers ...	413	137
4. Secondary school teachers	431	138
5. Doctors and employees in State Hospital ...	248	88
6. Judges and Lawyers	198	160
7. Public Works	869	144
8. Agricultural service	993	576

From the above it will be seen that the population of Magyars in the public services of Czechoslovakia is far greater than the actual strength of the Magyar minority would warrant. The figures before the War are illuminating. Here they are:—

	Magyars.	Slovaks.
Judges and official lawyers in Slovakia ...	461	0
In the whole of Hungary	4,756	1
Law courts and prison officials in Slovakia ...	805	10
Secondary school teacher in Slovakia ...	638	10
Medical officers in Slovakia	713	26
In the whole of Hungary	4,914	35

At this time it must be explained that 70 per cent of the inhabitants of Slovakia were Slovaks, and only 25 per cent understood Magyar.

The Principles on which the Minorities Treaties are based.

Principal Robertson has well said that in 1815 the remedy for twenty-five years of war and revolution was sought in a return to the past. "In 1919, the settlement capitalised the future ; racial nationalism, expressed in the terms of states, big or little, was by its homœopathic power to extirpate the evils of the body politic, and the nationalist state was to become the unit of a new system of international relations. The guarantees of the Rights of Minorities, the doctrine and machinery of mandates, and the Plebiscites are only logical deductions in a political form from this explicit adoption of racial nationalism alike as the criterion and the aim of political justice." The right of a racial group to achieve self-expression is not destroyed, because the group is neither sufficiently numerous nor sufficiently concentrated to justify its existence as a separate and sovereign political unit, with a definable geographical area for its independent existence ; it may either be a scattered or relatively a weak element, reckoned in numbers, but in either case, if a definable character be accepted as the criterion, it is entitled to guarantees against denationalisation, which means the atrophy by enforced disuse of racial characteristics. "This denationalisation under the pressure of political, economic, or social institutions was the real grievance of many of the racial groups which made, for example, the Austro-Hungarian Empire. It could only be remedied either by cutting the group out of the Empire, and investing it with a separate existence, or by guaranteeing its 'rights' against the arbitrary power of a majority." Both these methods have been adopted. Some groups have been invested with separate political existence. Poland, Czechoslovakia are classical examples. Others have been guaranteed their rights by the Minorities Treaties discussed in this *Representation.*

The Protection of Minorities in the German-Polish Convention relating to Upper Silesia, Signed on May 15, 1922, at Geneva.

The Polish-German Convention contains most valuable information relating to the rights of minorities, and is of paramount importance to minorities in India. The portion dealing with education is most suggestive and helpful to Indian Muslims. Part III deals with the protection of minorities, and is divided into two divisions. Divisions II and III deal exhaustively with the religion, education, etc., of the minorities, and are as follows:—

German-Polish Convention signed in May, 1922.

CHAPTER I.—GENERAL PROVISIONS.

Article 73.

1.—Poland and Germany undertake that the stipulations contained in Articles 66, 67 and 68 shall be recognised as fundamental laws, and that no law, regulation or official action shall conflict or interfere with these stipulations, nor shall any law, regulation or official action prevail over them.

2.—The tribunals and courts of justice, including the administrative, military, and extraordinary tribunals, shall be competent to examine whether the legislative or administrative provisions are not contrary to the stipulations of the present Part.

Article 74.

The question whether a person does or does not belong to a racial, linguistic or religious minority, may not be verified or disputed by the authorities.

CHAPTER II.—CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS.

Article 75.

1.—All German nationals in the German portion of the plebiscite territory on the one hand, and all Polish nationals in the Polish portion on the other hand, shall be equal before the law and shall enjoy the same civil and political rights without distinction as to race, language or religion.

2.—Legislative and administrative provisions may not establish any differential treatment of nationals belonging to a minority. Similarly, they may not be interpreted or applied in a discriminatory manner to the detriment of such persons. The above principally concerns the supply of products subject to a centralised system of exploitation, such as articles of food, coal, fuel, paper used in the printing of newspapers, etc., the distribution of means of transport, the assignment of premises to persons, companies, or associations, the granting of official authorisations relating to transfers of real property and ownership, measures relating to the distribution of land, etc.

3.—Nationals belonging to minorities shall, in actual practice, receive from the authorities and officials the same treatment and the same guarantees as other nationals ; in particular the authorities and officials may not treat nationals belonging to minorities with contempt nor omit to protect them against punishable acts.

Article 76.

Nationals belonging to minorities may not be placed at a disadvantage in the exercise of their right of voting, notably in the case of a referendum, and of their rights of suffrage and eligibility as regards all elections to representative assemblies of the State and other public bodies, as well as for elections to representative bodies dealing with social matters. In particular, a knowledge of or familiarity with the official language may not be required of the said nationals for these purposes, without prejudice, however, to the provisions concerning the official language and the language in which the meetings may be conducted.

Article 77.

All nationals shall be treated on a footing of equality as regards admission to public employments, functions and honours, including military ranks, and to public establishments, and as regards the granting of degrees, distinctions, etc.

Article 78.

1.—Nationals belonging to minorities shall enjoy the same rights as other nationals as regards the right of association or meeting and the creation of foundations.

2.—The fact that associations devote themselves to the interests of minorities as regards their language, culture, religion, ethnical character or social relations, cannot constitute a reason for prohibiting these associations, hindering their activities or preventing them from acquiring legal status.

Article 79.

1.—Subject to the general laws in force, nationals belonging to a minority shall be entitled to issue publications and printed matter of all kinds in their own language, as well as to import them from abroad and distribute them.

2.—In so far as newspapers or periodicals are under an obligation to insert official communications, they shall be entitled to require that a translation in the language of the newspaper or periodical be supplied them with a view to insertion and that the current price for insertion be paid them. In the case of an insertion in two languages, payment may only be demanded for insertion in the official language. The publication of judgments and corrections required in virtue of a judicial decision shall not be considered as official communications.

Article 80.

Nationals belonging to minorities shall be treated on the same footing as other nationals as regards the exercise of agricultural, commercial or industrial callings, or of any other calling. They shall only be subject to the provisions in force applied to other nationals.

Article 81.

1.—Nationals belonging to minorities shall have the right to establish, manage and control at their own expense charitable, religious, cultural or social institutions. Subject to State supervision, the existing institutions may continue to carry on their activities without hindrance. They shall retain their property and all their acquired rights in conformity with the stipulations of Article 4.

2.—Institutions may bring from the territory of the other Contracting Party the ecclesiastics, teachers, doctors, sisters of charity, deaconesses, nurses and other similar personnel necessary for their activities, whatever may be the nationality of such persons. This stipulation does not, however, affect the provisions relating to the entry, residence and departure of aliens. The diplomas and professional degrees of the persons in question, which are valid in the territory of the other Contracting Party, shall also be recognised as valid for the exercise of their profession within the sphere of activity of the institutions which have introduced them.

3.—The importation of the necessary books, works of edification, medical and surgical instruments, drugs, etc., is authorised, provided that the general prohibitions applicable to all nationals of the State do not

oppose it. This stipulation shall in no way invalidate the Customs regulations.

Article 82.

The following articles apply to persons who are entitled to retain their domicile in one of the two parts of the plebiscite territory :

Article 76, as regards representative church assemblies or representative social bodies,

Article 77, except as regards admission to public functions and employments, including honorary functions and military ranks,

Article 78 (1), except as regards political associations,

Article 78, paragraph 2 ; Article 79 ; Article 81.

Article 83.

The Contracting Parties undertake to assure full and complete protection of life and liberty to all the inhabitants of the plebiscite territory, without distinction of party, nationality, language, race or religion.

CHAPTER III.—RELIGION.

Article 84.

§ 1.

The relations of the State with the religious confessions shall be governed by the law after hearing the competent representatives of these confessions in conformity with the principles laid down in the present chapter.

§ 2.

By the term " religious confessions " in the present chapter is meant all organised religions.

Article 85.

All the inhabitants of the plebiscite territory shall be entitled to the free exercise, whether public or private, of any creed, religion or belief whose practices are not inconsistent with public order or public morals.

Article 86.

1.—Religious confessions, parishes and Jewish communities, as well as orders and congregations, shall be entitled to administer their affairs and to direct and supervise their institutions in full liberty, subject to the laws promulgated to maintain public order and public morals.

2.—They shall be free to employ the language of their choice in all affairs of internal administration. Religious confraternities and societies may do the same.

Article 87.

§ 1.

Within the scope of the general laws and without prejudice to the rights of third parties or rights resulting from agreements between the State and the Holy See, religious confessions, parishes and Jewish com-

munities, as well as orders and congregations, shall be entirely free to appoint ecclesiastics, functionaries, assistants, sisters of charity, deaconesses and other auxiliary personnel.

§ 2.

They may, in so far as they belong to a religious minority, for this purpose introduce from abroad persons such as those mentioned in § 1 who need not change their nationality and whose diplomas and professional degrees shall be recognised.

§ 3.

1.—Religious confessions, parishes and Jewish communities, as well as orders and congregations, which include members of a racial or linguistic minority, shall be free to provide for such members divine service, the cure of souls and religious instruction in their own language.

2.—In the event of persons belonging to a racial or linguistic minority forming the majority in a parish or Jewish community the provisions of § 2 shall be applicable.

Article 88.

Religious confessions, parishes and Jewish communities, as well as orders and congregations, may maintain, even outside the territory of the State, relations of a purely ecclesiastical character with a view to co-operation in regard to creed, doctrine, worship and charity, and they may receive gifts for this purpose from their co-religionists abroad.

Article 89.

1.—Persons belonging to all confessions shall enjoy the legal holidays which were allowed them before the transfer of sovereignty. These holidays may not be abolished or changed without the consent of the competent representatives of the religious bodies in question.

2.—The question of the Sabbath is settled by Article 71.

Article 90.

The ecclesiastics and staff of religious confessions, parishes and Jewish communities, as well as of orders and congregations, may freely perform their duties whatever their origin or language.

Article 91.

Religious confessions, parishes and Jewish communities belonging to a religious minority shall be entitled to an equitable share of the sums provided for religious or spiritual purposes in the State, municipal or other budgets, taking into account the requirements of the nationals belonging to the religious minorities.

Article 92.

The Contracting Parties undertake to permit parishes and Jewish communities to take copies of the State tax returns to serve as a basis for the allocation of church taxes in the said parishes or communities.

Article 93.

1.—All religious confessions, parishes and Jewish communities and all orders and congregations existing and recognised in the plebiscite territory shall continue to be recognised therein.

2.—Taking into account the change of sovereignty, they shall be obliged to bring their organisation into line with the laws promulgated to maintain public order and public morals and with the provisions of the present chapter.

3.—For the purposes of this adjustment they shall be allowed a transitional period lasting until July 1st, 1923. This stipulation does not apply to the agreement which has been or may hereafter be concluded between the Polish State and the Holy See. It shall also not apply to the provision of Article 95.

Article 94.

1.—Ecclesiastics, church functionaries, sisters of charity and deaconesses at present performing their duties may continue to do so without let or hindrance.

2.—With the object of developing mutual good feeling, the Contracting Parties shall make representations to the ecclesiastical authorities with a view to an exchange of Catholic priests between the two parts of the plebiscite territory in conformity with the provisions of canon law.

Article 95.

Parishes and Jewish communities, as well as their ecclesiastics, functionaries and pensioners, may freely settle their economic relations with the ecclesiastical provident institutions (funds, etc.) to which they belong on the date of the transfer of sovereignty, and continue these relations as long as it remains impossible to substitute institutions able to replace them completely. The same shall apply to the survivors of the persons mentioned above.

Article 96.

§ 1.

Establishments, foundations and other institutions with religious or charitable aims whose activities extend to the two parts of the plebiscite territory may continue to exercise such activities until separate institutions have been organised for each part of the territory.

§ 2.

In the event of parishes or Jewish communities being divided by the frontier line between the two parts of the plebiscite territory, those concerned may take the necessary measures with a view to sharing in the upkeep of the movable and immovable property of the said parishes or communities.

Chapter IV.—Education.

First Section.—Private Education.

Article 97.

For the purposes of the present chapter, the term private education includes the teaching given by private schools and private educational establishments, whether they take the place of State schools or whether they do not, as in the case of the popular universities, academics of music, etc., as well as private teaching given out of school or at home.

Article 98.

1.—Nationals who belong to minorities may establish, manage, supervise and maintain at their own expense private schools or private educational establishments and give private teaching, provided that the requisite conditions for the safety of the children are fulfilled and provided that the teachers or tutors possess the legally necessary qualifications, are domiciled in the territory of the State in which the teaching is given, and do not take advantage of their profession to engage in activities hostile to the State. In cases in which an authorisation is required, it shall be granted if the conditions specified above are fulfilled.

2.—Private instruction out of school given by teachers, tutors of good moral character or by parents is authorised.

3.—The questions whether the private instruction referred to in paragraphs 1 and 2 is necessary or not may not be taken into consideration.

Article 99.

1.—The official language may not be imposed as the language of instruction in the private schools of linguistic minorities or in private teaching.

2.—The official language may only be imposed as a part of the curriculum in private schools taking the place of State schools of the same category.

Article 100.

1.—Any person who proves, by means of an official diploma, that he or she possesses the status of public teacher in one of the two States shall be considered as duly qualified to give instruction in a private school. To give private teaching out of school or to teach subjects in school not forming part of the regular curriculum, it is sufficient to produce a certificate of capacity to give such teaching delivered by a competent authority of one of the two States.

2.—The other provisions relating to the admission of aliens to act as teachers in private schools shall be so applied that the private schools of a minority can recruit some of the members of their teaching staff from abroad.

Article 101.

German nationals domiciled in Polish Upper Silesia may not be forbidden from attending private schools or private educational establishments in Polish Upper Silesia. Similarly, Polish nationals domiciled in

the German part of the plebiscite territory may not be forbidden from attending private schools or private educational establishments in the German part of the plebiscite territory.

Article 102.

The right granted to a minority to supervise private schools in no way invalidates the right of supervision belonging to the State authorities.

Article 103.

1.—Children belonging to a minority and receiving, at home or in a private school, a sufficient private education shall not be obliged to attend a State school.

2.—The Government educational authorities shall decide whether the private teaching in question is or is not sufficient to take the place of public education.

Article 104.

The special provisions relating to private professional or supplementary instruction will be found in Article 115; and those relating to private secondary and higher teaching in Articles 128—130.

SECOND SECTION.—PUBLIC ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.

Article 105.

§ 1.

For the purposes of the present chapter elementary schools shall be taken to mean schools, other than extension schools, which children must attend if the prescribed teaching is not given to them in any other manner.

§ 2.

The needs of the minorities as regards public elementary education shall be supplied by means of the following educational institutions:

(a) *Elementary schools employing the minority language as the language of instruction*—i.e., *minority schools;*

(b) *Elementary classes employing the minority language as the language of instruction, established in the elementary schools employing the official language*—i.e., *minority classes;*

(c) *Minority courses, including:*

(1) *Teaching of the minority language (minority language courses);*

(2) *Religious teaching in the minority language (minority religious courses).*

Article 106.

§ 1.

1.—A minority school shall be established on the application of a national supported by the persons legally responsible for the education of at least 40 children of a linguistic minority, provided these children are nationals of the State and that they belong to the same school district (*Schulverband—związek szkolny*), that they are of the age at which educa-

tion is compulsory, and that their parents intend to send them to the said school.

2.—If at least 40 of these children belong to the same denomination or religion, a minority school of the denominational or religious character desired shall be established on application.

3.—Should the establishment of a minority school be inexpedient for special reasons, minority classes shall be formed.

§ 2.

The applications mentioned in paragraphs 1 and 2 of § 1 shall be complied with as expeditiously as possible, and not later than beginning of the school-year following the application, provided the latter has been submitted at least nine months before the beginning of the school-year.

Article 107.

1.—*On the application of a national supported by the persons legally responsible for the education of at least eighteen pupils of an elementary school who are nationals of the State and belong to a linguistic minority, minority language classes shall be established as soon as possible for these pupils.*

2.—*In the same circumstances, if at least 12 of these pupils belong to the same denomination or religion, minority religious courses for these pupils shall be established on application.*

Article 108.

§ 1.

1.—Minority educational institutions may not be closed unless the number of their pupils for three consecutive school years is less than the number required for their establishment.

2.—Nevertheless, the school may be closed at the end of one school-year if throughout that year the number of pupils has been lower than half the number required.

§ 2.

If a minority educational institution is closed, the minority may maintain the institution in question on a private footing. When circumstances permit, the premises and school material employed may be left at its disposal.

Article 109.

§ 1.

The maintenance of minority educational institutions shall be provided for according to the same principles as the maintenance of other State elementary schools. The competent State authority shall be responsible for seeing that their maintenance is provided for.

§ 2.

1.—The communes (or *Gutsbezirke—obszary dworskie*, as the case may be), with State aid, shall be responsible for the maintenance of the State elementary schools. It is possible that several communes may be

grouped in *Gesamtschulverbände—zbiorowe zwiazki szkolne*, for the maintenance of schools. State aid will consist either in making grants or subsidies or in assuming direct responsibility for part of the maintenance of the schools.

2.—The salaries of the teaching staff of minority educational institutions, together with replacement expenses, shall be paid by the same organisations as those of the staff of the other State elementary schools.

Article 110.

§ 1.

1.—The minority schools shall receive a share, proportionate to the number of their pupils, of the funds allowed from the budgets of the school districts for the ordinary maintenance of elementary schools, apart from general administration expenses and grants-in-aid. As regards special expenses (transformations and extensions of the school organisation, important building operations, etc.), the competent State authority shall see that the minority schools are not placed at a disadvantage in the allocation of the credits provided for this purpose in the budgets of the school districts.

2.—In case of dispute, the State educational authorities shall decide what expenses are to be considered as general administration expenses.

§ 2.

In the distribution of the funds assigned to public elementary education in general by the State or by public organisations other than school districts, minority schools shall be treated on the same footing as the other elementary schools. As regards the sums derived from the funds whose employment is left to the discretion of the administration, minority schools shall in the same circumstances receive the same allocations as the other elementary schools.

Article 111.

1.—A school committee shall be established for each minority school and for minority classes, to share in their administration. More than half the members of this committee shall be elected by the persons legally responsible for the education of the pupils of the school or classes in question.

2.—If there are several minority schools belonging to the same denomination or religion in a school district, a joint school committee may be established for all these schools.

3.—If, in a school district, all the schools belong to the same minority, it shall not be necessary to establish a school committee. The delegation of the school district (*dozor szkolny, deputacja szkolna—Schulvorsland, Schuldeputation*) shall in this case be invested with the attributions of the school committee.

Article 112.

1.—The school committees shall have an equitable share in both the internal and external administration of the minority schools. They shall, in particular, be responsible for supervising the condition of the premises and the school material.

2.—The school committees may vote when decisions are taken relating to the use of the funds assigned to minority educational institutions.

3.—Before the appointment of teachers in minority schools or classes, the school committee shall have an opportunity of making recommendations with regard to the choice of candidates, without prejudice to the prerogatives of the State educational authorities in the matter of appointments. The delegation of the school district shall have no voice in the discussions. If the educational authority does not act on the school committee's recommendations it shall, as a general rule, communicate the reasons for its attitude to the said committee if the latter so requests.

Article 113.

With a view to ensuring a sufficient supply of teachers for the educational institutions of linguistic minorities, the Contracting Parties agree to take the following measures :

1.—As a general rule, only teachers belonging to the minority and perfectly acquainted with its language shall be appointed to minority schools.

Language courses shall be established for teachers appointed or about to be appointed to minority schools who are not sufficiently acquainted with the minority language.

2.—A sufficient number of institutions shall be established, in conformity with the legislation of the State concerned, for the general training of future teachers, in which the language of instruction shall be the minority language.

3.—The diplomas required of a teacher for appointment to a public elementary school of one of the Contracting States shall be sufficient to qualify him to act as teacher of the minority in the portion of the plebiscite territory belonging to the other State. Nevertheless, the acquisition of that State's nationality may be required.

Article 114.

1.—The German Government shall take the necessary steps to establish in the German portion of the plebiscite territory, during the school-year 1922-23, the minority educational institutions provided for in the present chapter.

2.—The Polish Government shall see that, in Polish Upper Silesia, the teaching given in German to German pupils, in so far as minority educational institutions are provided for in the present chapter, is not interrupted, unless difficulties of educational administration render this impossible.

THIRD SECTION.—VOCATIONAL TRAINING AND EXTENSION CLASSES.

Article 115.

The Contracting Parties shall not be obliged to create vocational schools or extension classes for a minority. If, however, private classes exist, at which the members of a minority can receive adequate vocational and supplementary training, attendance at these classes shall free them of any obligation to attend the corresponding State schools.

FOURTH SECTION.—SECONDARY AND HIGHER EDUCATION.

Article 116.

1.—Whereas the special position of the plebiscite territory demands that the needs of the minority as regards secondary and higher education should receive particular attention during the period of transition, the Governments of the two Contracting Parties undertake to use all the influence at their disposal with a view to the adoption of the principles of Articles 117 to 130 by the competent bodies.

2.—Until such time as these bodies have settled the question, the two Governments undertake to apply the following provisions.

Article 117.

§ 1.

For the purposes of the present chapter, secondary and higher schools shall be taken to mean schools of all kinds of secondary and higher grades within the meaning of the regulations in force in the plebiscite territory on the date of the transfer of sovereignty. Schools of new types subsequently created, out of the same grade, shall also be considered as such.

§ 2.

The needs of the minorities in regard to secondary and higher public education shall be met by means of the following educational institutions:

(*a*) Secondary and higher schools employing the minority language as the language of instruction—*i.e.*, minority schools ;

(*b*) Parallel classes employing the minority language as the language of instruction, established in the public schools employing the official language—*i.e.*, minority classes.

(*c*) Minority courses, including :—

(1) Teaching of the minority language (minority language courses) ;

(2) Religious instruction in the minority language (minority religious courses).

Article 118.

§ 1.

1.—In localities in the plebiscite territory in which there is a higher State school, a minority State school of the same grade shall be established if an application to that effect is made and is supported by the persons legally responsible for the education of at least 300 pupils.

2.—Minority classes shall be established in the higher State schools if an application to that effect is supported by the persons legally responsible for the education of at least 30 pupils in each of the four lower classes and of at least 20 pupils in each of the higher classes.

3.—Minority language courses shall be established if an application to that effect is supported by the persons legally responsible for the education of at least 25 pupils, and minority religious courses if the application is sup-

ported by the persons legally responsible for the education of at least 18 pupils.

§ 2.

An application may be supported by the persons legally responsible for the education of pupils of a linguistic minority who are nationals of the country in which the educational institution is situated, who reside in the part of the plebiscite territory belonging to that country, and who are entered or apply to be entered in a higher school.

Article 119.

1.—The minority school may be established in another locality if this is compatible with the needs of the pupils belonging to the minority.

2.—If the minority school is installed in a separate building, it shall have its own headmaster belonging to the minority. If it is situated in the same building as a higher school in which the language of instruction is the official language, its external administration may be entrusted to the headmaster of that school; but as regards all matters of teaching administration, it shall have its own headmaster belonging to the minority.

Article 120.

Minority educational institutions under the State may be replaced by communal institutions of the same grade.

Article 121.

1.—The competent authorities of the two Contracting Parties shall be bound to use all their influence and authority with the communes in which there are higher communal schools with a view to the establishment by the said communes of the minority educational institutions mentioned in Articles 118 and 119, if the conditions stipulated in these Articles are fulfilled.

2.—The same applies to minority institutions for secondary education. Nevertheless, the application must be supported by the persons legally responsible for the education of at least 200 pupils as regards the establishment of a minority secondary school, and of at least 35 pupils in the case of the formation of a minority class.

Article 122.

1.—Minority educational institutions may be closed if for three consecutive school years the number of their pupils is lower by at least 20 per cent than the number required for their establishment.

2.—If during one year the number of pupils is less than half the number required for its establishment, the educational institution may be closed at the end of the school year.

Article 123.

In public minority schools and classes of the secondary and higher grades, instruction shall only be given as a rule by teachers belonging to the minority and thoroughly acquainted with the minority language.

Article 124.

With a view to the application of the principles of Article 123, each Contracting Party declares its willingness to engage teachers belonging to the teaching staff of the other Contracting Party on the following conditions:

(a) The appointment shall be made for a period extending until the end of the school year 1936-37. Nevertheless, even before the end of this period, the State may terminate a contract as from the end of each school year upon giving six months' notice, and the teacher may terminate the contract at any time upon giving three months' notice.

(b) The State must pay teachers a salary at least equal to that which they would receive in their own country.

(c) Teachers shall not be obliged to take the oath to the State required of public officials. They may, however, be required to make a written declaration giving the State a pledge that they will faithfully and conscientiously perform their professional duties.

(d) The State may transfer teachers from one minority school to another minority school of the same grade, or to minority classes of the same grade. Such transfers may only take place in the plebiscite territory.

(e) From the point of view of their own authorities, teachers shall be regarded as on leave. They shall retain their rights to pensions and to relief for their surviving dependents. On relinquishing their employment in the foreign country, they shall be automatically reinstated in their posts in the teaching staff of their own country. Their period of service abroad shall be considered for the purposes of salary and promotion as service performed in their own country.

Article 125.

1.—In places where there are minority schools or classes, the persons legally responsible for the education of the pupils who attend them shall be adequately represented in the school committees (*Kuratorien, Deputationen—kuratorja, deputacje*), if any.

2.—The school committees of communal schools shall have an equitable share in both the internal and external administration of these schools ; they shall, in particular, be responsible, for supervising the conditions of the premises and school material. These school committees may vote when decisions are taken relating to the use of the funds assigned to minority educational institutions.

Article 126.

The school fees charged for attendance at State minority schools shall not be higher than those charged for attendance at corresponding schools using the official language. No additional fees shall be charged for attendance at minority classes or courses.

Article 127.

The official examinations in minority schools and classes shall be held in the minority language.

Article 128.

If the teaching given in private minority schools corresponds to that given in the State secondary or higher schools, these private minority schools shall be recognised as secondary or higher schools, and their certificates, particularly school-leaving certificates, shall have the same value as those granted by the public secondary or higher schools.

Article 129.

If a private minority school replaces a State secondary or higher school existing on the date of the transfer of sovereignty, it shall be entitled to a grant from public funds:

(a) Provided that the income of the school does not cover its necessary expenses. Income derived from school fees shall be estimated on the basis of at least the school fee charged in the State schools of the same kind ;

(b) And provided that the number of pupils who are nationals of the State amounts to either a total of 150, or an average of 30 per class in the four lower classes or 20 in the other classes.

Article 130.

§ 1.

1.—State grants shall be made on the same principles as the grants made by the State to communal or private schools of the same kind or grade.

2.—In calculating the amount of these grants, account may be taken of the differences between the financial burdens on State and private schools.

§ 2.

1.—Grants may only be made by communes or groups of communes (*Kommunalverbande—zwiazki komunalne*) if the commune or group of communes in whose area the private school is situated makes grants to State or private schools of the same grade, or if its expenditure on its schools of the same grade is not covered or is only partly covered by the income of these schools.

2.—One of the bases for calculating these grants shall be the average amount of the grants or expenses disbursed per pupil. Only pupils of the private school who are nationals of the State and who reside in the commune or group of communes in question shall be counted.

§ 3.

If the State, commune or group of communes declares its willingness and is actually prepared to admit a certain number of the pupils of the private school to a State minority school or minority classes in the same locality, the amount of the grant to be made to the private school shall be reduced by a sum proportionate to this number of pupils.

FIFTH SECTION.—GENERAL PROVISIONS.

Article 131.

1.—In order to determine the language of a pupil or child, account shall only be taken of the verbal or written statement of the person legally responsible for the education of the pupil or child. This statement may not be verified or disputed by the school authorities.

2.—Similarly, the school authorities must abstain from exercising any pressure, however slight, with a view to obtaining the withdrawal of requests for the establishment of minority schools.

Article 132.

§ 1.

By language of instruction or language considered as a subject of the curriculum is meant correct literary Polish or German as the case may be.

§ 2.

When a minority language is the language of instruction, it shall be used for the teaching of all subjects except for the teaching of Polish in the Polish part of the plebiscite territory and for the teaching of German in the German part of that territory, when instruction in these languages forms part of the school curriculum.

§ 3.

Minority courses in the minority language shall be given in that language.

Article 133.

1.—The Contracting Parties undertake not to authorise in any school in their respective parts of the plebiscite territory the use of books or pictorial teaching material liable to offend the national or religious sentiments of a minority.

2.—Similarly, each of the Contracting Parties shall take the necessary measures to ensure that, in the lessons given at school, the national and intellectual qualities of the other Party are not improperly depreciated in the eyes of the pupils.

CHAPTER V.—LANGUAGES.

Article 134.

The Contracting Parties guarantee to the minorities the free use of their language both in their individual or economic relations and in their collective relations. No provision may limit the exercise of this freedom. The same shall apply as regards the free use of minority languages in the Press and in publications of all kinds, and at public or private meetings.

Article 135.

In verbal relations with the civil authorities of the plebiscite territory, all persons shall be entitled to use either the German or the Polish language.

Article 136.

Petitions addressed to the civil authorities of the plebiscite territory may be drawn up in German or in Polish. The reply may be made in either of the languages. If it is made in the official language, a translation must be attached if the petition was not drawn up in that language and if the petitioner has so requested.

Article 137.

The official communications of the civil authorities in the plebiscite territory shall be made in the official language. A translation in the minority language shall be attached to these communications in all places in which this procedure was employed on January 1st, 1922. The competent authorities shall nevertheless be free to settle this point in a different manner.

Article 138.

1.—Subject to the regulations concerning the use of the official language and in particular the language in which minutes, motions, etc., must be drawn up, nationals belonging to the minorities may speak in their own language in the *Kreislag*, in the *sejmik powialowy*, and in the municipal and communal councils of the plebiscite territory.

2.—The same shall apply to the *sejm* of the Voivodship of Silesia and to the *Provinziallandlag* of Upper Silesia for four years from the date of the transfer of sovereignty.

3.—The provisions of paragraphs 1 and 2 shall be applicable to any representative assemblies which may hereafter replace the assemblies mentioned above.

Article 139.

1.—The provisions of the present section shall not apply to the administrations of the railways and of the posts, telegraphs, etc.

2.—In direct relations with the public, and particularly at railway ticket offices and post offices, the convenience of the population shall as far as possible be considered, so far as the minority language is understood by the employees.

Article 140.

1.—In the ordinary courts of the plebiscite territory, any person shall be entitled to use verbally or in writing either the German language or the Polish language instead of the official language. The same shall apply to petitions addressed to the ordinary courts of the plebiscite territory which must be forwarded for decision to a higher court sitting outside this territory, so far as the petition can be admitted by the court to which it is addressed. Without prejudice to the special measures contemplated by the Polish Government for the period of transition following upon the entry into force of the treaty, this privilege shall not be enjoyed by advocates or persons who professionally represent third parties before the courts, except in cases when they are acting on their own behalf.

2.—In case of need, that part of the proceedings which does not take place in the official language shall be translated by the President of the Court, by one of its members, or by an interpreter called by the court.

3.—The Court shall decide whether it is advisable to insert in the records or as an annex statements or evidence produced in a minority language, or to attach to the records a translation certified by the interpreter. A party may not, however, demand that an annexed record shall be drawn up in the language of a minority.

Article 141.

The Minister of Justice may decree that complaints, petitions or other declarations of a party, drawn up in the minority language and which must be officially notified ex-officio, shall be accompanied by the number of copies necessary for such notification.

Article 142.

1.—The official notification of complaints, or other documents relating to a case, drawn up in the minority language shall only be valid if it is made in the other State or in the plebiscite territory.

2.—If the notification in the minority language is without effect, and if official notification must be made ex-officio, a translation of the complaint or document in question must be arranged for by the court and forwarded for the purpose of notification ; a copy of the original must be attached ; the notification of the translation shall in this case have the same effects as a valid notification of the document translated.

Article 143.

Without prejudice to the provisions of Article 146, applications for entries in the land register or other registers kept by the courts, as well as declarations of consent relating thereto, must, if they are drawn up in the minority language, be accompanied by a translation by a sworn interpreter, whose text shall be taken as authentic in case of divergence.

Article 144.

In the ordinary courts of the plebiscite territory the Polish language may, if the court deem necessary, be employed in the debates in the German part, and the German language in the Polish part, provided that the parties, witnesses and other persons concerned understand it sufficiently. Even in such case, judgment shall be delivered in the official language, and the records shall be drawn up in that language. The provisions of paragraph 3 of Article 140 shall apply.

Article 145.

The above-mentioned provisions shall also be applicable to commercial courts, trade councils, trade union arbitration tribunals, social insurance administrative tribunals, conciliation and arbitration committees, conciliation offices for rent and lease cases, and Versorgungsgerichle. These provisions are also applicable to relations between the public and bailiffs, arbitrators, persons qualified to draft wills in case of urgency, and village courts.

Article 146.

The above provisions in no way invalidate any regulations already issued, or which may hereafter be issued, authorising in a still larger measure the use of the Polish language in the German part, or the use of the German language in the Polish part. In particular, the option granted to notaries under paragraph 2245 of the German Civil Code shall be maintained.

RIGHT OF PETITION AND METHODS OF APPEAL.

Article 147.

The Council of the League of Nations is competent to pronounce on all individual or collective petitions relating to the provisions of the present Part and directly addressed to it by members of a minority. When the Council forwards these petitions to the Government of the State in whose territory the petitioners are domiciled, this Government shall return them, with or without observations, to the Council for examination.

Article 148.

In order to ensure that petitions emanating from members of a minority and relating to the interpretation or application of the provisions of the present Part should receive uniform and equitable treatment from the administrative authorities in each of the two Parts of the plebiscite territory, each of the two Governments shall establish a Minorities Office in its part of the plebiscite territory.

Article 149.

As regards the application and interpretation of the provisions of the present Part by the administrative authorities who receive orders from higher authorities, members of a minority may submit a petition to the Minorities Office of their State for examination, in conformity with the following provisions. In accordance with the special stipulations contained in the following articles, the Minorities Office shall then forward these petitions to the President of the Mixed Commission for his opinion. If the petitioners are not satisfied with the action taken in the matter by the administrative authorities, they may appeal to the Council of the League of Nations.

Article 150.

1.—All petitions must be forwarded to the Minorities Office in triplicate, under the following conditions:

(*a*) After the complaint has been brought before the administrative authority which ranks as the highest competent instance in the plebiscite territory as regards the matter in question ; or

(*b*) If the case is within the competence of the autonomous communal authorities (*kommunale Selbslverwaltungskorper—komunalne ciala sumorzadowe*), after the complaint has been laid before the State authority responsible for communal supervision which ranks as the highest competent instance in the plebiscite territory ; or

(*c*) In the case of a dispute as to whether the requisite conditions for the establishment or maintenance of a minority school, class or course have not been fulfilled, after the matter has been laid before the State authority competent with regard to schools ; or

(*d*) In a case in which the first complaint must be addressed to an administrative authority outside the plebiscite territory, or for which the competent authority of the first instance is outside the said territory, after the complaint has been laid before the proper higher authorities competent in the matter.

2.—A petition addressed to the Minorities Office before the conditions prescribed in paragraph 1 have been fulfilled shall be rejected without examination.

Article 151.

If a member or a minority establishes a prima facie case that the matter which concerns him has not been settled within a reasonable time by the administrative authorities, or that the matter is one which requires urgent settlement, he may demand that his petition should be examined even before appealing to the administrative authorities mentioned in paragraph 1 of Article 150.

Article 152.

1.—In all the cases provided for in Articles 150 and 151, if the Minorities Office does not succeed in giving satisfaction to the petitioners, it shall forward the petition with its observations to the President of the Mixed Commission for his opinion.

Each Minorities Office shall represent the authorities of its country in relations with the President of the Mixed Commission.

Article 153.

1.—The President of the Mixed Commission shall be free to make all enquiries he may consider useful and appropriate. He shall give the petitioners and the Minorities Office an opportunity of submitting their observations verbally or in writing.

2.—After examining the case and giving the members of the Mixed Commission an opportunity of expressing their views, the President shall communicate to the Minorities Office his own opinion on the matter in which the case may be settled in conformity with the provisions of the present Part, the provisions of paragraph 2 of Article 158 being applicable mutatis mutandis.

3.—The opinion may indicate a final, a provisional or a partial solution. The President may also declare that he will only state his opinion at the end of a certain period.

Article 154.

The Minorities Office shall forward the opinion of the President of the Mixed Commission to the competent administrative authorities, and shall as soon as possible inform the President of the Mixed Commission of the decision of the authorities, stating whether and in what manner they have taken his opinion into account.

Article 155.

The time-limits for proceedings shall be fixed by the President of the Mixed Commission.

Article 156.

The proceedings shall not be public. The President of the Mixed Commission shall decide whether and when his opinion may be communicated to the petitioner by the Minorities Office. He shall also decide whether and when its publication shall be allowed.

Article 157.

The appeal to the Council of the League of Nations provided for in Article 149 shall be addressed to the Minorities Office. The latter shall arrange for its transmission to the Council by the Government.

Article 158.

1.—If, in the cases referred to in Article 588, the judgment or decision depends on the interpretation of the provisions of the present Part, the question of interpretation shall be submitted to the President of the Arbitral Tribunal alone in case of " evocation " (removal from the jurisdiction of the courts). " Evocation " may be applied for by the member of a minority concerned or by the opposing party.

2.—The interpretation given by the President of the Arbitral Tribunal shall take into account, inter alia, such resolutions of the Council of the League of Nations as may refer to similar cases in Upper Silesia. The question whether any national laws are compatible with the provisions of the present Part may not be examinel."

The protection of minorities in Turkey.

Even Turkey, which has figured prominently in the text-books of European history as the oppressor of Christian minorities, has embodied precisely the same provisions in the Lausanne Treaty. Indian Muslims will be particularly interested in the example of toleration which Muslim powers like Turkey and Albania have shown. The Treaty with Albania is precisely the same. The following extract from the Treaty of Peace between the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan, Greece, Roumania, the Serbo-Croat-Slovene State and Turkey deals with the protection of minorities. It was signed at Lausanne on July 24th, 1923, and was brought into force from August 6th, 1924.

Treaty with Turkey, signed at Lausanne on July 24, 1923.

PART I.

PROTECTION OF MINORITIES.

Article 37.

Turkey undertakes that the stipulations contained in Articles 38 to 44 shall be recognised as fundamental laws, and that no law, no regulation, nor official action shall conflict or interfere with these stipulations, nor shall any law, regulation, nor official action prevail over them.

Article 38.

The Turkish Government undertakes to assure full and complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of Turkey without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race or religion.

All inhabitants of Turkey shall be entitled to free exercise, whether in public or private, of any creed, religion or belief, the observance of which shall not be incompatible with public order and good morals.

Non-Moslem minorities will enjoy full freedom of movement and of emigration, subject to the measures applied, on the whole or on part of the territory, to all Turkish nationals, and which may be taken by the Turkish Government for national defence, or for the maintenance of public order.

Article 39.

Turkish nationals belonging to non-Moslem minorities will enjoy the same civil and political rights as Moslems.

All the inhabitants of Turkey, without distinction of religion, shall be equal before the law.

Differences of religion, creed or confession shall not prejudice any Turkish national in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil or political rights, as, for instance, admission to public employments, functions and honours, or the exercise of professions and industries.

No restrictions shall be imposed on the free use by any Turkish national of any language in private intercourse, in commerce, religion, in the press, or in publications of any kind or at public meetings.

Notwithstanding the existence of the official language, adequate facilities shall be given to Turkish nationals of non-Turkish speech for the oral use of their own language before the Courts.

Article 40.

Turkish nationals belonging to non-Moslem minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as other Turkish nationals. In particular, they shall have an equal right to establish, manage and control at their own expense, any charitable, religious and social institutions, any schools and other establishments for instruction and education, with the right to use their own language and to exercise their own religion freely therein.

Article 41.

As regards public instruction, the Turkish Government will grant in those towns and districts, where a considerable proportion of non-Moslem nationals are resident, adequate facilities for ensuring that in the primary schools the instruction shall be given to the children of such Turkish nationals through the medium of their own language. This provision will not prevent the Turkish Government from making the teaching of the Turkish language obligatory in the said schools.

In towns and districts where there is a considerable proportion of Turkish nationals belonging to non-Moslem minorities, these minorities shall be assured an equitable share in the enjoyment and application of the sums

which may be provided out of public funds under the State, municipal or other budgets for educational, religious, or charitable purposes.

The sums in question shall be paid to the qualified representative of the establishments and institutions concerned.

Article 42.

The Turkish Government undertakes to take, as regards non-Moslem minorities, in so far as concerns their family law or personal status, measure permitting the settlement of these questions in accordance with the customs of those minorities.

These measures will be elaborated by special Commissions composed of representatives of the Turkish Government and of representatives of each of the minorities concerned in equal number. In case of divergence, the Turkish Government and the Council of the League of Nations will appoint in agreement an umpire chosen from amongst European lawyers.

The Turkish Government undertakes to grant full protection to the churches, synagogues, cemeteries, and other religious establishments of the above-mentioned minorities. All facilities and authorisation will be granted to the pious foundations, and to the religious and charitable institutions of the said minorities at present existing in Turkey, and the Turkish Government will not refuse, for the formation of new religious and charitable institutions, any of the necessary facilities which are guaranteed to other private institutions of that nature.

Article 43.

Turkish nationals belonging to non-Moslem minorities shall not be compelled to perform any act which constitutes a violation of their faith or religious observances, and shall not be placed under any disability by reason of their refusal to attend Courts of Law or to perform any legal business on their weekly day of rest.

This provision, however, shall not exempt such Turkish nationals from such obligations as shall be imposed upon all other Turkish nationals for the preservation of public order.

Article 44.

Turkey agrees that, in so far as the preceding Articles of this Section affect non-Moslem national of Turkey, these provisions constitute obligations of international concern and shall be placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations. They shall not be modified without the assent of the majority of the Council of the League of Nations. The British Empire, France, Italy and Japan hereby agree not to withhold their assent to any modification in these Articles which is in due form assented to by a majority of the Council of the League of Nations.

Turkey agrees that any Member of the Council of the League of Nations shall have the right to bring to the attention of the Council any infraction or danger of infraction of any of these obligations, and that the Council may thereupon take such action and give such directions as it may deem proper and effective in the circumstances.

Turkey further agrees that any difference of opinion as to questions of law or of fact arising out of these Articles between the Turkish Government and any one of the other Signatory Powers or any other Power, a member of the Council of the League of Nations, shall be held to be a dispute of an international character under Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. The Turkish Government hereby consents that any such dispute shall, if the other party thereto demands, be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice. The decision of the Permanent Court shall be final and shall have the same force and effect as an award under Article 13 of the Covenant.

Article 45.

The rights conferred by the provisions of the present Section on the non-Moslem minorities of Turkey will be similarly conferred by Greece on the Moslem minority in her territory.

The earliest case in which the rights of minorities were guaranteed by a treaty is that of the United Netherlands. This kingdom was created by the Congress of Vienna in 1814 and Catholic Belgium was united with Protestant Holland. The " Eight Articles " guaranteed religious freedom to all creeds, and the admissibility of all citizens to public offices and dignities. The kingdom of Greece was created in 1830 by a Protocol signed by Great Britain, France and Russia. The Protocol guaranteed religious freedom, and provided that all citizens shall be admissible to all public offices. The Protocol of the Conference of Constantinople of 1856, which established Moldavia and Wallachia as independent principalities declared that all religions enjoyed equal liberty, and equal protection in the two principalities. The Congress of Berlin, 1878, guaranteed protection to Jews and Muslims in the newly created Balkan States.

It was, however, at the Peace Conference of Paris, in 1919, that the rights of minorities were adequately and effectively guaranteed. The difference between the earlier treaties, and the treaties signed in 1919, lay precisely in this, that while the former were concerned mainly with the establishment of religious freedom, the latter attempted a solution of those problems of race, language, education and administration to which the existence of different races, religions and languages in a state always gives rise. The earlier treaties confined themselves to the provision of freedom of conscience. This was, of course, a great advance on the doctrines propounded by the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, which stated practically that the religion of princes determined the religious belief of their subjects. But modern world demands more than bare religious toleration. The proposals of the Great Powers were vehemently opposed by the new states. Poland protested strongly against it ; Roumania put up a stubborn fight, while other powers contended that it was an unjustifiable interference with the independence of sovereign states. The reply to M. Veniselos' contention that a supplementary minorities Protocol between Greece and Bulgaria was derogatory to the sovereignty of Greece was effectively given by Sir Austen Chamberlain, who stated that " the states which admitted these obligations admitted a restraint on their rights of sovereignty." The guarantees contained in the Minorities clauses are under the protection of the Council

which meets automatically at regular intervals, for the transaction of regular business.

We are justified in going further, and stating, that the fall of the Austro-Hungarian Empire was due solely to the failure of the Austrian dynasty to solve the problem of minorities. The attempts of Joseph II, the persecution in which the Magyars indulged, the cruel and tyrannical treatment of Poles, Czechs, and Ruthenians by the haughty German and Magyar Junkers of the Empire, brought about the downfall of the Empire. The tragic history of this Empire during the last hundred years, offers a warning and supplies a lesson which ought to serve as a reminder to India. In spite of *dragonnade*, martial law, and reign of terror, minorities like the Poles, Slovaks, Czechs, and Ruthenians refused to be assimilated, and after countless hardships, won their freedom.

We have deemed it necessary to discuss the question of the rights of minorities at some length, as otherwise, our position is likely to be misunderstood. We do not want and have never desired, the establishment of an *imperium in imperio*. We are the children of India, sharing in the sorrows, and glorying in the achievements, of our country. We have constantly desired, and ardently advocated, constitutional advance of our motherland. We believe in the ideal of a United India, united in her aims, inspired by a noble and moral purpose, and realising her destiny in those realms of Art, Literature and Government, which her past achievements, and her vast reservoir of intellect, character, and tradition, lead us to expect. We believe that this can be achieved only by working wholeheartedly for the ideal by which Indians of all shades, parties, classes, communities, races and creeds are animated—the ideal of responsible government in India. This is our goal, the aim at which all of our efforts are directed, and for which everyone of us is striving. We are in complete agreement with the leaders of other political organizations in India on this matter, as we feel that this is the only solution of a problem which, however intricate, complex and elusive it might appear at first sight, is capable of a satisfactory solution. Indeed, we see no prospect of any lasting settlement until this question is properly settled. We shall be false to the trust reposed in us by our countrymen, false to the glorious tradition, and brilliant achievements of our race, if we slacken our efforts for the realisation of the aim which was so nobly expressed in the remarkable declaration of Mr. Montague in August 1917, and in the preamble to the Government of India Act. We believe that only by working consciously and deliberately for this end can the legitimate, reasonable, and, we may add, natural aspirations of our countrymen be satisfied. We wish to remove another impression which has been created in the minds of a number of people. Separate electorate is not our ideal ; it is a child of necessity. We believe that the time might come when our community might reconsider its policy ; We hope that an occasion or occasions might arise when the need for this safeguard might no longer be felt. But this will depend upon the growth of that feeling of trust, confidence, and toleration between the two great communities without which no government is possible. We would, indeed, be justified in saying that so far as the political programme of our community is concerned there is no fundamental difference between the ends pursued by us and those by other great communities and parties in India.

While, however, we agree with the aims and objects of other parties, while our ideal is, in the words of John Milton, a puissant nation, vigorous, united, and influential, administering her own affairs, managing, solving, aiding, planning, and contriving her domestic problems, unaided ; and enjoying all the powers, privileges, rights and prerogatives which British Dominions enjoy, we differ from the parties led and controlled by the Hindus in our manner and method. We believe that the aims and methods pursued by organisations controlled by the majority community are so radically opposed to ours that there is no other alternative for us than opposition. The logic of facts has compelled us to reconnoitre the ground before we proceed further.

We have no desire to detail all the reasons which have led us, regretfully and sorrowfully, to reject the panacea of full dominion status which has been prescribed by certain sections. It is sufficient to state that the hopes and expectations that had been raised in the minds of the Muslims have not been realised ; that the vessel which was launched in beautiful smooth waters by that skilful mariner, Mr. Montague, has encountered rocks and shoals which had not been foreseen. The working of the Government of India revealed tendencies, its logical application exhibited forces, which had not been perceived before. The Act gave, for the first time, power to the legislature. It is not our purpose here to examine whether the power was great or small. It will suffice to say that the legislatures were invested with rights which, if skilfully utilised, and tactfully used, were bound to render their influence supreme in certain fields. The form it ultimately assumed was the type to which it was expected to conform. It was led in the spheres of transferred departments by Ministers who were the leaders of parties in the Legislative Councils. It followed the policy, and formulated the decisions, which ministers advocated. We do not, indeed, we cannot, object to such a plan, as it is of the essence of parliamentary government that the majority must rule the minority. We would, indeed, have hesitated to refer to it, but for the fact that from it flow consequences which had far-reaching effects on the relation of the two communities. If the parties in the Council or outside had been based on community of economic interest, or political creed, they would have consolidated parliamentary government, vitalised our political life, inspired our endeavours, and developed among us those sentiments of co-operation, trust, and toleration to which the Muslims, whether as rulers of this province for over seven centuries, or as loyal subjects of His Majesty the King Emperor, have always attached the greatest importance. But it became immediately clear to the plainest understanding that the working of the legislative machinery showed the line along which the two communities were moving.

The voting power possessed by members of various communities was utilised for expressing in a concrete, visible, form the demands, the desires and the aspirations of particular communities. Power, which had formerly belonged to the Government as a whole, was now divided. For Diarchy involved not merely the division of government, but also a division of the powers and influence of the government.

It gave virtual control over the policy and, in some cases, the administration, of such important subjects, as education, industry, local self-

government, agriculture, and public health. The majority community promptly used its opportunity, and passed a series of Acts in the local legislatures which have left a deep impression upon the minds of all its residents, and produced effects, whose intensity and volume are still felt by the Muslims. The first, and, in some cases, the most important effect of this change was perceived in the sphere of education. We refer you to our report on education for details of these measures. Our position is, however, liable to be misunderstood, if we do not define our attitude towards these changes. We are in complete sympathy with the aims which underlay the reforms advocated by the Sadler Commission ; nor do we object to the principles that guided the passage of the U. P. District Board Amendment Bill into law. We are not, and have never been, opposed to the liberalising of local bodies, with proper safeguards for minorities, and the reorganisation of our educational machinery on rational basis. We are compelled, however, to point out that the manner and method in which these reforms were carried out tended to place our community at a serious disadvantage. We may illustrate our remarks by referring you to the working of the Allahabad and Lucknow University Acts. The Sadler Commission had laid down safeguards for the protection of Muslim interests, and its members had unanimously proposed measures for the protection of Muslim rights, yet, while the basic recommendations of the Commission were embodied in various University Acts, the proposals that guaranteed protection to our community were deliberately left out. The result is that Muslims have virtually disappeared from the important bodies and departments of teaching of the two universities. Precisely the same policy was pursued in the domain of secondary and intermediate education. The Board of Intermediate and High School Education is the outcome of the recommendations of the Commission; it was designed with a view to raising the level both of University and of secondary education. The Commission had suggested safeguards in their scheme of Intermediate Education which were, and are, in our opinion, insufficient, inadequate, halting, hesitating, meagre, and unsatisfactory. Yet while all the important recommendations of the Commission concerning Intermediate Education were embodied in the U. P. Intermediate Education Act of 1921, their meagre proposals for the protection of our interest were studiously ignored. The effects of this policy are palpable. Both Secondary and University education have been Hinduised ; and our community has ceased to play the part, and to exercise the influence, which it has continuously and successfully exercised since the beginning of Western education in these provinces.

In primary education, too, the consequences of the policy pursued by the new regime have been disastrous. The U.P. District Board Act of 1922 constituted District Boards on a purely elective basis, and invested them with extensive and far-reaching powers. The Muslim community supported the Bill, as it thought, and still thinks, that experience of local self-government is the soundest foundation for constitutional advance. We believe that it is by participating in the affairs of the locality that the average citizen can understand the affairs of his province. We are of the opinion that contact with the hard realities of life, the administration of a large or small area, presenting many problems of varying degrees of complexity, and successful handling of men, of problems and of things engender a spirit,

and develop a capacity, which are of the utmost value to all Indian citizens. It must be confessed, however, that the way in which Muslims have been treated by these Boards has been most unsatisfactory, and grossly unjust, and imprudent. The non-Muslims have an overwhelming majority in every district board, while they dominate eighty-five per cent of the municipal boards. If the majority community, instead of trampling on our rights, had created a spirit of confidence and produced a feeling of trust, the machinery of local self-government would have run smoothly on. We are regretfully compelled to say that this is not the case. It is our painful duty to bring to your notice the serious, glaring, and gross acts which a number of local bodies has perpetrated on the language, education, culture, religious rights, and education of Muslims. As primary education is in the hands of local bodies, they mould the policy, and guide the current of educational effort and enterprise. The result is perceptible in the discussions in the U. P. Legislative Council in the years 1924—28; the resolutions passed by Muslim educational and other conferences, the memorials presented to the Government, and the Governor, and the various Committees on primary education appointed by the Government, since 1924. They have been summarised in our reports on education, and we need only refer to them here. We may say briefly that the special Muslim schools that had been established by the Government, after a solemn promise embodied in a resolution published by the Government in 1914, have been starved ; the number of Muslim teachers has been reduced; applications of Muslim schools for grants are generally rejected; the special measures designed for the improvement of our lot have been dropped, while our moderate, reasonable and legitimate requests for the improvement of the education of our boys are either met with a blank refusal, or with active hostility. Our report on local self-government supplies an amplitude of material in confirmation of our statements.

We feel that the maintenance of our culture depends upon the preservation of our language, the Urdu, which is the Court language of these provinces. It is the medium of instruction of our boys ; it is the instrument whereby our historical, cultural, and religious traditions are preserved. Yet many boards have not hesitated to pass resolutions making Hindi compulsory in the proceedings of these bodies; forced Hindi on Muslim children, and reduced the number of Urdu-knowing teachers. They have invaded rights which Muslims had enjoyed from time immemorial; rights which have been guaranteed to them for generations; rights upon the exercise of which depends our existence as a community. They have in many cases prohibited cow-killing, in other cases prohibited the construction of slaughter-houses, while in a number of cases they have deliberately left Muslim streets and localities inhabited by Muslims uncared for.

In services, too, the same tendency is at work ; the same instinct of acquisitiveness is in active operation. This will be clear from our report on Services. As you are well aware, just after the reforms, the process of Indianisation began in all the services maintained by the Government and local bodies which has continued in full vigour since. Our experience of Indianisation is that members of our community find it difficult to secure positions, they find it impossible to get appointments, commensurate with their ability and experience. Capable, efficient and trained Muslims already

in the service are either dismissed or degraded ; offices are filled on communal and caste grounds, and our promising young men find the gate of admission to most of the offices barred and bolted. The question of service is not merely a question of loaves and fishes, but also a question of power, of influence, and of prestige. In India the worth of a service is not measured by the amount of pay which an official draws, but by the influence which he wields, the power which he exercises, and the opportunities for service which he enjoys. We feel that our life as a community, our individuality, nay our economic and political existence is dependent upon the representation of our community in the administration of our country.

We have deemed it necessary to give a brief account of the difficulties by which we have been faced in these provinces since the reforms, as otherwise our representation is liable to be misunderstood. We may say, very briefly, that the reforms invested the legislature with extensive powers ; and this power was utilised by the majority community in the spheres of education, local self-government, services, and other transferred departments for the advancement of their own ends. The University and the Board of Intermediate Education were Hinduised ; primary education was controlled by Hindus ; while in the local bodies where the Hindus possess an overwhelming majority they acquired practically a monopoly of power. They utilised these opportunities for the benefit of their community. The character of the administration was transformed, and Muslims found themselves, and now find themselves, bereft of many of those opportunities of educational, social and intellectual advancement which they had enjoyed for centuries, and which had been solemnly promised to them. There was a fight for power, and the community with the largest vote and the greatest number, monopolised all the spoils of victory.

The experience of the last eight years has convinced us of the absolute necessity of safeguards for our community. We feel that unless our interests are effectively safeguarded, we will disappear from civic life of this province, our culture will be destroyed, our religious rights will be violated, the education of our children will be emasculated, while our economic and political existence will be exposed to serious, alarming, and imminent risks.

Under these circumstances, we are irresistibly forced to the conclusion that the only effective means whereby our rights can be prescribed is by the deliberate insertion of our fundamental rights in the new constitution of India in the clearest language. We are strongly of the opinion that these safeguards are essential to our existence, and without them it is impossible for us to accept any constitution. Bitter experience of the working of the reform scheme has convinced us of the need for these safeguards. That our demands are not unreasonable will be clear from the various provisions contained in the constitutions of some of the new states cited above, and from the practice of old states like the Swiss Republic where minorities of race, language and religion live happily together. The U. P. Muslims have played a brilliant part in the development of these provinces. It was their driving power, energy, and statesmanship which evolved order out of chaos, and organised institutions which are the foundation of the modern system of British administration in India. Their political importance was recognised by the Government of India in their Fifth Despatch, dated April 23, 1919, in which they acknowledge that " the census strength of the

Muhammadans by no means corresponds to their political strength. In Bengal and Assam they are politically weaker than their numbers would indicate; while in the United Provinces with 14 per cent of the population they are incomparably stronger than in Bihar and Orissa with 10 per cent. Past history and the presence of Muhammadan centres count." We may quote here Lord Minto's reply to the demand of Indian Muslims: "And you justly claim that your position could be estimated not merely on your numerical strength, but in respect to the political importance of your community, and the service it has rendered to the Empire. I am entirely in accord with you." Lord Morley's reply to the deputation of the London Branch of the Muslim League is also clear on the point.

We wish to make it perfectly clear that we can never, under any circumstances, accept any constitution which does not guarantee to us these rights: and any scheme in which our political status, religious freedom, and economic life are placed at the mercy of the legislatures dominated by the majority community, or other elective bodies whose policy has been clearly expressed in their unjust treatment of our rights, can never be acceptable to us. We are resolved upon sacrificing all we have got—our lives and our property—for the attainment of this object. We will oppose all attempts at our denationalisation; we will resist all schemes that do no guarantee to us our rights.

We believe the following to be essential safeguards for the protection of our community, and we regard them as an indispensable preliminary to any scheme for the constitution of India.

The safeguards are:

1. Representation of our community by separate electorate in the U.P. Legislative Council as embodied in the Government of India Act of 1919. The Act embodies the solemn, clear, definite and unambiguous pledge which the British public gave, through the Imperial Parliament, to the Muslim community. That pledge, we hope and believe, the British Parliament will redeem. Separate representation in the legislatures has been guaranteed to us by all responsible British statesmen. We are convinced that these promises shall be kept.

2. Representation of our community in all local bodies, by separate electorate.

3. Separate electorate in the Universities, the Board of Intermediate and High School Education and other elective bodies created and controlled by the Legislature. The amount of our representation in these bodies should be determined by the amount of our representation in the Legislative Council.

4. Representation in the public services, whether maintained by the Government or local and other autonomous bodies. The amount of our representation should in no case be less than thirty-three per cent in each grade of every department, maintained by the Government. In the local and other autonomous bodies our representation in the administration should be in proportion to our representation in that body.

5. Representation of Muslims in the Cabinet should in no case be less than thirty-three per cent.

6. Adequate safeguards for the Urdu language in the Courts, Government departments, educational institutions, local and other elective bodies created and controlled by the Legislature.

7. If three-fourths of the members of a community object to the introduction of a Bill, resolution, or motion, on matters affecting the religious or customary rights of our community, in the legislature, or any other elective body, such a Bill, resolution, or motion, shall not be allowed to be moved, discussed or voted upon in any such body.

8. Thirty-three per cent of all grants-in-aid of education, religion, charity, or for social purpose, whether given by the Government, or a local self-governing body, to be reserved for Muslim institutions.

9. Full religious liberty, liberty of belief, worship, observances, propaganda, association, and education shall be guaranteed to our community. The general laws of the State shall remain unaffected thereby.

We regard these rights to be *fundamental.* Unless and until we are granted these safeguards, our community will determinedly oppose all schemes for the rearrangement of the constitution. We are strongly of the opinion that no legislature, and no administrative or elective body in India should be given the power of modifying any of these safeguards. We do so because we believe, in the words of Lord Bryce, that though experience shows that no nation has ever been cool enough and wise enough to dispense with some restraint on its other impulses, the tide of fatalistic faith in the justice of the majority tends in nearly every country to sweep away such checks as exist, replacing them by no others; and the people who most need to be protected against themselves are the least disposed to provide such protection. We believe that the only effective way of realising the object is by excluding these safeguards from the range of the functions of the legislatures and other elective bodies. The United States has rivalled Rome in the pains taken to divide and subdivide power among various authorities, and in the variety of restrictions imposed upon them. We believe that nearly every successful government of modern times resorts to such a system of checks and balances as will restrain the impulses, and moderate the desire of the majority to trample upon the rights of the minority. In India the need for such a system is greater, and the necessity for caution, circumspection, compromise, and sweet reasonableness essential. We are convinced that if the legislatures in India and other bodies which are dominated by the majority community, are invested with the power of altering or repealing the laws or rules which embody these safeguards, they will either be scrapped, or so modified as to become absolutely useless.

Hence we have used the word " fundamental," not in the sense that the British Parliament will not, or cannot, modify them—we know that, in the words of De Lolme, the British Parliament can do everything, except make a man woman, or a woman, man—but in the sense that no elective body in India, whether a legislature or a municipal or district board, could touch them. We therefore strongly recommend that the fundamental safeguards should be embodied in the new constitution of India. The safeguards should be expressed in clear, unambiguous terms, and the Act should contain positive instructions to all bodies in India, and should be binding on everybody. The method to be adopted will be the same as that used by the makers of modern constitutions. We need only refer to the new German Constitution, of which one part deals with the powers and duties of various bodies, and the other part with *Fundamental Rights.* As we have said

above, nearly fourteen powers have solemnly pledged the observance of safeguards, which they have incorporated in their constitution. We want to make it clear that the rights which we claim are meant to be applied, and should be applied, to concrete details of everyday life. They are not mere metaphysical abstractions, but based upon bitter experience of the reformed regime during the eight years. Any action by anybody in India that is inconsistent with these safeguards will be regarded by us as destructive of our culture, religion, language, and political existence. We can never reconcile ourselves to any arrangement which does not confer upon us unequivocally all the rights we claim. They are primary, inalienable and essential.

We are firmly of the opinion that upon the Secretary of State for India should be imposed the duty of enforcing our rights, by making rules and regulations under the rule-making power expressly conferred upon him under any Act that might be passed by the Parliament for the new constitution. We need not indicate the method or the manner which he might adopt to effectuate our proposals. We would like to state that in our opinion it would be better if the Secretary of State is given this power, as the local and the Central Government will shrink from the task of adjudicating upon disputes in which the passions, interests and prejudices of various communities might be keenly aroused. We will summarise our policy by reiterating our proposition.

(1) These safeguards should form an integral part of the new constitution of India,

(2) All acts of local and central legislatures and other elective bodies, and all rules which are based upon the rule-making power expressly conferred upon these bodies by virtue of any act passed by any legislature in India, which are repugnant to these safeguards, shall be void to the extent of such repugnancy.

(3) Lastly, rule-making power should be expressly conferred upon the Secretary of State under a statute of the British Parliament, for the purpose of enforcing these safeguards.

The next question which we have to answer in this connection is, How are these safeguards to be enforced in India?

According to Lord Bryce's work, *The American Commonwealth*, seven States of the United States of America have empowered the Governor or Legislature of a state to require the written opinion of the judges of higher State Courts on points submitted to them. There exists a similar provision in the Statute of 1875, creating a Supreme Court for Canada, while the Home Rule Bill introduced in the House of Commons in 1886, contained Section 25, whereby the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland or a Secretary of State was empowered to refer a question for opinion to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. In the Home Rule Bill of 1893, this provision reappeared in the modified form of power to obtain, in urgent cases, the opinion of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council on the constitutionality of an Act passed by the Irish Legislature. According to Article 13 of the new German Constitution, " If there is a doubt or difference of opinion as to whether a provision of a State law is consistent with the Federal law, the competent Federal or State authorities may appeal

for a decision to the Supreme Federal Court, in accordance with the more detailed provisions to be prescribed by a Federal law."

Lastly reference may be made to Section 93 of the British North America Act of 1867. Under this Act the minority, if it feels that the provision of the constitution has been violated, may appeal to the Governor-in-Council. The latter may either decide it himself, or refer it to the Supreme Court for decision. We have deemed it necessary to detail these provisions, as we think that the position of the Government, and even the Governor-General, is likely to be rendered exceedingly difficult if questions concerning the treatment of minority communities by various elective bodies are frequently raised. We wish to make it perfectly clear that we do not want the Governor to take this responsibility entirely on his shoulders. In cases where injustice is perpetrated by a local body and where the letter of the law is openly violated, it will be the duty of the Government to take prompt steps, and mete out suitable punishment. We think if the majority of Muslim members of any elective body or legislature make a representation on the violation of any of these safeguards, or against any measure introduced in such a body, and request the Governor-in-Council to uphold the law, it should be the duty of the Governor to decide on the question, and to declare whether any one of the safeguards has actually been violated or not. We do not want to bind the hands of the Governor-in-Council. There are various courses open to the Governor-in-Council. He may, of his own accord, prohibit a recalcitrant body from persisting in its policy of folly and injustice; and he *shall*, on the representation of the majority of the Muslim members of a legislative council, the central legislature, municipal and district boards, or other elective bodies, take action on any measure which appears to violate any one of the fundamental safeguards. In the latter case the Governor-in-Council may, if he deems fit, refer this matter to the full bench of five judges of the High Court of the province for decision, or he may decide it himself. If any local self-governing body is guilty of the violation of these safeguards, it will be liable to dissolution.

THE WORKING OF THESE SAFEGUARDS.

We have dealt at some length with the main provisions of Minorities Treaties, as we are convinced that the methods adopted by the great European Powers towards those states which have agreed to these Treaties are capable of application to this country. For we believe that what our community needs at the present time is not only separate electorates, but also safeguards in those matters—and they are neither small, nor unimportant—which touch us vitally, and upon which depends our cultural, political, economic and religious existence. A question may well be asked, How have these safeguards worked in Europe? Before we detail the measures adopted by the League of Nations for the execution of these clauses we would like to draw your attention to one feature in the Government of the British Empire, which differentiates the measures adopted by the League. The latter, as is well known, possesses only moral sanction. There is no force behind its decrees, and, consequently potent and effective sanction is lacking. It is true that the organised opinion of the powers of the world will disapprove—and has disapproved, on numerous occasions, of any threat to the peace of the world, through the violation by any power, of any of these clauses. Beyond that, however, it cannot, and probably, will not go. It will content itself with protests, and will not back them by force. In India, on the other hand, if our proposals are accepted, the British Parliament will become the guarantor of these clauses. It is well known that the sanction of the British Parliament is the most potent, the most effective, and the most efficacious in the world. No person, or body of persons, in the British Empire can challenge its authority. We may be permitted to give a very brief outline of the procedure which is normally adopted by the League in dealing with the petitions of minorities against those powers which have signed the minority clauses. Such petitions are communicated direct to the Secretariat of the League of Nations, and the latter must see if the following conditions are satisfied. These are that petitions (1) must have in view the protection of minorities in consonance with the minority clauses of these Treaties; (2) must not be couched in the form of a desire for the rupture of political relations between the minority which petitions, and the state of which it forms a part; (3) must not be anonymous or unauthenticated; (4) must observe restraint in language; and (5) must contain information or refer to facts which have not recently been the subject of a petition submitted to the ordinary procedure. If these conditions are satisfied, then the League Secretariat sends these petitions to the Governments concerned for remarks and observations. The Government must reply within three weeks, and if it wishes to submit observations, has two months, with a possible extension, in which to prepare them. Petition and comments are then circulated to all members of the Council of the League of Nations, and examined by the Committee of Three which is a committee of the Council. The Committee submits its report

to the Council. Thereupon any member of the Council may formally raise the question, and then the League starts an exhaustive discussion of the matter in dispute. It may refer the matter, after preliminary inquiries, to the Permanent Court of International Justice, at the Hague. The opinion is now gaining ground that all such questions should, after the formal and necessary stages of a preliminary inquiry are over, be automatically referred to the Court for decision. If this practice become general, it will immensely establish the prestige of the League and consolidate its influence. The minorities will be perfectly satisfied with this arrangement.

We may, at this stage, be permitted to give a brief account of the racial, religious and class conflicts which occur in many states of Eastern Europe. These, we may add, are completely lost sight of by theorists in India, whose knowledge of England, France and Germany, (which are unitary and organic states), is so slight, superficial and hazy as to be positively harmful. They look only at the immediate present, and forget the dreadful slaughter and the systematic persecution which religious parties in these countries perpetrated in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It would be no exaggeration to state that France, England and Germany have all passed through that stage of religious and racial conflict through which Eastern Europe as well as India are now passing.

Take, for instance, the case of the Balkans. It presents a problem of races and languages, and religions, which finds its parallel only in India. In each of the four Balkan states—Jugo-Slavia, Albania, Bulgaria and Greece—there is the cleavage of Muslim and Christian. In Albania, the Muslims predominate; in Greece and Bulgaria, the Greek Orthodox Church is supreme. In the kingdom of Jugo-Slavia, the Serbs are Orthodox, the Croats, Catholics; while the Bosnians are Muslims. There is, again, the question of language in each of these states. In Greece, there is besides a vigorous Jewish minority, possessing a majority in the important town of Salonika.

We may next take Czechoslovakia. Its population is 13 millions. It contains nearly 3¼ million Germans, ¾ million Magyars, ½ million Ruthenians, 180,000 Jews, 75,000 Poles, and a large number of Slovaks; besides, of course, the ruling race, the Czechs. The Germans, Magyars, Poles, Slovaks, and Czechs speak different languages, belong to different religions and races, and are animated by different historical, cultural, and racial traditions.

Poland presents the same spectacle. Out of a population of 27 millions, 14 per cent are Ruthenians; 7·8 per cent Jews; 3·9 per cent White Russians; 3·8 Germans; and 0·3 per cent Lithuanians.

The total population of Lithuania is about 2 millions, of whom 7·6 per cent are Jews; 3·2 per cent Poles; 2·5 per cent Russians, and 2·4 per cent other nationalities. The population of Austria is 6½ millions. It contains Jewish, Czech and Slovene minorities. In Hungary, out of a population of 7 millions, 550,000 are Germans; 140,000 Slovaks; 23,000 Roumanians; 36,000 Croatians, and 17,000 Serbians. The religion of these

minorities, as well as their races, are distinct. Roumania nearly doubled her territory by the Peace Settlement, by which she acquired Transylvania, Bessarabia, and Bukowina. In Transylvania, out of a total population of 2½ millions, nearly half is non-Roumanian. Here the Magyars are 25 per cent, Saxons 10 per cent, Jews 3 per cent, and other nationalities 2·9 per cent. In the Bukowina there are German colonies, in Bessarabia, Russians and Ruthenians; and in the Dobruja, Bulgars, Russians, Germans and Turks. Besides a hopeless mixture of races, there is a heterogenous collection of religions. The country contains Roman Catholics, Uniats, Lutherans, Calvinists, Unitarians, Jews and Muslims. Italy acquired the southern part of the Tyrol as far as the Brenner Pass. Of this territory the Trentino is predominantly Italian, while German South Tyrol, from *Saturn* to the present frontier contains about 230,000 Germans. Again, in the provinces of Gorizia-Gradisca, Trieste and Istria, there are half a million Slavs, forming a majority of the population in all except one or two Istrian towns.

We have adduced these facts to show, that the analogy which is often drawn by ill-informed politicians in India between English and Indian political conditions and methods of government is not only false, but also pernicious. These nationalist politicians object to representation in services because, forsooth, it undermines "efficiency," they object to safeguards, because it is against "Nationalism" and "Democracy." Their conception of democracy, when properly analysed, is nothing else but a desire to keep all the power in their own hands. They believe, in their hearts of hearts, that the rule of caste Hindus over the length and breadth of India is not far distant, and, they, therefore, oppose all measures which will be an obstacle to the satisfaction of their wishes. Hence while they themselves exercise a social tyranny over the depressed classes which has no parallel in any country in the world, and are not allowed to interdine or intermarry even with other superior castes, they talk glibly of democracy.

We may refer here to another objection that is urged against separate electorates. It is said that it divides the two communities into water-tight compartments. Besides the arguments we have adduced in our report on the provincial government, we may refer you to the device of proportional representation which is utilised by practically every European country in Europe except England. In nearly every modern European constitution, provision is made for proportional representation. The object of this plan is precisely the same as that of separate electorates. It is deliberately planned with a view to affording protection for the minority, and is advocated solely on the ground that it will enable a minority to return its representatives to the legislative, local and other bodies.

In it, the minority organises itself, and votes only for its candidate. If the system is well devised, there is every justification for believing that the percentage of members elected by a party will correspond exactly to the percentage of votes by that party at that election. That this contention is correct will be clear from the results of elections in Tasmania for 1909, 1912, 1913 and 1916.

Results of Tasmanian elections.

Year of Election	Party.	Votes.	Seats in proportion to votes.	Seats actually obtained.
1909 ...	Labour	19,067	11·69	12
" ...	Liberal	29,893	18·31	18
1912 ...	Labour	33,634	13·66	(4)
"	Liberal	40,252	16·34	16
1913	Labour	31,633	13·79	14
"	Liberal	36,157	15·78	16
"	Independent ...	977	0·43	...
1916 ...	Labour	33,200	13·93	14
"	Liberal	35,398	15·27	15
"	Independent . .	1,817	·80	1

These figures show conclusively how thoroughly and justly a well-devised scheme of proportional representation works.

The German system is very elaborate and complex, but the object is essentially the same. According to M. Brunet, the ablest commentator of the new German constitution, in this system, the number of members, instead of being fixed according to the number of population, or of the electors, depends upon the number of those actually voting, in such a way that not until after the election can one count the number of members that will make up an assembly. There are no constituencies in the modern sense of the term. Voters must vote on a party ticket, which contains a list of candidates approved by the party. The electors make no change in the personnel, as the party ticket must be voted as a whole. The results of the election completely justified the hopes of its authors. In the election of June 6, 1920, the figures for the last elections are not yet available, the social Democrats polled 21·6 per cent of the votes, and secured 22·2 per cent of the seats. The German Democratic party polled 8·5 per cent of the votes and secured exactly the same percentage of seats. The German National Party polled 13·9 per cent of the votes, and obtained 14·7 per cent of the seats. The Independent Socialists with 18·8 per cent of the votes, secured 19·1 per cent of the seats. A recent work on the new constitutions of Europe contains the following statement. "In one respect all of the new Constitutions (of Europe) agree. They provide for the application of the principle of proportional representation." Before the War it was applied to the election of one or both houses of the national legislature of Denmark (partially), Belgium, Sweden, Bulgaria, Servia, and Portugal, and, to the election of the Inner Chamber in the Grand Duchy of Finland. During the war, it was extended to Denmark, and adopted in Germany, France, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Jugoslavia, Switzerland, Poland, Danzig, Esthonia and Greece.

The facts cited above show conclusively that minorities are protected by this device, provided they are organised in parties, and have attained certain educational level.

Now the difference between separate electorate and proportional representation is one of method and not of principle. In the former, the minority is organised in a separate electoral roll, in the latter, it is organised in well-disciplined, well-trained and intelligent, political parties. Both of them operate in precisely the same way. In both of them the members of political, agrarian or religious minority parties and also, of course, the majority parties, vote only for their canditates. If it is objected that this system keeps the two religions apart, and creates parties India which ought to be based on identity of political creed, the answer is, firstly, that religion in India dominates every sphere of one's life, and in the second place, parties based on community of religious belief have played, are playing, and will continue to play, a very large part in Europe. In Ireland, an overwhelming number of members of the Nationalist party were Catholics. In Germany, the Centre Party, which is a party of Roman Catholics, has been a religious party, through and through. In Jugo-Slavia, the Bosnian Muslims return their own members, through the device of proportional representation. In Spain, Poland and other countries, where the voters are Catholics, very few who are not Catholics, stand any chance of election into Parliament. All these parties secure the representation of their leaders in the parliament by the device of proportional representation. If this is so, if all minorities really vote only for those persons who represent their interests, and succeed in getting the same percentage of seats as the percentage of votes cast by them in the elections, why should separate electorates be condemned ? If separate electorate causes friction, perpetuates division, and keeps up communal parties, so does proportional representation. In both systems, the minority is guaranteed its representation. In the one, however, the seats are fixed ; while in the other, the same result is brought about, and the same number of members returned, by a slightly different method, the method of single transferable vote, or any other form of proportional representation. If, therefore, it is desirable to do away with separate electorate, it is still more desirable to induce all European countries to scrap all their constitutions. If it is said that separate electoral rolls keep the two communities aloof, our answer is, first, that constituted as Hindu society is at the present moment, hampered as it is by the impenetrable barrier of the caste system, which forbids inter-marriage and inter-dining, which enjoins *Chhut-Chhat* upon all castes, and which is frequently seen in the fight among the Hindus themselves at election, wherein the Kayastha candidate receives solid Kayastha votes, the Rajput candidate receives Rajput votes, and the Brahman candidate gets the Brahman votes, in actual practice, separate electorte obtains amongst the Hindus themselves. Since the reform regime was inaugurated, no member of the depressed classes has been elected by caste Hindus to any municipal or district board, or to any legislature, in spite of the fact that elections to thousands of seats have taken place in India. Yet the depressed classes are called an integral part of the Hindu society, when any question of the numerical strength of the

Muslims and Hindus crops up. Secondly, we may point out that in India parties are not often formed, and elections are rarely fought, on political issues, as it is the personal influence of the candidate and his friends which is the determining factor in all contests. Really, the people do not grasp the political significance of many of the issues at elections, and view them either from a personal standpoint, or from the standpoint of their religion. Most important of all, the electors are hopelessly illiterate.

Under these circumstances, it is ridiculous to talk of a common electoral roll. For the only result of such a scheme would be that Muslims would disappear from all the legislatures and local bodies, as they have no party organisation, and are in a hopeless minority in seven out of the nine provinces of British India. Proportional representation can succeed only if (1) there are well organised parties ; (2) there are multiple constituencies ; (3) the voters are not illiterate, and possess a fair level of intelligence ; (4) and the minority is not scattered. None of these conditions exist in India. It is sometimes suggested that we might form a common or joint electorate in India, with a fixed reservation of seats for the minorities. A moment's reflection will convince any one that this is even worse than the system of election by proportional representation. For Muslims are in a hopeless minority in seven out of the nine provinces of British India, and the Hindus can—and we are perfectly convinced, they will—so organise themselves as completely to ignore the effect of Muslim votes on the election of Hindu members from joint constituencies. On the other hand, their effect on the elections of Muslim members will be decisive. Take the case of Madras, Central Provinces, United Provinces, and Bihar and Orissa. In the United Provinces, Muslims form 14·28 per cent of the population. In elections the eighty or eighty-two per cent of Hindu voters will return a Hindu member, who will be their genuine representative. In the case of election of a Muhammadan member, the eighty per cent of Hindu voters will be decisive, and the 14 per cent of Muslim voters will be practically useless. Hence, while Hindu members will be genuine representatives of the Hindus, the Muslim member will be simply their puppet, as he will be returned practically by Hindu votes. Indeed, this device is a negation of the principle of proportional representation. For the latter system guarantees the election of representatives of minorities, who are only elected by the votes of the minority communities. This is, indeed, the essence of all systems of proportional representation. It deliberately, and systematically gives the minority an opportunity of voting for, and electing, their own representatives, by their votes alone. In the case of a joint electorate, with a fixed reservation of seats, this right is completely taken away from the hands of the minority community. It is told, in effect, " Yes, you will have a representative in the legislature ; but your representative will not be elected by you, but by the other party." If a representative is not elected by a party, how can he be said to represent that party ? This method is so illogical and contradictory, is so completely opposed to all systems of minority representation which have been embodied in all European constitutions that we are perfectly certain it will be unanimously opposed by all who have studied either Indian conditions, or European constitutions. If a person elected by non-Muslim votes is elected, and is pitchforked by the

Hindus as a representative of our community, it will serve to make the entire scheme of the constitution absolutely unworkable. It will provide a recurring cause of friction, quarrels, and even riots between the Hindus, the Muslims, and the Government.

We do not think it is necessary for us to emphasise the need for the representation of our community in the legislature and local and other bodies. It is well known that the conception of a territorial parliament, in which numerous important and essential interests and functions are not adequately represented, is being attacked by a number of influential writers. We need only refer to the works of persons like G. H. D. Cole, Sydney Webb and Dr. Harold Laski, who have attacked the theory of sovereignty, which has hitherto been regarded as the foundation of all modern theories of the state, and who desire a representation of people on the basis of functions. Indeed, Article 165 of the new German constitution marks provision for the organisation of an Economic Parliament. According to the reports of impartial observers, the plan has been a success. We cite this to illustrate our point that the conception of a territorial parliament, which is supposed to represent all interests and classes, is being slowly modified. Indeed, as will be clear from the works of recent writers on political theory, Parliamentarism is at a discount. We need only refer to Lord Bryce's "*Modern Democracies,*" and the works of other writers on the subject. We now come back to the question with which we started, and give a brief account of the manner in which the minorities clauses have been worked in various countries.

Poland.

Here the Germanisation of Prussian Poland by Bismarck was naturally exposed to attacks on the part of the victorious Poles. The latter passed a law on July 14, 1920, whereby it was proposed to evict all tenants who could not show legal title to their holdings. The object, of course, was to replace the Germans by the Poles and the measure was definitely directed against the German minority. The Germanic League for the protection of Minorities in Poland, appealed to the League of Nations for help. The matter was thoroughly investigated by the Council, and after replies by the Polish Government and counter-replies by the German Minority, two points were referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice. The Court remarked on the law of July 14, 1920, as follows :—" The reason for this legislation, namely the degermanisation of Polish territories which Prussia had Germanised before the war, may be comprehensible ; *but the Treaty of Minorities is precisely intended to prevent occurrences of this kind.*" After considerable negotiations, a compromise was arrived at. Education has also furnished causes of friction. Here again, the matter was ultimately referred to the Council, which effected a compromise. Again in May, 1922, the German-speaking inhabitants of a Polish town complained that the authorities had refused to give permission for their school to be opened, and had forced the children of German-speaking parents to attend Polish schools, where they only received instructions

in German four hours every week. The Polish Government answered that they were quite within their rights in suppressing the school, since the school mistress did not possess the necessary qualifications ; that they had instituted a special class for German children in the Polish school ; that in forcing the children to attend school they were following the German regulations for compulsory education in force in the district ; that the number of Germans in the district was not sufficient to constitute " a considerable proportion" in the words of the Treaty; but that nevertheless a German school was to be opened in Celbows as soon as a teacher with the necessary qualifications could be found.

Another question connected with education arose in 1923, when petitions were presented asking for the establishment of German schools, and resulted in the opening of one German primary school, while arrangements were made pending the opening of secondary school for special classes for German children at the public schools of Kattowitz and Konigshutta. When, however, the requisite quota of German schools was opened in Polish Upper Silesia according to the convention, another difficulty arose. Partly owing to the superior advantages of German for business purposes, partly owing to the higher general standard of the German schools, a large number of Polish parents began to send their children there, while on the German side of the border the Polish schools stood empty. The Polish authorities tried to check the Germanisation of the younger generation by refusing applications for education in German schools from children who they had reason to believe, were not German. This was contrary to the strict terms of the convention, by which the parents are free to choose the language in which they wish their children to be educated. The German National Association of Upper Silesia appealed to the President of the Mixed Commission, M. Calonder against the rejection of 7,114 applications. M. Calonder examined all the cases, ruled out some 600 which were invalid for formal reasons, and ordered the transfer to German schools of 6,512 children. Poland refused to carry out his decision, and the matter was brought before the Council in March, 1927. Here it was admitted that the German contention was right in principle, but a compromise was agreed upon.

Linguistic Difficulties.

Another problem with which patriotic Poles are faced is the problem of language. The Ruthenians, White Russians, and Lithuanians naturally desire the protection of their language. On July 31st, 1924, the Polish Government passed a series of comprehensive laws dealing with education, local administration and justice. The object of these laws was the protection of minorities in language, education, local self-government, and justice.

Under the education law minority schools might be opened and carried on under the same conditions as Polish private schools. In certain specified districts the state schools were to be mixed, and in districts where 25 per cent of the population was non-Polish, teaching in Primary schools was to be given in the minority language on the demand of the parents

of forty children. If in the same district the parents of twenty children asked for teaching in Polish, both languages were to be used, half the school hours being devoted to teaching in the minority language. Bilinguial secondary schools were to be founded on the request of parents of 150 children in a given district, or at least in the neighbouring district.

In the administrative services Polish was to be the official language, but in certain specified districts oral and written petitions in the minority languages must be accepted by the local authorities, and replies must be given both in Polish and the minority language. The same principles were applied to the conduct of local assemblies. Local authorities might publish their decisions in two languages.

The Polish Jews.

The Jewish minority has been a source of trouble to the Polish government, owing to its strong economic position, religious susceptibilities and racial prejudice. Before the War, the Jews were subjected to a species of terrorism for which there are few parallels in eastern Europe. Anti-Semitism spread like a prairie fire on the Continent. The Minorities Clauses, however, inspired confidence, and bred hopes in the breasts of the Jews. In 1925, the latter arrived at an agreement with M. Grabski and a compromise concerning the economic, political, cultural, and religious rights of the Jews was arrived at. The latter had found great difficulty in gaining admission to the public services. Under the terms of the compromise they were to be admitted, "in due proportion, to the public services, and allowed to hold non-commissioned ranks in the army." The citizen rights of the Jews which had been greatly restricted by old obnoxious laws were to be regulated and the old restrictions removed.

The cultural concessions made in Border Districts were to be extended to Jews; a circular ordering public meetings to be conducted solely in Polish was to be amended, as was the electoral system in force in Eastern Galicia. A bill was to be introduced providing for a Jewish communities law, including an extension of the franchise, the extension of the competence of the Jewish communities, and their union in a federation. State schools were to be set up, with Jewish as the language of instruction, and a considerable number of hours were to be devoted to Jewish studies; public rights were to be given to non-state schools giving instruction in Hebrew or Yiddish, and attendance at religious schools accepted as fulfilling the provisions of the compulsory Education Law. Subsidies were to be given to particularly deserving professional schools. Training courses and a state qualifying examination were to be instituted for teachers in Jewish schools, while Jewish studies were included in the matriculation examination for schools where they are taught. The programme for the Jewish school system was to be decided by the Government in agreement with the club of Jewish Deputies. Restrictions on admission to unviersities were not to be based on religion or nationality.

Jewish school children were not to be made to do written work on the Sabbath or on Festivals. They and Jewish soldiers were to be allowed to attend Jewish prayers, and Jewish soldiers were to be released form duty on days of Solemn Festivals. Jewish soldiers were to be provided with Kosher food or receive an extra allowance to enable them to buy it. Graduates of the state seminaries for Jewish teachers of religion were to have the same privileges as those enjoyed by Christian priests and theological students, especially in matters of complaints and sanitary services in case of mobilisation.

On July 11, 1925, a series of resolutions embodying a part of this agreement were presented to the Cabinet by its political committee. They included all the educational proposals, and proposals for laws establishing the status of the Jewish communities, for the authorisation of the Jewish language on the same footing as other minority languages and for the special allowance to be paid to Jewish soldiers, and were voted by the Cabinet on July 16, 1925.

Lithuania.

Lithuania contains 7·6 per cent of Jews, 3·2 per cent of Poles, 2·5 per cent Russians, and 2·5 other nationalities. In March, 1924, the League of Nations received from the committee of Polish Exiles from Lithuania at Vilna, complaints of acts of terrorism against Poles in Lithuania, the closing of Polish schools, confiscation of Polish property, and the falsification of the census figures in order to reduce the officially recognised proportion of the Polish minority. The petition was discussed by Council Committee of Three in December, 1924, and the Lithuanian Government was asked to furnish reply. This was the starting point of a series of negotiations between the League of Nations on one side and the Lithuanian Government on the other side. The quarrel dargged on for months and months. A compromise on the various issues raised is expected.

We may now give an example of another country which, though small, makes adequate provision for the protection of the interests of minorities in education, services, language, etc.

Latvia.

In Latvia, out of a population of 1,503,193, 8·86 per cent are Russians, 4·29 per cent Jews, 3·23 per cent Germans, 2·19 per cent Poles, 0·52 per cent Lithuanians and 0·25 per cent Esthonians. The majority of the population is Protestant, but about 23 per cent are Roman Catholics, and about 8 per cent Greek Orthodox.

The general provisions for the treatment of minorities were explained by the Latvian Government in a series of reports submitted to the League in 1922.

The constitution of November, 1918, established universal direct suffrage with voting by ballot, and proportional representation for minorities.

An amnesty was proclaimed and all refugees were given the right to return. The right of association was assured to all citizens by Kerensky. Russian and German are allowed in the law courts, and in the case of persons who know neither language, sworn translators are employed. Elementary education is compulsory and is given in the mothertongue of the child. The Ministry of Education has special sections of German, Russian, Jewish, Polish, and White Russian schools, and in districts where there is a minority school the minority is represented on the local education committee. *Twenty per cent of the members of local councils belong to minorities, and 20 per cent of state employees.* According to reports made by the Joint Foreign Committee, Jews do not share in the general equality. It is asserted that the number of Jews employed by the state is unduly small in proportion to their numbers—5 per cent of population. The Latvian report to the League classes Germans and Jews together as making 9 per cent of the state employees, so that it is difficult to establish or controvert this point.

Esthonia.

The Esthonian republic has also shown great solicitude for the rights of minorities, though the latter form only 10 per cent of the population. Its population is only a million, and of it 3·46 per cent are Germans, 5·13 per cent Russians, 0·9 per cent Swedes, 0·4 per cent Jews, besides Tartars. Its policy towards the language of the minorities is liberal. In districts where the minority predominates the minority language may be officially used by the local authorities, and communications to the central authority may be made in German, Russian or Swedish. All Esthonian citizens have the right of association. The suffrage is universal. There is no state religion. Elementary education is free and compulsory, and minorities are assured of education in their mothertongue at state expense. A special department of the Ministry of Education deals with minority schools. Minorities have the right to establish independent organisations for the maintenance of their national culture, and to carry on their private relief work in so far as it is not in conflict with the interests of the state. Esthonian nationality is open to all persons domiciled in Esthonia, who were formerly Russian subjects, and were either born in the country, or are entered in the Russian register of inhabitants. Most significant of all is a provision in the Esthonian Code of Criminal Law, Article 45 A, *which makes it a penal offence to use pressure on any person to induce him to forego his minority rights.*

Minorities in Czechoslovakia.

This country contains a large number of vigorous, enterprising, and influential minorities, such as the Germans, Magyars, Jews, Poles, and Ruthenians. The Ruthenian minority complained to the League of Nations in 1921 that Ruthenia had not received the local autonomy assured to it by the Minority Treaty. It also pointed out that their country was entirely administered by the Czechs. The Czechoslovakian Government gave a very satisfactory reply to this complaint. They said

that their policy was to develop education in Ruthenia as rapidly as possible, and in the meantime to replace the former Hungarian administrative organisation by an administration of Czech officials. This was explicitly stated to be a provisional measure, and the Czech officials were being progressively replaced by inhabitants of Ruthenia. By 1922 more than half the state officials were natives of Ruthenia, though of course these were not all Ruthenians. As a matter of fact the Czechoslovakian government passed a language law which was even more liberal than the provision made in the Minorities Treaty. Another minority in this country, which has sent several petitions to the League of Nations, and based its claim upon the minorities clauses, is the German race. The Germans were the rulers; they are now the ruled. It is, therefore, only natural that they should feel the effects of some of the measures proposed by the new government keenly. Such measures in a newly created state deal generally with the question of distribution of land between the dominant race and its subjects. Czechoslovakia as well as Roumania and Poland, passed a series of Agrarian Laws which gave rise to a number of complaints from those landowners who had engrossed the bulk of the land before the war. The German landowners also complained to the League of Nations in 1922 of the numerous acts of injustice to which they were subjected. They asserted that the language law of February 29, 1920, under which official business may be transacted in the minority language only in districts where 20 per cent of the population belong to the minority, was contrary to the treaty, and Germans were forced to use the Czech language on the telephone, in shop signs, advertisements and the like. The buildings and archives of the university of Prague held jointly since 1884 by Czechs and Germans had been transferred to the Czechs, and schools were being reorganised in a manner which was unfair to the minority. Lastly, all landed property exceeding 150 hectares of arable land had been placed under state administration, with the intention of transferring it from the hands of Germans into those of Czechs. The reply of the Czechoslovakian government to the representation of the Germans was perfectly sound and cogent. But disputes went on these and other questions between the two parties for months. There has, however, been a great progress towards co-operation and the policy of the President Masaryk and Dr. Benes has been crowned with complete success. Their aim has consistently been not merely fair treatment of minorities, but a real union of all sections of the population in which the distinction of majority and minority would not be felt. Most of President Masaryk's public utterances contain references to this policy, of the importance of which he has been convinced from the outset. The following statements are typical of his attitude, "Our state will, of course, have its national character; this follows directly from the democratic principles of the majority. But since we have other nationalities among us, it must be our constant endeavour that all our citizens shall have full enjoyment of their rights and satisfaction of their legitimate claims." That the hope for the fair treatment of minorities is not unfounded will be clear from the fact that the representatives of the minorities have been admitted to the Cabinet. In the course of 1926, the German and Magyar Bourgeois groups supported the

Government in several measures, and at the time proposals were made for the formation of a united socialist opposition, comprising Czechoslovak, German and Magyar Socialists. The Bourgeois Cabinet formed by Mr. Svehla in October, 1926, contained two Germans as Ministers of Justice and Labour, and in January, 1927, the Slovak Popular Party agreed to accept two portfolios. Its representatives were appointed Minister for the Unification of the Laws, and Minister of Health. On January 1, 1927, German Trade Unions were admitted into the Czech National Trade Union Centre. It seems, therefore, that Czechoslovakia has passed the first stage of sharp cleavage between majority and minorities.

Austria.

The population of Austria is 6½ millions. The minorities are Jewish, Czech, and Slovene Czechs and Jews are found principally in the towns; in Vienna the Czechs amounted in 1910 to 5 per cent of the population. The Slovenes inhabited the province of Corinthia in the south. There are also a few Croats, and Hungarians.

The Czech Minority.

The Czechs in Vienna had an old grievance. Under the Austrian Empire the liberal education regime only applied to districts where the native population spoke a non-German language, and the large Czech minority in Vienna had received no educational facilities from the state. This was scarcely a hardship; indeed the right to claim such facilities in the new states is one of the special privileges accorded to minorities. However, the Czechs of Vienna were for this reason particularly anxious to see the Treaty of Brünn implemented. On November 11, 1921, they submitted a petition stating that this was not being done. The masters in the Czechs schools were Germans with a very imperfect knowledge of the Czech language; the schools had not the most elementary equipment, and the teaching was done in the afternoon, when the children were sleepy after dinner. The children were not taught German, and were consequently forced to leave the Czech schools and attend German schools; there were no Czech schools in the country districts, and no Czech secondary schools. Again no buildings were available for private schools. The Austrian Government replied that the housing shortage made it impossible for the Government to allot buildings for private schools. The reply concluded that the Government hoped to satisfy the demands of the Czech minority, as soon as the country was restored to financial stability. This reply was so satisfactory that the Council of the League of Nations did not think any action was needed and the petition was not taken up.

Hungary.

Hungary has a population of 7 millions, of whom 550,000 are Germans, 140,000 Slovaks, 23,000 Roumanians, and 36,000 Croatians. The majority of the population is Roman Catholic, though some are

Unitarians; the Germans and Slovaks are generally Protestants; the Roumanian and Servians Orthodox, the Ruthenian Uniats, and the Croatians Roman Catholics. There are, besides, 473,000 Jews in Hungary. This shows that Hungary also contains a curious mixture of races, languages, and religions. A petition of the Slovak minority, drafted in 1922, and addressed to the League, asserted that Slovak leaders, both religious and political, were being persecuted, beaten, and obliged to leave the country; that Slovaks were prevented by terrorism from claiming their rights, that the use of the Slovak language was forbidden, and that Slovak schools, cultural organisations, and journals were suppressed. It stated that there are actually over 300,000 Slovaks in Hungary.

The Government reply begins by casting discredit on the antecedents of the signatories to the petition, who, it states, have no claim to represent the Slovaks in Hungary. It disputes their statistics, and asserts that the number of Slovaks in Hungary is only 161,684 (this is higher than the official number given in the 1922 census). It states that there are 63 Slovak schools, with 11,563 pupils, 9 of these being in districts with less than 20 per cent of Slovak inhabitants. All the accusations of the petitioners are without foundation, and are intended to divert attention from the misdeeds of other governments. Hungary will welcome a commission of investigation at any moment, on condition that similar commissions are sent to Czechoslovakia, Roumania, and Yugoslavia. On an investigation of the petition of the Slovaks, the Council of the League of Nations did not deem it necessary to take any action on it. The grievances of the minorities in Hungary were, to a great extent, removed by the laws of the Hungarian Government passed in 1923 and 1924. These law were communicated to the League. According to these laws, proceedings of municipal assemblies are to be kept in the official language, and in any other desired by the 20 per cent of the members. All persons entitled to speak in municipal and communal assemblies, may use their mothertongue. Communal assemblies may choose their own language, if this is not Magyar their records must be kept also in the official language, and in any other demanded by one-fifth of the communal representatives. Individuals may use their mothertongue in addressing the authorities of district in which they reside, and those of other districts where their language is spoken by 20 per cent of the population. Replies to such communications are to be made in the language used by the authorities and accompanied, on request, by a translation into the language of the applicant. A minority language may be used in the courts where the language is spoken by at least 20 per cent of the population living within the jurisdiction of the court, and in these cases decisions must be translated into the mothertongue of the person concerned. The qualifications for a state subsidy are to be the same as in Magyar private schools. Public minority schools are to be opened in districts where either the majority of the population belongs to a linguistic minority or there are 40 children speaking the minority language. Sufficient teachers are to be provided. At least one university chair is to be founded for the study of minority languages and literature. Minorities may found cultural

associations, subject to the general laws applying to the majority of the population. Communal officials must within two years acquire the requisite knowledge of minority languages. These laws show conclusively the profound and far-reaching effect which the minorities treaties have produced on the relation of majority and minority communities. For Hungary's deliberate and systematic policy of Magyarisation had alienated the sympathy of all races. For more than 70 years she tried to crush all minorities and to keep the Magyar culture supreme. After her failure in the War, and her promise to the League of Nations to carry out the provisions of the minority clauses of her treaty, she set about putting her house in order, and passed laws for the protection of her religious, linguistic, and racial minorities which have gone far towards reconciling the latter to the Magyars. The Jews in Hungary complained to the League of Nations in November, 1921 that the *Numerus Clausus Law* of 1920 was an infraction of the Minorities Treaty. Under this law admission to the universities was restricted to persons of "absolutely unimpeachable national loyalty and morality," as well as of sufficient intellectual capacity; and the number of students of different races and nationalities was to be proportionate to the number of inhabitants of each race or nationality in the country (Art. III). The petitioners claimed that the Jews were not a racial but a religious minority, so that the law should not be made applicable to them. The Hungarian Government replied in January, 1922, and the Council of the League of Nations dealt with the question. The Hungarian Government said that the object of the law was to "reduce the number of the educated proletariat." They also claimed that it was intended to guarantee the rights of minorities by assuring to each of them its fair share in the educational facilities of the country.

The Council considered that the question whether or not the law was contrary to the Minorities Treaty depended on its application, and asked for more information. In the course of 1923 and 1924, statistics of the number of students at Hungarian Universities, with the proportion of Jews, were submitted by the Hungarian Government. The Jews sent another petition in January, 1925, declaring that thousands of Jewish students had been obliged to leave Hungary owing to the application of the law. They asked the League of Nations to refer this matter to the Permanent Court of International Justice for decision. The Hungarian Government replied in May that the number of Jewish students was in fact nearly double their quota under the Law. The Council of the League of Nations discussed this question in December, 1925, when the Hungarian representative explained the object of the law. He said that the *Numerus Clausus Law* was merely an emergency measure, which was rendered necessary by the ruin of the intellectual classes owing to the dismemberment of Hungary. He showed that although the proportion of Jews in the country was only 5·9 per cent, the proportion in the universities had varied from 11·2 per cent to 13·9 per cent between 1920 and 1925. At one university they amounted to 42 per cent. In the first year of the application of the law, the Law Faculty of the University of Budapest had refused more Christians than Jews. Count Klebelsberg protested energetically against Hungary being made a test

case, and "having to play the part of a rabbit in the laboratory." The Council decided to take notes of two statements and await amendment of law in the near future. In May, 1927, a motion for the repeal of the law was introduced in the Hungarian Parliament, by a Deputy of the Democratic party. According to the *Times* of October 21, 1927, Count Bethlem announced that the law would be revised. The Jewish minority therefore will get satisfaction after a long struggle.

Minorities in Roumania.

The policy of Roumaniasation of Transylvania which is so vividly sketched by Szasz, in his realistic work, entitled *Minorities in Roumanian Transylvania*, has yielded a rich harvest of trouble and anxiety to the Roumanian Government. The Magyars, during the halcyon days of their ascendancy in this unfortunate country, had resorted to all sorts of ingenuous devices for the purpose of suppressing the Roumanian inhabitants of Transylvania. When Roumania got possession of the latter, she began the same policy of complete disregard for the culture, property and other rights of the Hungarian and other minorities in the newly acquired territories. Indeed there is not much to choose between the policy of Hungary and that of Roumania. As we have said above, Transylvania had been subjected to an extreme policy of Magyarisation, and the troubles that have arisen since its transference from Hungary are the result of the Roumanian attempt to redress the balance. Many of the large estates in Transylvania were church lands, and as the majority belong to the Roman Catholic Church, so the agrarian reform is regarded by the minorities as an act of religious persecution as well as of racial discrimination. The question was first raised by the Hungarian Government in 1920. The reply of the Hungarian Government was delivered on November 9th. The quarrel dragged on, and Hungary brought the question again before the Council, not under the Minorities Treaty, but under Article XI of the Covenant, as a threat to the international peace. We need not detail the negotiations which took place, nor need we describe the various stages through which this controversy passed. The complaints of the minorities with regard to education deserve your attention, as they bring out vividly the difficulties by which minorities in India are faced. The chief grievances were the closing of schools, dismissal of teachers, and restrictions on the right of church schools to receive children of other confessions and of Roumanian speech or origin. The Roumanian explanation of the closing of church schools is that under the Hungarians the local church authorities had made contracts with the state, by which they handed over the management of the schools. The state bore all the cost of up-keep, and undertook to appoint only teachers of the denomination of the parish in question. When the territory passed to Roumania, the parishes had repudiated their contracts; but on being called on by the government to observe them, they submitted, and in 1920 the schools were again taken over by the state. In these cases the former teachers were left in their posts, provided they became Roumanian citizens. The regulations forbidding Unitarians to

receive children of other denomination was intended to prevent proselytising. Children in a parish where there was no school of their own denomination could attend the state school, where there were religious teachers for each denomination. This would, of course, not satisfy their desire for instruction in a minority language. The regulation that Roumanian children must be educated in Roumania, was intended to counteract the effect of generations of Magyarisation which had caused them to "forget their mothertongue." In October, 1921, a petition from the "Secretary for the defence of minorities in Transylvania" was forwarded to the League by the Hungarian representative at Geneva. This petition complained of arrests of Hungarians, dismissal of Hungarian officials, religious persecution, suppression of Hungarian schools, and restriction on industry. The position taken up by the Roumanian government is that the ill-treatment of Hungarians is less than that of Roumanians in the past by Hungary. The Hungarian officials had had to be dismissed because of their persistent obstruction to the new regime. Statistics are given of the sums granted for religious purposes to each of the churches. The Government refused to recognise any administrative connection between churches situated in Roumania and higher authorities outside. They had no objection to the maintenance of close spiritual ties between the sects in Roumania and their co-religionists in Hungary, but the churches could not be allowed to engage in political agitation. They had not interfered with the organisation of denominational schools, and had allowed them to choose their language of instruction. They had even permitted the foundation of numerous fresh schools by the Magyar churches, though this was part of a violent anti-Roumanian campaign. Only eight schools had been closed on account of the political propaganda of the teachers. The university of Cluj, as a state university, had naturally been transferred from Hungarian to Roumanian. Care had been taken that Hungarian students should not suffer from their ignorance of Roumanian, and examination answers might be written in Magyar or German, while some professors lecture in Magyar. On the question of commercial restrictions the government refused to reply.

The Education Law of 1925.

No further petitions on general questions have been published, but the schools questions occasioned a further appeal to the League, the documents of which were made public at the request of the Roumanian government. The petition was presented on the introduction in May, 1925 of a draft "Educational Bill," whose avowed object was to keep up the standard of eduction in private schools, to undo the effects of the former Magyarisation policy, and to prevent the fomenting of irredentism in private schools. The first of these aims seems entirely laudable, but even this was resented by the ecclesisatical authorities in Transylvania; the other two are clearly liable to abuse. Representatives of the Catholic, Unitarian, and Reformed churches of Transylvania protested against this bill and appealed to the League for help. It is not necessary to give details of these petitions, as the lines on which they were drawn up were substantially

the same. At last, through the good offices of the Secretariat of the League of Nations, at a time when the petitioners had sent their representatives to Geneva during the Assembly, a meeting was arrived at between them and the Roumanian Minister for Foreign Affairs. The result of their deliberations was a conference between the minority leaders, and the Minister of Education, at which the parties reached a compromise, by concessions on both sides. It is true that the councils of three churches all rejected the compromise, on the ground that their autonomy was not sufficiently secured; but the final text of the bill contained a number of concessions. The minorities, therefore, secured some of these points, though, not, of course, all. This brief account of happenings in Roumania may be closed with the petitions by the National Association of Hungarian women, on behalf of four Hungarian girls imprisoned at Cluj in 1922, for treasonable correspondence. Their crime was that they had crowned Kossuth's monument, and that one of them had written in a letter to her brother in Hungary congratulating him on being able to celebrate March 15 under the Hungarian flag. The letter had been sent by a messenger going to Hungary in order to evade the censorship. It was found on him. He received fifty lashes, and was probably imprisoned. The League took the matter up, and the girls were released, and rejoined their family in Hungary.

The Balkans.

Space will not permit us to deal with the tangled skein of the Balkans, but we would like to point out that the Minorities Treaties have tended to assuage the feelings of various races in the peninsula. We need not discuss the thorny Macedotian question, nor can we detail the various phases of the controversy to which the policy of Greece and Bulgaria has given rise. The question of the exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey has produced difficulties between Greece, and both Turkey and Albania.

In the negotiations which preceded the convention in exchange between Turkey and Greece, both sides agreed that the Muslims of Albania should be exempt from its application. These Muslims are mainly inhabitants of the district of Epirus, which was annexed by Greece in 1912-13, though some are scattered through Macedonia. The Albanian government raised the question under Article XI at the Council of the League of Nations in 1923. They represented that Muslim inhabitants of Epirus without distinction had been ordered to leave Epirus, while their property was confiscated, and their harvests requisitioned for the benefit of Greeks returning from Asia Minor. The League appointed a Mixed Commission. The mission went to Epirus and Macedonia, and made several recommendations. A wordy warfare ensued between the subtle Greeks, and the simple Albanians. We cannot trace the various stages of this quarrel here. It is sufficient to state that the League of Nations rendered all possible help and the parties to the dispute acknowledged the value of its services.

Italy and her treatment of Minorities.

The case of Italy shows conclusively the results that flow from the absence of safeguards for minorities. Though Italy has acquired territories which contain powerful minorities, possessing a high type of culture and animated by traditions of a glorious past, she refused to sign the Minorities Clauses of the Treaty. The effect of this policy was visible in her dealings with the minorities. Indeed, nothing could show more effectively, nothing could serve a better example of the necessity for safeguards, than the policy pursued by the Italian Government. If the clauses had been inserted in her Treaty, and if the League of Nations had been made a guarantor thereof, she would have been answerable to a third party the League for her misdeeds. At the Peace Conference the Italian Government announced that it intended to carry out a wide and liberal policy towards its new German subjects, in respect of language, culture, and economic interests. Two Prime Ministers of Italy, Giolitti and Bonomi, had affrmed their intention of respecting local institutions and local customs. But the policy of Signor Mussolini, as unfolded in an interview which he gave in 1926 to a Paris newspaper, is clear and definite. " When I visited South Tyrol, I noticed everything German, church, school, public functionaries, railway and post offices. Now in all the schools of this province, the teaching of Italian language is compulsory, all post and railway officials are Italians, and we are just now about to settle there a large number of Italian families. In this way we shall succeed in Italianising the country, just as we have Italianised the ' Sette Commune ' nearby." The policy of Italianisation in Tyrol began with a vengeance. In December, 1922, a decree of the Perfect had ordered the removal from all schools of pictures of national heroes of Tyrol. In 1923, a number of German schools were closed, and all German children were obliged to attend Italian schools, where teaching in German was forbidden. In July, 1923, Signor Tolomei enunciated a programme of Italianisation of all minorities in Italy, which was immediately given effect to. The census was revised in favour of the Italian population. Italian was made the official language in the newly acquired territories, and the use of any other language in the law courts, in advertisement, and public notices, and in official correspondence, was declared illegal. German place names, names of roads, and even family names, were Italianised. The use of the name " South Tyrol " was prohibited, and the German *Der Tyroler* was suppressed. German banks were dissolved, and an Italian Land Credit Bank founded in their place: Chambers of Commerce and Agricultural Associations were dissolved, or placed under strict supervision. The German Alpine Union, Catholic Student's Union, Choral Societies, and even Volunteer Fire-brigades, were dissolved. The gradual suppression of the schools of minorities was then started in October, 1923. At first German, Croats and Slovenes were allowed as supplementary languages, but in December, 1925, they were completely suppressed. Again, the administration of law in these territories is most oppressive, and thoroughly unjust. All laws and regulations are published in Italian only. There is consequently an inextricable confusion between Italian laws which have never been properly

promulgated, and the old Austrian laws which have not been formally repealed. The decree making Italian compulsory in courts completely deprives the minorities of all rights at law. The decree forbids the use of any language other than Italian, in all civil and criminal procedure, written and oral. Persons who cannot understand Italian cannot be empanelled. All documents, evidence, etc., in other languages than Italian are null and void. Again, it is expressly stated that if a defendant does not know Italian, his counsel may not put a question to him in his own language, but must use the judge as an interpreter. Since only Italian-speaking persons may be empanelled, any member of the minority must expect to be tried by a unanimously hostile court. The Slav minority is specially hard hit by the language restrictions. The great majority of Croats and Slovenes do not know Italian at all; and the Italian teachers, officials, and even priests supplied to them by the government cannot speak their language, if they were allowed to. Again, local self-governing institutions, which enjoyed a measure of autonomy under the Austrian Empire, are placed under the authority of state officials. This is a very brief account of the measures which the freedom-loving Italians have adopted towards minorities who ruled them for centuries, and whose culture is in no way inferior to theirs. Yet the League of Nations can do nothing in this matter. Italy did not sign the minorities clauses, and she cannot be asked *now*, to place her minorities under the protection of the League. If anybody raises this question at a meeting of the League, Italy will promptly reply that it is her domestic concern, and foreign powers have no right to interfere. Indeed, the policy pursued by Italy provides a remarkable illustration of the absolute necessity of minority clauses for the protection of minorities. The Great Powers committed a colossal blunder by not compelling Italy to insert these clauses in her Treaty.

We are deeply grateful to Monsieur Erik Colban, Head of the Minorities Section, League of Nations Secretariat, Geneva, for supplying the Chairman of this Committee, Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan with valuable material relating to the Minorities Treaties. Our thanks are due to Miss L. P. Mair, and Professor Gilbert Murray whose work has proved extremely helpful to us. We may add that the Chairman had applied the principles underlying the Minorities Treaties in an article in the *Aligarh University Magazine* for Christmas, 1925. He has been busy since then and the results of his studies were embodied in a pamphlet entitled *What are the Rights of the Muslim Minority in India*, which he printed in February, 1928.

The working of Minorities Clauses in various countries, of which we have given a brief account, shows how necessary and vital these clauses are to all minorities. It shows also how helpful the League of Nations has proved in the solution of these difficulties. Again, the above account makes it perfectly clear that the problems by which Indian minorities are faced are precisely the same as those which confront minorities in Europe. Moreover, the account shows how essential it is to have "fundamental safeguards" which nobody in India can touch. Without

them, promises and pacts would be simply scraps of paper. This is clearly brought out in the case of Italy.

We repeat that unless these safeguards are granted to us, unless our children and grand-children are assured of an honourable career in their native land, unless our religious rights are guaranteed, our culture is safeguarded, our children assured of instruction in their mothertongue, and separate electorates are maintained, we will never consent to any change in the constitution. We will, on the other hand, insist on all reforms being scrapped.

At the present moment the Indian constitution possesses the qualities both of the Rigid and the Flexible constitution. It is flexible inasmuch as it can be amended by the simple process of ordinary parliamentary statute. On the other hand it is rigid in the sense that the Government of India cannot modify it, and it is written ; the Imperial Parliament alone can make changes therein. The constitution of Australia contains a provision for the automatic amendment of the constitution. The question naturally arises, whether the future constitution of India should be rigid or flexible. We have already indicated the desirability of maintaining the character of the new constitution, so far, of course, as the rights of minorities are concerned, intact. We are of the opinion that the new constitution should combine flexibility with rigidity. It should enable the Central Government in emergencies to organise all the forces at its disposal for the maintenance of law and order, with the minimum of friction and the maximum of effect, and should provide for the concentration of all the resources of the country on occasions when it is imperatively needed. Viewed entirely from the point of view of the domestic affairs of India, it may be said that the present constitution possesses the power of expansion. Section 33 of the Government of India Act lays down that the superintendence, and control, of the civil and military Government in India is vested in the Governor-in-Council, while Section 45 lays down that the order of the Governor-General-in-Council shall be obeyed by every local Government. We are of the opinion that these sections should be retained, as they give an opportunity for the exercise of power by the Central Government on proper occasions.

While we advocate the retention of these sections, we would like to point out that they do not confer any power on the Government of India to amend the constitution. They merely enable the Central Government to organise all its resources. We are strongly opposed to vesting the Central Government with the power of amending any constitution that is granted to it by British Parliament. We are consequently opposed to a flexible constitution. No constitution would be acceptable to us which invests the central legislature with the power to amend the Act of Parliament embodying the constitution. Our reasons for this policy will be made to you by the following passage from Lord Bryce's work, " Where the existence of distinct groups, each desiring some control of its own affairs, is fully perceived, and duly admitted as a factor in the condition of the community, and where it is desired to give legal recognition to the fact and to protect the other local groups or sub-communities from being overridden by the largest among the groups or by the community as a whole, the creation of a Rigid constitution offers a valuable means of securing these objects. For such a constitution may be so drawn as to place the local groups under the protection of a fixed body of law, making their privileges an integral part of the frame of government, so that the whole constitution must stand or fall with the maintenance of rights enjoyed by the group." This is, in our opinion, the chief reason for prohibiting the constitution of India from being amended and repealed by any legislative body in India. We are not certain whether the safeguards

which we deem essential to our existence, and which we desire to be incorporated in an Act of the British Parliament, will not be amended or repealed, by a central or local legislature dominated by the majority community. It seems to us to be the only safe, sure, and sound method of preserving and applying the rights of our community in India. We may draw your attention to the fact that when a suggestion was recently made at a conference of Canadian provinces last year that the British North America Act of 1867 should be amended in such a way as to enable the Dominion Parliament of Canada to effect fundamental changes in the Canadian constitution, without reference to the Imperial Parliament, it was vehemently opposed by the French minority in Canada. We are firmly of the opinion that the new constitution should not invest any legislature in India with such powers.

We may conclude, therefore, that in proportion as the main features of the Indian constitution reach their permanent form, a Rigid constitution prescribing for itself, amongst other things, a deliberate and definite process of amendment, is essential. A country so variously composed as India, and divided into provincial areas which it will be difficult to abolish, needs a constitution expressly made by the British Parliament in the form of a special statute. We may sum up this part of the representation by quoting the following from Mr. Justice Riddel's work entitled the *Canadian Constitution, in Form and in Fact.* " The old province of Lower Canada which expired as a legal entity in 1841 by the effect of the Union Act which united the Provinces of Upper Canada and Lower Canada into the province of Canada, was largely populated by the French Canadians, almost all of whom were Catholic, and much attached to their old land and customs ; the remainder of the people of the new Dominion were largely English-speaking and Protestant, in general attached to English law and custom. While the French Canadians were willing to enter into a contract with their English-speaking brethren, they were not willing to enter into a contract which could be varied by the more numerous English without their consent."

Position and Powers of the Governor-General.—We are of the opinion that the powers of Governor-General as defined in the Government of India Act of 1919 should not be modified. We believe that the time has not yet come when these powers could safely be limited. We think, however, that section 67B (1) should be repealed, as section 72 confers on him sufficient powers for the object in view.

Relation of the Governor-General to his Executive Council.—We are of the opinion that the relationship of the Governor-General to his Executive Council which now subsists should be maintained. In our opinion, the time is not yet come for the appointment of a person or persons as ministers who are responsible to the Central legislature for subjects which are placed in their charge. If the majority community had consulted the wishes, desires, and feelings of the minorities, if they had shown qualities of give-and-take, and the virtue of compromise, we would have demanded the establishment of full responsible government. Our experience of the working of the new system has convinced us of the vital need for safeguarding our rights. We feel that a strong central government, which is able and willing to pursue a policy that is not coloured by communal, racial, local, provincial or economic prejudices is necessary at the present juncture, and is essential in a country

where conflict of interests necessitates absolute impartiality, and prompt action. We believe that if responsibility is introduced in the Central Government, and our interests are not effectively safeguarded, the position, which has already been aggravated, will be absolutely unbearable. We have already declared our faith in responsible government ; we have affirmed that there is no fundamental difference between the political programmes of our community and those of other parties ; we believe in the ideal of responsible government ; we subscribe to the view that until and unless responsible government is introduced in the central government, the latter will be constantly hampered by the central legislature. Nor are we unfamiliar with the facts cited by the ardent champions of this theory. The conflict between a responsible legislature and irresponsible executive of Canada prior to 1841 is so often trotted out as an example that it has become almost hackneyed. We should like to put a question, in reply to this argument. Will the disadvantages in which numerous communities, interests, races, and religions will be placed by the grant of responsible government at the present juncture outweigh the advantages which the harmony of the legislature with the executive in the Central Government is supposed to yield? We do not, indeed, we cannot, minimise the benefits which complete accord of the legislature with the executive confers on a country. Nor do we underestimate the risks to which conflicts between the legislature and the executive are exposed. We admit that the prestige of the central government is lowered by constant defeats by the legislature; we confess that there is a feeling of dissatisfaction, amounting sometimes to annoyance, when the government persists in a policy which is diametrically opposed to the sentiments and wishes of the bulk of the Indian people. We believe, however, that in the immediate present, the advantages of harmony between the legislative and executive powers are greatly outweighed by the disadvantages of dominion status in India. We think, however, that the Indian members of the Executive Council should be appointed from among the elected members of the Assembly. That this is possible will be clear from Section 36 (5) of the Act, whereunder it is possible to prescribe by rules that a certain number of members of the Executive Council shall be appointed from among the elected members of the Assembly. Again, it is possible under the Act for the Governor-General to appoint Council members from among the members of the Legislative Assembly as Council Secretaries. But, our experience of the working of reforms in these provinces has convinced us that council secretaries are useless in the presence of officials. When the official bloc disappears from the legislature, council secretaries will be indispensable. We have no objection to the appointment of such secretaries, and would welcome any step in this direction.

Relation of the Governor-General to the Legislative Assembly.—We are strongly of the opinion that with the exception of members in charge of the Army and Finance Departments, all the members of the Viceroy's Executive Council should be appointed from among the elected members of the Assembly. This will satisfy the legitimate aspirations of our countrymen, who will naturally repose confidence in the policy and method of a Department which is presided over by a person selected from among themselves. By this means, responsible government may gradually be introduced in the

central government. Of course, the Political Department will remain unaffected by these changes.

We are of the opinion that the proportion of nominated non-official and official members to the elected members should be reduced. We think that the work done by the Assembly, the influence it exercises on the people of India, the momentum which it supplies to leaders in provincial legislatures, make the reduction in the number of nominated members imperative. We do not approve, or advocate, the abolition of the official bloc. . . . To us it seems axiomatic that, given an irresponsible executive, and a legislature which is largely elective, deadlocks are bound to arise. However tactfully and skilfully the Parliamentary machinery might be run, the nature of the system creates deadlocks. We know the dangers of such a policy, but we are prepared to put up with it under the present circumstances. We think, however, that occasions for such deadlocks would be greater if the official bloc is entirely abolished. It supplies an stable element amidst the shifting sands of party politics, parliamentary tactics, lobby developments, and temporary political excitements. This stability has enabled the central government to carry through some of the most important social and economic measures of modern times. There is no reason to suppose that it will fail to do so in future. We wish to point out another advantage which the presence of the official bloc confers. This is its value to non-official members of the Assembly. It is, of course, true that this value is not always publicly acknowledged ; but the fact is that it is widely recognised by non-officials. While it would be idle to deny that officials learn a great deal from their contact with leaders of public opinion ; it will be useless to assert that the latter do not profit by the breadth and soundness of their judgment, the wealth of their experience, and the practical, shrewd, and cautious treatment of administrative problems, which, however simple and elementary they might appear at first sight, are, when carefully analysed, baffling in their complexity, and perplexing in their intricacy.

For these reasons, we think the official bloc should be retained. We would, however, like to reduce its number to reasonable proportions. We think that the Assembly should consist of 400 members, and of these 130 members should be nominated and official members; of the latter 30 should be officials, and one hundred non-official. The non-official elected members should consist of 270 members, of whom 90 should be Muslims, and one hundred and fifty caste and other Hindus. Provision should be made for the adequate representation of depressed classes by any suitable and appropriate method of election that may be devised. They will, of course, be elected from non-Muslim constituencies, and the number and percentage of Muslims in Assembly will not be affected. We think that five Anglo-Indian and 5 Indian Christians should be represented in the Assembly by electorates specially organised for them. Representatives of Labour should be adequately represented. We think that registered Trade Unions should be organised into an electorate, and should be allowed to elect 3 members to the Assembly. The remaining twenty seats should be filled up by representatives of various European interests. We believe that such a house will be fairly representative of various interests and communities of India. While the official bloc will impart to it an element of stability, its smaller numbers, and

the enhanced prestige of the non-official element, will be conducive to the popularity and efficacy of the Assembly. We would like to point out that in any scheme that might be framed in the reconstitution of the Assembly, the ratio of elected Muslim members of the Assembly to other elected members should in no case be less than 33 per cent. The same principle should be observed in the nomination of members by the Government, and, in every case, at least thirty-three Muslims should be nominated out of the 100 we have suggested.

Second Chamber.—We have already referred to this question in the section dealing with the provincial government. While we are convinced of the necessity of second chamber in the provinces if the official bloc is removed, we are no less convinced of its importance in the central government. We believe that nearly every constitution contains some checks on the power of a popular assembly. Such a check is found in the creation of a second assembly capable of criticising, amending, and, if need be, rejecting measures passed by the other chamber. It is indeed notorious that popular assemblies have at times been thrown into excitement, and adopted policies which have reacted harmfully upon the administration of the country. Again, the functions of the government are becoming more and more numerous and complex, and greatly specialised knowledge is required to discharge them. Such a knowledge postulates not only technical attainments, but also that power of steady and penetrating thinking not often present in the popular assemblies. Moreover, it has begun to be perceived that the existing legislative machinery does not sufficiently provide for the study of economic and social problems. Hence, as has been observed by Lord Bryce, a second chamber might be made a "kind of reservoir of knowledge and ripened wisdom." Place might be found in it for persons representing the great professions, Law, Science, Engineering and Art. It must, however, be emphasised that it should not be a mere aggregate of experts, but predominantly composed of men familiar with public life. There is another factor which should be emphasised in the construction of a second chamber. This is strikingly brought out by Mr. Lees-Smith, M.P., in his work entitled *Second Chambers, in Theory and Practice.* Mr. Smith says, "One of the special dangers of democracy on a large scale is that as the mass moves onwards, it may trample the minorities under foot. In a period of rapid social change, when vested interests are being assailed and special classes are being shorn of many privileges, it is particularly necessary to ease the transition for those minorities who are in any case bound to suffer. The crude doctrine that the only rights a minority possesses is to turn itself into a majority leads to bad laws. Minorities have the right to modify legislation. The chief function of a second chamber is not, as is usually assumed, to defend the majority against the popular house, but to defend the minority."

For these reasons, we strongly advocate the maintenance of a second chamber. We believe that if properly constituted, it will exercise a wholesome influence in the country.

The question then arises, How should the Second Chamber be constituted? It is clear that if the second chamber is merely a nominee chamber, it will be absolutely useless. It is no less clear that if it is purely elective, it will exercise powers and command an influence that would be

hardly inferior to the influence of the lower chamber. In India, however, a purely elected chamber is not within the realms of practical politics. It is true that the Second Chamber of most of the European States are composed entirely of elected representatives ; it is no less true that the American and French Senates which are purely elective have played a notable part in the political progress of their country. It must be admitted, however, that, circumstanced as we are, it is impossible to construct a second chamber on a purely elective basis. We cannot have a *partially* elected lower chamber. and a *purely* elected second chamber. We come, then, to the conclusion that the second chamber must combine both features—it must be partly elected, and partly nominated. Another question intimately connected with this is as to its size. Nearly every second chamber is smaller than the lower chamber. According to Sir John Marriott's work entitled *Second Chambers*, the Canadian Senate contains 87, Australian 26, and South African 32 members.

The Work of the Council of State.—It must be admitted that the Council of State has exercised comparatively little influence on public opinion, nor can it be denied that it lacks those features which habituate people in other countries to the influence of second chambers. It lacks tradition; it is dominated by the nominated members ; it suffers also from a lack of right perspective, of constructive statesmanship, and of that mature and solid experience which have excited the admiration of the observers of American and French Senates. We are of the opinion that the proportion of nominated to elected members should be reduced. The Council of State should consist of 100 members. The number of official members should not be more than 10, and nominated non-official should not exceed twenty in number. The number of Muslims among the nominated members should not be less than 7. The nomination of members must be made solely on the ground of eminence in some branch of life—such as commerce, banking, learned professions, public service, or eminent scholarship. It should not be regarded as a reward of loyalty to, and work, for a party. Of the remaining 70 seats, twenty-three should be filled by Muslims. Of these 23, 13 should represent the nine provinces of British India, and should be elected by general Muslim constituencies. The other ten members should represent various interests—4 Muslims to represent Muslim landlords, 2 Muslims to represent learned professions, 2 to represent public service, and two to represent commerce. As regards the remaining 47 seats, six should be represented by Europeans, one by Anglo-Indian, one by an Indian Christian, one by a member to represent labour, and the rest by Hindus proper and by depressed classes.

If special constituencies are divided into Muslim and non-Muslim special constituencies, constituencies will have to be organised for non-Muslims, too, on the same lines. It is necessary to make provision for the representatives of Muslims in commerce, law, education, and landholders' constituencies, as Muslims have not been elected in special constituencies. The powers of the second chamber should be the same as those of the Australian Senate. In other words, both the chambers should have co-equal powers, except in the case of Money Bills. As regards the latter, Articles 50, 54, 55 of the Commonwealth of Australia Act may well be adopted. According to these sections, (1) Bills appropriating revenue or imposing taxation must originate in the lower chamber ;

The Upper Chamber may reject such bills ; (3) The Upper Chamber may not amend bills, but it may at any stage return such bills to the Lower House, requesting the revision or amendment of any of the items or provisions contained therein. It may amend all other Bills, but not so as to increase a charge or burden upon the people. A special section should be added, with a view to avoiding either " tacking," or the desire of including all the financial measures of the years in a single bill which is impracticable for the Upper Chamber to reject.

Measures to avoid deadlock.—We are of the opinion, that the principle enunciated in the Act of the Imperial Parliament of 1911, for preventing deadlocks between the lower and the upper chambers should be followed.

Duration of the Central Legislature.—We propose that the duration of both the houses should be five years.

Franchise.—The franchise for the Assembly should be the same as the present franchise for electors for legislative councils. In the case of the Council of State, every person possessing property, or paying an income-tax on income, which yields Rs. 1,000 a year, should be eligible. The other qualifications for voters, and franchises enumerated in the present electoral rules for the Council of State should be retained.

8. *The constitutional problem in relation to (a) Law and Order in British India.*—We are of the opinion that the question of the maintenance of law and order in British India is of supreme importance to millions of people in this country, and occasions for racial, religious, communal and political conflict are so frequent, that it is essential that the Central Government should be invested with a reserve of power which it can exercise in emergencies. We feel that in the transition period, when the process of Indianisation is in full swing, when communal quarrels and religious conflicts have occurred on a scale unprecedented in the history of the relations of various communities in India, it is necessary that no suspicion should be entertained either of the motives or of the policy pursued by the Government. We think that with a view to realising this, it is necessary that the government should have adequate, effective and substantial powers, and for this the central government must be ultimately responsible. Had the atmosphere been calmer and feelings restrained, we would have advocated considerable restrictions on the use of this power. We feel, however, that under the present circumstances, it is impossible to abridge the powers either of the central or of the Provincial governments, in the matter of Law and Order.

8. (*b*) *Justice in British India.*—We have already discussed this subject in our report on the judiciary, and we would like to draw your attention to the proposals formulated therein.

(*c*) *Defence of India.*—We are firmly of the opinion that Indians should be given greater share in the defence of their country. We have been most unfairly, nay unjustly, treated in the past. We hope and believe that justice will be done to us now, and Indians will be taken in greater numbers in the army and navy of their country. We think that a beginning should be made by the adoption of the report of the Skeen Committee. It is a matter of great regret that the wholesome, prudent, and cautious proposals of a committee presided over by an English General of great military experience should have been radically modified. This has, we confess, pro-

duced great disappointment in the minds of Indians of all classes. The record of our community during the War is one of which anyone might be proud. The regiments recruited from this province from members of our community acquitted themselves in a manner which won the admiration of all observers. We hope that adequate and effective representation will be granted to us in the navy, and a substantial proportion of Muslims will be given commissions in the army. In any scheme of Indianisation whether of the Army or Navy, the interests of our community should be effectively safeguarded.

(*d*) *Social progress in British India.*—We are of the opinion that on many points, in many cases, and on many occasions, the feelings of various communities have been greatly stirred by the existence of social abuses. We believe that in limited circles a real, genuine, and sincere attempt is being made to level all barriers of caste, untouchability, and other customs which are a hindrance to the progress of our country. We have complete sympathy with the aims and objects of these movements. We believe that it is only by persistent, vigorous, and concentrated action that our country can be freed from the spectre of superstition, untouchability and disease. We would, however, like to point out that the manner and method in which such movements have been conducted have frequently exacerbated the feelings of different communities. We refer particularly to the policy and action of the leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha. While we respect their character, admire their zeal, and sympathise with their ideals, we are constrained to point out that their reforming activities have frequently taken the form, not of a genuine and real endeavour to improve the lot of the depressed classes, and raising them to a position of social equality, but of a systematic plan to organise all the non-caste Hindus and to arouse their passions and feelings against the Muslim community. Hence, some of these movements are not so much social as political, organised with the purpose, partly of preserving the power and influence of the high caste Hindus, and especially the Brahmans, over untouchables and depressed classes, partly of converting these inchoate non-caste Hindu organisations into a strong and formidable barrier against the Muslims. We fear, therefore, that on many, though not on all, occasions, social progress has been diverted into unhealthy channels, and depressed classes are utilised for the double purpose indicated above. We may be allowed to quote the following from the speech of His Excellency Sir Malcolm Hailey, which he delivered in the Legislative Assembly, on February 28, 1924. He referred to the policy of Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the founder of the Hindu Mahasabha, as follows: " He (the Pundit) did his best to upset what was known as the Jehangirabad settlement "—the settlement arrived at between the Hindus and Muslims of these provinces, for the representation of our community in the municipal boards of these provinces—" and he lately issued from his University of Benares a statement to the Hindu Mahasabha, accusing the Muhammadans of violence of an aggravated nature, and suggesting to the Hindus that they should organise a party of physical force to defend themselves." Let anyone go through the presidential addresses and speeches delivered by the leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha in the years 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927 and 1928 ; let him study the policy and methods of the District and Provincial Hindu Sabhas in the United Provinces and the Punjab, and then judge for

himself whether the activities of the Sabha are political or social. It is true that a number of pious resolutions are mechanically passed by the Sabha ; it is no less true that genuine attempts are being made in a few places to raise the social level of such classes ; yet the fact remains that large part of the work of the Sabha is political in its aims and methods.

The Status and Position of India in the British Empire.—We are strongly of the opinion that serious attempts should be made to raise the status of India in the British Empire. We are convinced that the labour problem should be solved by the central government by the passage of compulsory arbitration law for trade disputes. We do not advocate constant interference by the Government in these disputes; but there are occasions when the government cannot remain a silent and, we may add, an inglorious spectator of quarrels which endanger public safety and affect the well-being of millions of our countrymen. We think that the labour legislation passed in New Zealand, Australia should be studied and, if found suitable, adopted in India. Labour troubles provide a recurring cause of dispute, and exacerbate the feelings of the masses. The government should take the initiative in this matter and try earnestly to provide a solution of this difficulty. We think that representatives of the Indian Government should be appointed in every British Colony ; and they should be charged with the duty of safeguarding their rights and protecting their interests. We feel that the position of Indians in the British Empire is not placed on that sound and solid basis which we have a right to expect. The principle of perfect equality of Indians in every British Conoly should be maintained, and the Secretary of State for India should be charged with the duty of supervising their interests, and representing their grievance to all British Colonies and Dominions. All laws passed in any colony for the purpose of perpetuating differences between Indians and other inhabitants of such colonies should be declared null and void. The powers and privileges of the High Commissioner for India should be increased.

We feel that this is a question in which our national honour is involved; we feel that the reputation of India, her political ambitions, which have acquired a force and a momentum of which few had a conception before, and her right to perfect social, political, and religious equality in every part, and of every colony of the British Empire, should be upheld by the vigour, sympathy, and power of the government of India and the British Parliament

Reconstruction of Provinces.—We are of the opinion that there should be no reconstruction of provinces, except in the Bombay Presidency. We deem it to be essential that Sind should be constituted a separate province, as it is ethnologically, geographically and racially distinct from other parts of the Bombay Presidency. We believe that it is impossible to carry on the administration of Sind without an administration that will be independent of the influence of vested interests, and devote its energies to a minute, close and intimate study of the requirements of Sind. It is, in our opinion, essential that the economic problems, agrarian difficulties, and administrative inconvenience, which amount at times to a deadlock of administration, and result in a permanent injury to the interests of the natives of Sind, should be promptly and effectively checked by making Sind a master in

its own household. We are of the opinion that the North-Western Frontier Province should not be amalgamated with the Punjab, but should be given the status of a province, with all the rights which other provinces enjoy. It is, in our opinion, necessary that the legitimate desires of the people of that province should be gratified. We believe that that province has been denied justice in the past ; we are certain that now its case will be favourably considered. We are strongly of the opinion that the district of Sylhet should not be detached from Assam, as it will deal a mortal blow to the province, and will cause intense agitation and excitement throughout India.

14. *Financial relations between the Central and Provincial Government.*—The finances of the provinces must be separated from those of the Central Government. We are in agreement with the majority report of the Reforms Enquiry Committee that at present under Section 20 of the Government of India Act, the revenues of India are received for and in the name of His Majesty. It is true that the provinces have been allocated some of those revenues by the Devolution Rules made under Section 45A, but it is only the Secretary of State who can be sued under Section 32. A Local Government may raise money under sub-section (1) (*a*) of Section 30 on the security of revenues allotted to it, but it must do so on behalf of and in the name of Secretary of State. Even in the case of the Union of South Africa where the Central Government retains much greater control than in other Federal Constitutions within the British Empire, separate provincial revenue funds have been established within the provinces. The summary of financial relations of provinces and the Dominion of Canada given on pages 756—9 and detailed account of the relations between the States and the Federal Government of the Australian Commonwealth, given on pages 892—908 of Keith's *Responsible Government in the Dominions*, show how wide, nay, far-reaching, are the powers exercised by the Provinces and States of the British Colonies. The revenues allocated to Local Government should be separated from the central revenues before anything in the nature of provincial autonomy can be set up. We recommend that separate consolidated funds for each province should be set up, and as the right to sue the Government is recognised in Section 32, it will be necessary to provide that when the claim, if established, would have to be met from such consolidated funds, the suit would lie against the provinces.

The existing limitations upon provincial autonomy in regard to provincial borrowing powers contained in the Local Government (Borrowing) Rules should be relaxed, but not abolished, in such a way as to secure some co-ordination as to the times when the provinces should go into the market, and try to tap the same source. Hence if competition in interest rates is to be avoided, there must be some control over the borrowing powers of the provinces.

We propose that an auxiliary Committee should be appointed by the Statutory Commission to inquire into and report upon the sources of revenue that are to be appropriated by the Central Government and those which are to be earmarked for the use of the provinces themselves. The question of a proper demarcation and distribution of the sources of revenue between the Central and the Provincial Government is of the utmost importance, and

it cannot be denied that the present arrangement is unscientific, and, in some cases, unjust. It is necessary that the Committee should inquire into the principles upon which the revenue is distributed between the two Governments. The same Committee will inquire into the feasibility of retaining the Meston Settlement. Our opinion and that of a large number of other influential persons in every province is that the Meston Award must be scrapped.

A question here arises, which can be replied to, before other matters are dealt. It is, to what extent should the central government employ its agents for the administration of its own subjects? While we are alive to the need for the establishment of a separate agency for the administration of subjects which are pre-eminently central subjects, we must point out that the multiplication of such agents is likely to be attended by many serious results. In the first place, (1) It is likely to lead to extravagance ; (2) It will set up two jurisdictions in the same place ; (3) The authority of the province is likely to be lowered thereby ; (4) It will create a parallel set of services which might ultimately prove harmful to the smooth running of the Government machinery. In the United States of America, the Federal officials are generally officials charged with the collection of indirect taxes, administration of justice ; there is, besides, the federal army. The new German Constitution lays down that all the central subjects should be administered by the officials of the provinces. If the principle of appointing a set of Federal officials is extended we shall find in many institutions two sets of officials of which one set, the Federal set, is likely to supersede the other set. This is what has happened in most of the States of the U.S.A., where the Federal Courts are preferred to State Courts.

Of course, in the case of subjects demanding special knowledge, it is essential to maintain a distinctive, or a federal, service, but if in all subjects which are administered by the Government of India, its own agents are appointed, another result will be that local and provincial needs will not be given due consideration. The Government of India is too far away from most of the provinces, and its officials are not likely to pay close attention to our needs. Of course, the Government of India will maintain its present establishment, and its control over customs, railway, army and other officials. We merely object to the duplication of an official hierarchy.

21. *The Relationship between the Central Government, the Secretary of State and the British Parliament.*—We may point out that the Crewe Committee in paragraph 28 of their report recommended the abolition of the Secretary of State's Council, and the setting up of an Advisory Committee of from 6 to 12 members. We are definitely of the opinion that the control of the Secretary of State for India should be relaxed. The position of the central government is rendered exceedingly delicate and even awkward by the interference of the Secretary of State. It must be laid down in a statute, if possible, that the Governor-General of India is not to be interfered with in problems of day-to-day administration by the Secretary of State for India. Only if and when an issue arises which is likely to affect the British Empire, or endanger the safety and tranquillity of British India, should the Secretary of State intervene. As is pointed out by the majority report of the Reforms Inquiry Committee—" In financial and service matters, action may

be taken by definite delegation of powers by rule." In matters of administration, however, it must be distinctly laid down in the statute that his control should not be exercised. Again, it is well known that the amount of control exercised by the Secretary of State depends to a large extent, on the personality of the Secretary of State. This is an additional reason why rules should curb his powers. The position of the Secretary of State cannot, of course, be likened to that of the Colonial Secretary ; as there are elements in the problem of Indian politics which are completely lacking in the colonies ; still, it is true that the Council of the Secretary of State is an anachronism, and should be scrapped; that he should be prohibited from interfering in the internal administration of the Central Government, and his powers over finance and the services should be curtailed. He should have a small Advisory body, instead of the present Council.

Powers of the Central Government over Provincial Governments.—We are in agreement with the view expressed by Sir Frederick Whyte in his book entitled *India, a Federation* that the question of federation in British India should be decided on a scientific principle. We need only refer to the views of eminent writers like Bryce, Dicey, Woodrow Wilson and others who have dealt with this subject. We are not interested in the academic discussion of the nature of federalism, and its effect. It seems to us to be evident that in dealing with any type of federal government, we must take the peculiar conditions, and the distinctive features of Indian political phenomena into account. We believe that in a country like India, there is absolute necessity of a strong Central Government which, while ordinarily leaving considerable latitude, and even freedom, to the provinces, will act in emergencies with vigour and promptitude. We are therefore of the opinion that constituted as India is at present, and serious, nay, fatal as are the quarrels of races, creeds, religions and castes, it would be disastrous if the Central Government is not invested with the *residuary* power. We therefore propose as the basis of our classification, the division of subjects into Central and Provincial. This will be our major division. The question is to us more theoretical than practical, as experience convinces us of the utility of maintaining the distinction between central and provincial subjects, as indicated in Sections 65 and 45 of the Government of India Act. We propose that Section 65 should be retained. We believe it to be essential to the good government to have the powers defined in this Section reserved for the central government. We assume that the normal channel for the exercise of this power will be the Indian Legislature. Section 45 summarises the history of the relation of the Central Government to the Local Governments. This Section embodies several statutes passed earlier, such as Section 9 of the Act of 1772 ; Sections 24, 40, 41, 43, 44 of the Act of 1793 ; Sections 65 and 68 of the Act of 1833; Section 1 (2) of the Act of 1893; and Section 1 (1) of the Act of 1912.

We see no reason for modifying the principle involved in these Acts. We believe that the central idea which runs through all of these statutes is perfectly sound. We are of the opinion that the classification of subjects into central and provincial which has been effected in the rules framed in accordance with Section 45A of the Government of India Act of 1919 is satisfactory and has, on the whole, worked well. We propose that this classification should be retained.

From the preceding remarks it will be clear that we are not in favour of giving the residuary power to the provinces. Quite apart from the fact that the countries which have adopted this principle in their constitutions, such as the United States of America, Switzerland and Australia, have seen the gradual and steady growth in the power of the central at the expense of the provincial governments, there is vital need for the concentration of all the resources of the State for the protection of the elementary rights of citizens in grave and emergent cases. We believe that if the residuary power is left to the provincial governments, it will lead to confusion and disorder. In some of the American States robbers abound, and the grosser forms of malpractices are perpetrated. We need only cite pages 337-8 of Lord Bryce's *American Commonwealth*, Volume I: "There are districts where armed hands occasionally appear, perpetrating nocturnal outrages which no State police force has been provided to check. So, too, in a few States, statutes opposed to sound principles have been passed." Yet the central government looks on, as it has no power to interfere. Again, the States of America and Australia, as well as the Cantons of Switzerland, enjoyed extensive powers before they voluntarily entered the union, and formed the federation. Before the federation, the delegates had the character of ambassadors of semi-independent states, rather than of members of a central legislature. The analogy between an American State and an Indian Province is, therefore, not only false, but positively injurious. We are of the opinion that the type of government exemplified in the federations of Canada and South Africa is more suited for India.

Having cleared our position, and mentioned the reasons that mitigate against the establishment of federalism of the American type, let us deal with the principles which, in our opinion, should regulate the division of powers between the central and provincial governments.

We may classify these into the following divisions. The classification is based mainly on the new German Constitution, of which Oppenheimer and Brunet have given a very clear and lucid account in their works.

1. *Exclusive.*—These powers can be exercised only by the Government of India. These are the central subjects which are now dealt with by the Government of India under Sections 65 and 45 of the Government of India Act. Only the Central Government should be competent to deal with the subjects which are designated as Central in accordance with the rules framed by the Government of India Act.

2. *Provincial.*—Those subjects which are at present administered by the Local Governments. Generally only the Local Governments will deal with these subjects.

3. *Concurrent.*—It is clear, however, that the Government of India will need, and must exercise, power even over those subjects which are included in the last category. Accordingly, the Government of India should have a concurrent power—that is, so long and in so far as the central legislature has not made use of its legislative power, the Provinces continue free to legislate. That is to say, the central legislature has an overriding claim, but the provinces may (1) legislate on such subjects as regards which the former does not exercise its rights; and (2) regulate by a provincial law such parts of the subject as the central legislature

has left open. The subjects in regard to which concurrent power may be exercised are (1) public health, (2) labour laws, (3) public welfare and (4) the maintenance of public order and security. There is a similar law in South Africa, by which the Union Parliament is empowered to enact any law "for the peace, order and good government." While, therefore, it is essential that the important subject of Law and Order should not be taken away from the hands of the Local Government, it is no less essential that the Central Government should not be deprived of the power of concurrent legislation in these matters.

4. The next division is termed *Normative*. This may seem to be superfluous, yet, on closer analysis, it is of vast importance. Normative implies the establishment of a norm or standard, to which all measures should conform. Normative legislation lays down directions for the guidance of provincial legislatures, and the provinces may (1) either give effect to these principles, or (2) refrain from passing enactments incompatible with them. This category may seem superfluous, yet, on a closer analysis, it seems very necessary. It is a salutary safeguard against hasty, contradictory or ill-conceived legislation. The new German Constitution made provision for it, and the Government promptly passed a series of laws, formulating clear, consistent and lucid principles on various subjects, for the guidance of provincial legislatures. By this means, a very high standand has been maintained in the legislation of these states. The need for this type of legislation will be clear from the history of the State legislatures of the United States of America, who have passed a series of laws which, for their absurdity, impracticability, and inutility are rarely paralleled in the world.

This is the classification of subjects which we would suggest. It seems to us to be scientific and while it respects the autonomy of the provinces, it does not limit the powers of the central government.

THE POSITION OF MUSLIMS IN THE ADMINISTRATION.

In no country in the world are the services as important an agency of public good as they are in India. Nowhere are the public servants, under the Government as well as local bodies, so almost exclusively looked up to for guidance, for control, and for active help as in India. In the modern political organisation, India still affords unique opportunities to the public servants of contributing to the growth, the prosperity, the peace and the happiness of the masses as much of the classes. No other agency is here in such intimate living contact with the masses, and has such an overwhelming share in the shaping and control of their destiny. For good or for evil, the services have, ever since the uprooting of indigenous self-governing institutions two or three centuries ago, directed and controlled the nation's destiny, and executed its policies almost exclusively. And for another a quarter of a century at least will this continue to be so, while India laboriously and with many a lapse and travail accustoms herself to those new and modern methods of Swaraj which are being fast evolved or imported.

The struggle and the bitterness about representation of the different communities in the services has thus a very much deeper meaning and a nobler significance than merely that of loaves and fishes. Whatever the ostensible "constitution" or policy established, a very great deal does, and for decades to come must, depend on how and who directs and operates it in actual working. The number of public officials may constitute only a microscopic minority of the total population, yet it is because they are virtual directors of the nation's destiny that Britons and Indians—Hindus and Muslims—are competing so eagerly for their due share in them. We are free to acknowledge that the Reforms have by bringing India face to face with the problems of self-government precipitated the struggle for powers and emoluments of office and, in fact, for control of the entire machinery of the Government. As the process of withdrawing is steadily in operation, as more and more people new to power come into sway, the more will the experience and training, the technical skill and administrative efficiency of officers be effectively used and valued. As we approximate more to Swaraj and real self-government, the more will the influence of these guides, philosophers and friends of the public bodies and leaders increase in the first instance; and the more will there be action and reaction of opinion and actions, public and official.

It is by way of recognition of these factors in present and recent politics that the Lee Commission has emphasised the need for Indianisation of the Services, and as a present ideal fixed the percentage of Indian in the Superior Services, at 50 %, in the I. C. S., 50 %, in Police, 75 %, in Forest, 60%, in Irrigation, 50 %, in Customs, 75%, in the Telegraph and Railways, 75 %. In actual working out, however, and because of not fixing higher ratios of immediate recruitments, these percentages are nowhere established. Government of India had to admit in 1924 that the percentage of Indians in all Superior Services under it was only 2·9 % for Muslims and

20 % for Hindus. The Commission, however, grievously failed to carry this policy of fixation of ratios to its logical conclusion, and omitted to fix similar definite ratios also between the Hindus and Muslims and other minority communities sufficiently important in any province. That this fixation is even more important and necessary is proved undeniably by unfortunate incidents and positions in the different services. In some cases, officers utilise their position to carry on communal propaganda or sow the seeds of internecine warfare by sectional favourtism and injustice. A Governor of Bombay left the shores of India with the parting wail that even his responsible popular Minister could not resist the lure of power and patronage to surround himself with a permanent staff recruited almost exclusively from his own community. Even in the hallowed preserve of Law and Order, this virus seems to have invaded, in spite of the fact that it is the one department of which the Government is justly proud, and for which India pays so heavily. The Bihar and Orissa Police Administration Report admits: "In 2 or 3 cases Police Officers permitted religious fervour to obscure their judgment and prejudice their conduct." Anyone who knows anything about the normal difficulties of unearthing and dragging such cases to light and of the subsequent natural administrative efforts to whitewash them can easily realise that there must in practice be dozens of such cases of overzealous Hindu officers in all departments before '2 or 3' forced their way into the Government Annual Administration Report even of the department of Law and Order.

If such is the position while a centralised bureaucracy still reigns supreme, how much more will it be so under Indianised and self-governing conditions, when the present checks are removed and "the powerful central idea of Government by majority" comes into full operation. Unless a fined, frank and uncompromising ratio is mutually settled between at least the two communities who aspire to Indian Swaraj, and accepted and legalised in a parliamentary statute, not only will constant bickerings soil our records of self-government but the greatest of all human tyrannies will reign supreme in India: the tyranny of an unmitigated oligarchy of caste or creed over free and democratic Islam. Policies, however generous, humane or progressive, will be executed exclusively for the benefit, and to perpetuate the monopolies of the majority communities by the preponderantly Hindu officers, their actions will be confirmed by Hindu Ministers, Councils, Chairmen and Local Bodies. All remedial measures will be immediately whittled down and rendered nugatory, and India will become a sorry spectacle of a Brahman or a Kayastha domination. Even in the matter of Educational, Industrial, and Commercial developments, the influence of officers and of Government action is unique in India as evidenced by present legitimate advantages and privileges enjoyed by contractors as opposed to other foreigners and even sometimes to Indians. If this is so of a constitutional foreign power, then to how much greater lengths could Indian majority community officers carry their exploitation of minor communities officers can be more easily imagined than described. Even under the moderating influence of irresponsible and irreplacable bureaucrats they have transferred "Government Secretariats" into "Hindu Zamindar's Cutcheries" as quoted from a neutral observer.

That the Hindus themselves realise the supreme importance of this problem is evidenced by the unnecessary bitterness they import into this controversy; and the ill-conceived desire to be the sole "wielders of the pen, letting Muslims take a major share in the Army, Navy and the Marines," as Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal once put it. But Muslims know what there is behind all this palpably fallacious argument as well as behind the accusations of "slave mentality, selfishness, petty-minded obsession with bread and butter," etc. They insist on taking their due share in "serving" the Motherland. They are willing to and have died fighting even against Muslim foreign powers, if they are not treated here as helots and interlopers, after 700 years of amicable residence; but are made to love this coventry by being guaranteed here all the material, moral and administrative blessings which others enjoy. That the Services will give them ample opportunities of serving their own community and the Indian nation is not difficult to comprehend. That here in the United Provinces such service of their community is called for is apparent alike from their own depression and the assertiveness of the majority community.

The Governor of Bengal in Council, in 1925, publicly announced, "that Government must give due consideration to encouragement of education in the Muhammadan community by provision of Government employment for them to a reasonable extent. . . . Apart from the official duties, administrative officers of the Government are, through their position, able to exercise a beneficent influence over the lives and general fortunes of the people; and the Governor-in-Council has met with numerous instances in which Mohamedan officers have advanced the interests of their community. Without a larger proportion of Mohamedan officers than now employed the interests of the population as a whole are not likely to be secured. Putting aside the natural reliance of the several communities in officers of their own community in times of tension, the Governor-in-Council considers it inevitable that Muhammadan officers will be in closer touch and sympathy with the needs and aspirations of their community than any other officers."

This was 2 years after the united efforts of Messrs. C. R. Das, Sutesh Bose, Moulvi Abdul Karim and others to "secure the rights of each community as the foundations of self-government." The Calcutta University and the Government Secretariats alike had degenerated into almost pure communal organisations; and these patriots and practical reformers felt that, to quote from the now famous Press Letters of the last-named leader, "there was no incentive to bury the hatchet, and to put shoulders to the wheels of national or administrative chariots of future India, if any community justly feels that it is being done out of even its minimum share of responsible positions and control of national policies. Bitterness between Hindus and Muslims is fast growing and will continue to grow as Mohamedans get more and more educated. As Indianisation proceeds, and Muslims alone fail to get their due share owing to natural tendencies or unnatural intrigues of Hindu monopolists, the bitterness will grow."

Mr. C. R. Das' Bengal Pact "established the real foundation of Swaraj as far as Government posts" were concerned as follows:—"55% of the

Government posts should go to the Mohamedans to be worked out in the following manner:

"*Fixing the tests for different classes of appointments.*—The Mohamedans satisfying the least test should be preferred till the above percentage is attained; and after that, according to their due proportion, subject to this that for the intervening years a small percentage of posts, say 20%, should go to the Hindus."

Unless our proportion is embodied in an Act of Parliament, we will never be able to secure our due share in the administration, as Hindu Secretaries, Heads of Departments and Hindu Superior Officers (and these are almost all Hindus now) aided by Hindu majorities in the Boards and Legislatures, will ever frustrate the attempt to establish this equitable ratio, by means and machinations which are too well known to enumerate, and which have so far naturally resulted in uniform preferences given to relations, co-religionists, caste brethren, and sub-caste relations. The officers of the 'sister' community should be put out of the reach of the perfectly natural, if by no means excusable, tendency to prefer their own people whom they know well, to recruits of Muslim, Christian or aboriginal and other minority communities whom they do not know. The proportion of communities in the lower services is inevitably controlled by the ratio among the Heads of Departments and the higher controlling officials and their lower Secretariats.

Sir Malcolm Hailey, as Home Member, laid it down in 1923 by public declaration that the definite policy of the Government of India was to prevent the preponderance of any community, caste or creed in the services under its control. The Local Governments followed up this salutary lead, and the Bengal Government in 1925 laid down by order of Governor-in-Council, "that in 45% vacancies filled by direct recruitment, Government reserves the right to appoint Muhammadans alone, provided they possessed the minimum qualifications or secured only the qualifying marks in competitive tests." In the Bengal Secretariat staff 33% of all vacancies are reserved for Muhammadans "and the very minimum proportion is to be immediately established." The Bombay Government has made it obligatory in all recruitment to give "a fair proportion to Muslim in the Presidency proper and 50 % in Sind." The Madras Government has "accepted the policy of giving preference to candidates from communities which have not got a due share of appointments in Public Service, and accepted the proposal of the Muhammadan Staff Selection Board that in proposing lists of candidates suitable for clerical as well as other appointments in public service the following percentages should be adopted as a general rule :—"Non-Brahmans 40%, *Muslims 20%*, Brahmans 20%, Indian Christians and Anglo-Indians 10 %, Depressed classes and others 10%." The U. P. Government notified on 29th May, 1923, that of the six vacancies to be filled in the Provincial Executive Service 2 shall go to the Muslim." Similar acceptance of Sir. Malcolm Hailey's policy has been made by all Local Governments.

In the N.-W. F. where Hindus represent only 3 % Lala Lajput Rai led a deputation to the Viceroy claiming 50 % Hindu officers and men in the police and executive service.

The policy of definite fixation of rations is fairly old and authentic. The agitation was started by an educational officer himself, and a proportion was fixed in Bengal, and in 1893 the Government laid down that "provided qualified candidates are available, necessary orders should be issued to the Education Department and all District and Municipal Boards to appoint *only* Muhammadan candidates till the proportion (of about 52 %) is reached. Circle Inspectors were to follow a similar principle in appointments of teachers in Government High Schools. It must be most disheartening to the Muhammadan people to find their brethren almost wholly excluded from appointments and this must react most injuriously on their educational advancement."

In 1901, however, the Secretary to the Government remarked severely on the whittling down of this order in actual working, by the subtle and expert Hindu monopolists, and a fresh order was issued to the Heads of the Departments, saying, "Notwithstanding the distinct orders of Government on the subject, only 26 out of 382 teachers in Government service were Muhammadans. Inspectors of Schools are to adhere to the degrees laid down as qualifications for the vacant posts, and not to give preference to a Hindu possessing a higher degree which is not an essential qualification for the vacancy."

At long last something like a fair proportion of Muslims has been reached in this one department in Bengal. And it is a significant commentary on the false and mischievous alarms raised about "efficiency suffering and Muslims being incompetent," that in this of all departments there has been no complaint from Government or grievance of inefficiency from the public, nor have Muslim officers failed to reach the very highest posts in which academic learning and high literary as well as inspecting and touring abilities are essentially called for. 'The efficiency theory' has been exploded in the case of the European Services (where it certainly had some semblance of valid justification ever since the organised agitation against the Ilbert Bill in the time of Lord Ripon) and it ill behoves a professed "nationalist" community to revive it. Our community can dignifiedly ignore this insulting challenge after having founded empires and given to Europe its "Chivalry" (the very word is Saracenic), its Cordova and Granada, its mathematics, science and philosophy, its paper, mariner's compass and Algebra, as well as its religious toleration, democratic constitution and its initial Renaissance from the Dark and Middle Age barbarities. The problem of Muslim middle-class unemployment is growing as acute as any other, and effectively refutes the further pretext of Hindu monopolists that qualified candidates are not available. Now the paltry "5 % Muslim officers ratio in the whole of India" which was complained about in 1924 by Mr. Abdul Karim in the Council of State is inevitable.

We may be allowed to quote the following from Mr. E. C. Bayley: "Is it any subject for wonder that they (Muslims) held aloof from a system (of education) which, however good in itself, made no concession to their prejudices, made in fact no provision for what they esteemed their necessities, and which was in its nature antagonistic to their interests.

and at variance with their social traditions ? " Sir W. Hunter, even more tersely observed, from his *first-hand* knowledge as the official chronicler, that "the astute Hindu has covered the country with schools adapted to the wants of his own community, but wholly unsuited to the Muhammadans. The language of our Government schools is Hindu, and the masters are Hindus," as indeed are the ideas and ideals, the symbolism and similitudes, the traditions and mythologies, the histories and biographical anecdotes of Rama and Bhim, to the exclusion of those of the Caliphs, like Ali and Haroun, and conquerors like Khalid and Babar, and administrators like Omar and Akbar. This in a minority province. In the Province of Madras equal safeguards had been taken to denationalise and depress Indian Muslims; and the Madras Government in an official resolution declared, "The existing scheme of instruction was formed with too extensive (and intensive) a reference to the requirements of the Hindu students; and the Mohamedans were placed at so great a disadvantage that the wonder was not that the Mohamedan element in the schools was so small, but that it existed at all." After this comment it is useless to prove what should be the basic principle if Government want as the Governor-in-Council declared in Calcutta, "to encourage Muslim education and prevent the monopoly (in the services) of any class."

We repeat that the question of services is essentially a national and fundamental one. It cannot be contemptuously and with dexterity waived aside as a problem of India's slave mentality ; when in the near future it will be the Indianised officials and autonomous cabinets and Boards from which such 'boons' will be craved, presumably with equal alacrity and subtlety by our 'astute' brethren.

It is our firm conviction that to Muslims, and, we may add, to a large number of persons belonging to the various communities, religions, castes and races of India, the question of administration is a question of political and economic existence. We hope that this statement will not be exposed to the charge of exaggeration, when we explain to you the peculiar, nay the essential features of public administration in India. The great, powerful and influential official hierarchy which our national king, Akbar the Great, built up and which subsequent administrators have perfected, has played a leading part in the development of this country. It has built canals, established law and order in the country, provided an excellent system of roads, and established and methodised the collection and assessment of land revenue. We may go further and state that modern India is the work of a devoted band of officials, both English and Indian, who by their vigour, energy, enterprise, and devotion, have made, and are still making, the great, and, let us add, the only safe course that leads to responsible government and dominion status. We do not deny, indeed, we should be the last to deny, the part which various local bodies have played in this process. We have never denied the utility, nay the absolute necessity, of local self-governing institutions. They contribute to the development of local centres of thought and action. Nor do we deny that they form habit among the inhabitants of a town or district, of bringing their knowledge and capacities into common stock for the benefit of

the whole community, making those friendly personal relations which benefit neighbours, and develop a capacity for give-and-take. The heaping together in such an assembly of various elements of power, the conjunction of forces of rank, wealth, knowledge and intellect, naturally make such institutions a sort of foundry in which public opinion is melted and cast, where it receives that definite shape in which it can be easily and swiftly propagated through the whole province, deriving not only an authority from the position of those who form it, but also a momentum from the weight of numbers in the community whence it comes.

We have thought it necessary to state this, in order that our position might not be misunderstood. All that we claim is that the official in India exercises an influence which is hardly inferior to the influence of local self-governing institutions. This does not mean that he acts as a rival to the latter, nor does it mean that the local bodies are in any way unfitted for the task with which they are charged. Our contention is that the ideal of all governments in India—and in this we include the Mughal as well as the British Government—has always been to bring the active, planning will of each part of the government into accord with the prevailing popular thoughts and needs, and thus make it an impartial instrument of symmetrical national development, and to give to the operation of the government thus shaped under the influence of opinion and adjusted to the general interest, both stability and incorruptible efficacy. We do not, of course, claim that this ideal has always been realised in practice; nor do we deny that in some cases acts have been committed by the government and methods adopted which are unworthy of any civilized government. It must, however, be admitted that the best type of officials in India—and in this category we include both the English and the Indian officials—have always placed this ideal before them and tried to carry them out. We may go further, and state that the official in India is the balance-wheel of the constitution.

It is no doubt true that the legislature will give a specific mould to the government, and the party in power can, if it has the will and the opportunity, to mould the administration. But administration in India is not merely a question of loaves and fishes. It is a question of power, of opportunity and of service. A Tahsildar or a Deputy Collector wields an influence which is wholly disproportionate to the amount of pay he draws.

Muslims in Services.

We have deemed it necessary to restate the main principles upon which Indian administration is based. The part played by the Muslims in the executive services of these provinces is known to all who have had experience of their work. The great majority of officers who helped the British in the maintenance of law and order, the evolution of various institutions, the revenue system, the police, the judiciary, etc., were Muslims.

Impartial, disinterested and experienced officials have testified that Muslims possess executive ability of a high order; they have acknowledged

their driving power, enterprise, dash and power of command. The Muslim deputy collector and the Muslim police official contain some of the smartest and most successful administrators in India. Indeed our importance in the social and public economy of these provinces was clearly and lucidly stated in the Fifth Despatch of the Government of India, dated April 23, 1919: "In the first place the Muslims have been definitely promised some electoral advantage on the ground of their political importance. *We shall have to measure that advantage and to fulfil that promise.* In the third place their census strength by no means corresponds to their political strength. The past history and the presence of Mohamedan centres count much." Lord Morley's reply to the deputation of the London Branch of the Muslim League shows clearly the important, nay, the leading part which Muslims play in the political and social life of the United Provinces.

We would like to refer you to another point, which is of special importance to us at the present. The present political atmosphere of the country is surcharged with racial and communal rivalry, almost in every branch of life.

According to the information supplied by the United Provinces Government to the Local Legislative Council on December 21, 1927, between March 31, 1921 and December 21, 1927, restrictions were imposed on 700 religious processions in forty out of 46 districts of the United Provinces; ninety communal riots occurred in various parts of the United Provinces; during these riots 39 Hindus and 42 Muslims lost their lives, while 1,566 Hindus and 735 Muslims were wounded. This is a record of which every Indian ought to be ashamed. Yet, this is an index to the feelings of the two communities in one province alone. It is satisfactory to note that the leaders of the two communities are engaged at the present time in devising remedies for this disease. It is also satisfactory to note that the relations of the two communities have improved considerably during the last eight months. The occurrence of riots creates an atmosphere of suspicion and distrust, and intensifies the feelings, embitters the relations and wounds the sentiments of all the communities. Hindus accuse Muslims of aggression. Muslims charge the latter with various crimes. We do not think it necessary to apportion either praise or blame between the two communities. We cannot indict a community of 68 millions on the one side or a community of 210 millions on the other. The fact, however, remains that executive officers are placed in a most awkward position. If they are Muslims, the Hindus distrust them. If however they happen to be Hindus, Muslims feel—whether rightly or wrongly—that they are not treated fairly, and that that strict and just treatment which has been the distinguishing feature of British administration is not meted out to them. It cannot be denied that the communal feeling and racial rivalry which have found expression in communal riots have begun to influence the administration. When the feelings of two great communities are greatly strained, when law and order cannot be maintained adequately and effectively, it is necessary, nay it is absolutely essential, that the administration should inspire confidence. If this element is lacking in any administration, if one community thinks that the life and property of its members will not be safeguarded, if it suspects the motives, distrusts the

policy, and dislikes the presence of the administrator, then the whole system stands self-condemned. The official, then, has forfeited all claims to respect; he has lost the confidence of the public, and has deprived himself of the chief instrument which preserves his power, strengthens his influence and consolidates his prestige. Yet this is bound to happen, if there is a preponderance of any community or caste in the administration. In India, caste still plays, and will continue to play, for a long time to come, a decisive influence on the minutest detail of the life of the members of the majority community. It creates a spirit of clannishness, of exclusiveness, even of untouchability among members of a particular caste. The result is that in some departments, members of different castes try to monopolise all the power for themselves. It has sometimes been remarked that when a person of a certain caste joins a department his fellow-castemen come in after him in ever-increasing numbers, and the department is not only Hinduised, but also Bengalised, or Brahmanised, Kayasthised.

Again, the practice of *Chhut Chhat* practised by the Hindus towards the Muslims makes it almost impossible for the two communities to carry on free and unrestrained social intercourse. In other countries, racial, religious and communal rivalries, differences, and distinctions, are mellowed and softened, and sometimes entirely eradicated, by constant, cheerful, and happy social intercourse. Intermarriage goes far to soften political asperities, inter-dining creates a feeling of brotherhood, and a sentiment of comradeship is fostered which contributes to the growth of a common civic feeling, a feeling in which sentiment, reason, will, and feeling combine in harmonious proportions, and create that patriotic fervour and national consciousness which transcend the boundaries of religion, race, and language. The example of Switzerland shows how such differences can be surmounted and a united nation developed out of material that seems at first sight to be thoroughly unsuitable and unmalleable. Every government, as Burke has finely said, is not merely a government of laws, but also a government of men. Unfortunately the practice of *Chhut Chhat* makes it impossible for the Hindus to mix on a footing of perfect social equality with the Muslims. They cannot marry into Muslim families; they will regard any food touched by the Muslims as impure; they cannot dine together; while social customs make it absolutely impossible for a Hindu to maintain that social level which are the prerequisite of all democratic governments. In religion and customs, they are poles apart. Religious differences would not have retained their vigour if social intercourse had been frequent, happy, unrestrained and cordial. Unfortunately, such conditions do not operate in India. It is true that the number of unorthodox Hindus has increased; it is also true that such Hindus mix freely and easily with the Muslims; and it must be admitted that the Hindus have made considerable social progress in the Punjab. It must be confessed, however, that the latter constitute only a microscopic minority. It is well-known that they exercise little influence in social matters on the vast bulk of the Hindus.

These reasons make it imperative that all the communities in these provinces should be represented in the administration of the provinces. If this is not done, the administration will not inspire confidence; it will

be dominated by an oligarchy of a particular caste or a particular community which will monopolise all the posts, manipulate the whole governmental machinery in its own interest, and produce a state of affairs which will lead to constant warfare between various elements of the population.

The Question of Efficiency.

It may well be asked, why not appoint the most efficient men, irrespective of caste, communal and religious considerations? We are entirely at one with those who insist on efficiency. We believe that if inefficient men are appointed to any post, all communities, nay the whole country, will suffer. But the standards and criteria of efficiency must be clearly laid down. Unless this is done, particular castes with peculiar aptitude for a special kind of work will pack all the offices, exclude members of other castes, and will become corrupt, greedy, selfish and tyrannical. Efficiency must be interpreted in its truest and most appropriate sense. We may be permitted to give an instance. The executive service—whether provincial or imperial—needs qualities and demands virtues which are different from those required by accountants and schoolmasters. If the executive lacks continuity in policy, promptitude in action, courage to enforce its decision, judgment in the selection of officials, and the possession of special knowledge and technical skill it will fail miserably. Efficiency has consequently reference to the end in view. If a person is efficient, he must be so for a particular post. He cannot be efficient *in vacuo*. It has, however, happened frequently that though capable, efficient and suitable Muslims for various posts were available, though they applied, and were in every way deserving of appointment, non-Muslims were actually appointed, simply because the word "efficient" was interpreted in a way that suited non-Muslims. We need only refer to the proceedings of the local bodies, universities, and other bodies for the confirmation of our statement.

Again, though we regard efficiency as a criterion, we do not regard it as the only test in appointment to various posts. We think that in a country where various communities, races, and creeds occupy different educational, economic, and social levels, where the fact of caste determines the position of a member of a caste in the social scale, it is inevitable that other considerations than those of efficiency will and must be taken into account. We think that character as well as efficiency must be taken into account. We believe that in India, there is not only a probability but also a certainty of public services being monopolised by a clerical caste, possessing plenty of book knowledge and an unusual faculty for cramming for examinations, but no modicum of commonsense, and little grit of character. If such gentlemen are imported into the executive services, they may perform their ordinary duties admirably, but they will fail miserably in emergencies. We have no objection to minimum qualifications being laid down for admission to all services. We think that it is only just and reasonable.

We are strongly of the opinion that Muslims should be guaranteed 33 per cent representation in all government departments. This must be laid down in the constitution itself, and must not be left to the whims

and fancies of legislatures in India, in which members of the majority community are dominant. We have shown above that executive orders have been issued by various local governments. Yet these rules are not always observed. Our gaze is, however, fixed on the future; and we base this on the experience of the past. We believe that if the process of Hinduisation of services which began with the advent of reforms, continues unchecked, if Muslims are elbowed out of those services which have been instrumental in evolving order out of chaos, our community will be reduced to the position of hewers of wood and drawers of water. We would apply the same principle to services maintained by the local bodies. In the appendix to this report, we give facts and figures to show the extent to which the number of Muslims has been reduced in bodies that are dominated by the majority community. It has been our bitter experience of the working of these bodies that the claims of efficient Muslims are ignored; and their opportunities of appointment by a selection committee consisting mainly of Hindus are very small, and unless they are guaranteed a fair and equitable percentage in administration of each local body, we are certain that even the comparatively few Muslims who are to be found in the administration will disappear. We would have preferred a convention being established on this subject, but we are forced by the logic of facts to the conclusion that a convention will possess little force in India in the present circumstances. We, therefore, propose that the extent of representation of Muslims in the government departments should depend upon the amount of their representation in the Legislative Council; while the amount of representation of Muslims in the administration of each local body and all autonomous institutions created and controlled by the legislature, such as Universities, Board of Intermediate and High School Education, Improvement Trusts, etc., should depend upon the representation of Muslims in these bodies.

We recommend that this principle should be applied in the case of all appointments in future. We advocate the establishment of a Provincial Services Commission in these provinces. The Commission will reserve 33 per cent vacancies for the Muslims and the rest for non-Muslims. It will conduct one examination for all communities, but Muslims will be chosen from among the Muslim candidates and the Hindus from among Hindu candidates. The services in each Government department will be classified into grades, and the proportion of Muslims will be reserved in each grade. We think that the Public Services Commission should be placed on a statutory basis. As regards the Government of India, we are of the opinion that in all the services maintained by the Central Government, Muslims should be appointed to thirty-three per cent of all vacancies. We draw your attention to the policy pursued by the U. P. Government in filling vacancies in the U. P. Provincial Executive Service. They instituted a competitive examination for deputy collectors about seven years ago, in which 33 per cent of all vacancies are reserved for Muslims and the rest for non-Muslim candidates. Both the Muslim and non-Muslim candidates sit for the same examination, but Muslims are selected from among the Muslim candidates, and the Hindus from among the Hindu candidates. This system has worked ad-

mirably and has given satisfaction to members of all communities. Generally there are six vacancies, of which two are reserved for Muslims, and four for non-Muslims. We are of the opinion that this principle should be applied to all public services. We may refer here to the excellent results that have followed the establishment of Public Services Commission in various British Colonies. We need only refer to the reforms introduced in Australia and Canada. We may also mention that in America the system has worked so well that it is proposed to extend it to a number of appointments which have been "taken out of politics." We need only refer to the remarks and observations of Lord Bryce in his work on *Modern Democracies* and *The American Commonwealth* for details of this scheme.

We are of the opinion that a Provincial Public Services Commission should be invested with adequate and substantial powers ; and in the case of appointments to any government department, the Public Services Commission should lay down clear and definite rules which must be fulfilled before any vacancy is filled up. We quote below the substance of Act No. 5 of 1902, passed by the Commonwealth of Australia, which created a Public Services Commission: The quotation is from Keith's *Responsible Government in the Dominions* :

" In this Act, the most elaborate provisions are laid down to secure that the control shall not be political and shall be in the hands of a Commissioner who cannot be removed except on an address from both Houses of Parliament. The service is classified into four grades, administrative, professional, clerical and general, and the principle of promotion by merit and seniority, but not by seniority alone, except in case of equal merit is followed. The power is given to take in outsiders if there is no one equally capable in the service, but the danger of political jobs is controlled by the requirement in the case of all promotions or new appointments of a recommendation from the Minister in charge of the department in question, a recommendation by the Commissioners and a decision by the Governor-in-Council ; if the decision be to reject the candidate proposed by the Commissioner, the only power is to reject him and ask for another, and the cause of this action must be laid before Parliament. The servants, if accused of important offences, must be tried by a Board of Enquiry." We are of the opinion that the principles underlying the Act are sound and practicable, and we recommend that they should be adopted with necessary modifications in this province.

As regards the services maintained by the local bodies, we think if sufficient Muslims are not appointed in the administration of local bodies they will not get that experience in local self-government which is so essential for the success of self-governing institutions. We are of the opinion that the conditions of important services in all local bodies should be clearly laid down by the Commission, and no important appointment should be made without the approval of the latter. We suggest that the Commission should lay down regulations regarding the pay, qualifications, conditions of service, etc., of all important services maintained by local bodies. It should also be charged with the duty of seeing that the percentage of Muslims in all public services as guaranteed by the Act of Parliament

is maintained. We recommend that the members of the Commission should be appointed by the Secretary of State, and not by the local government or Government of India. We would like to draw your attention to the fact that the railway service offers enormous scope for patronage, jobbery, nepotism and corruption. We are definitely of the opinion that the practice of British Colonies in this respect is salutary and worthy of imitation in India. Many of the Australian States have been compelled to set up Commissions of Railways, with complete power over the appointment and dismissal of railway servants and management of railways. This was done by Victoria in 1884, South Australia in 1887, Western Australia in 1902, and by New South Wales and Queensland. We are strongly of the opinion that a definite percentage of Muslims should be fixed in all grades of railway service. That percentage should, in our opinion, be thirty-three. We think that Muslims are entitled to 33 per cent representation in all the services maintained by the Government of India. The Army Department stands on a different footing. We think, however, that all the recommendations of the Skeen Committee should be carried out without delay.

We are of the opinion that Muslims should be guaranteed representation to the extent of thirty-three per cent in the Cabinet. This is essential, if Muslims are to take their due share and exercise their legitimate influence in the Government. This should be regarded as a minimum.

We believe this to be a necessary safeguard, as otherwise our views will find no expression in the administration, and our rights will not only be ignored, but actually violated. We may add that the representation of minorities is actually safeguarded in countries like Switzerland, Czechoslovakia and others, where minorities exist. We quote the following from Lord Bryce's *Modern Democracies*—"Though in nearly every Canton of Switzerland one or more representatives of the minority or minorities find their way on to the Executive Council, despite the fact that the vote is taken by a 'general ticket' over whole Canton, still, in order to ensure the representation of minorities, several Cantons have adopted systems of proportional representations, for everybody feels that each important section should have its spokesman and its share of office." So much for the Provincial Executive Council.

As regards the Federal Executive Council, Bryce informs us "Custom prescribes that one Councillor shall always come from Bern, and, another from Zurich; one is usually chosen from the important French-speaking centre from Vaud. One is, again, by custom, taken from a Roman Catholic Canton, and very often one from the Italian-speaking Ticino. In this way all the races and religions of Switzerland are represented."

We would like to draw your attention to the fact that in two Cantons of Switzerland, representation of minorities in the cabinet is secured by statute. We claim the same rights, we desire the same protection that are actually granted to minorities in Switzerland.

We are of the opinion that the classification of services in the Imperial and Provincial should be retained, though their nomenclature may be changed. As regards the subordinate services, we are strongly of the

opinion that one-third of the vacancies in the provincial services should be filled by promotion from the subordinate services, and two-thirds by a competitive examination.

We are of the opinion that all the recommendations of the Lee Commission should be carried out without the least possible delay. The Indian public is greatly dissatisfied with the delay in the effectuation of these recommendations. As regards appointment to the Imperial Services and the proportion of persons who are to be promoted from the Provincial to the Imperial Service, we are of the opinion that the principle laid down in the recommendations of the Lee Commission should be followed.

As regards the Indianisation of services we are of the opinion that the Act recently passed by the British Parliament, which was based on the recommendation of the Lee Commission, should not be amended. We believe the time has not yet arrived when all the services in India can be Indianised. We think, however, that such a scheme is a transitional one, and we look forward to the day when all the appointments in India will be filled by the Indians, but that day has not yet come.

We are strongly of the opinion that no further scheme for the Indianisation of services will be acceptable to us unless and until a minimum of thirty-three per cent of all the appointments is guaranteed to our community. We have learnt by bitter experience that Indianisation, in most departments since the Reform regime, means Hinduisation. Our community will offer determined opposition to any plan which does not ensure us an honourable career for our children.

So far as the question of efficiency is concerned, we may say briefly that the United Provinces Muslims are as efficient as members of other communities, and can perform, and are performing all the duties of their office as efficiently as other communities. Our achievements, our heritage of culture and our success in the administration of every department are a sufficient testimony to the accuracy of our statement.

Having explained our policy with regard to representation in the services, we now deal with the important Government Departments *seriatim*:

In the U. P. Secretariat.

Out of the total strength of 25 there are—

14 Christians

9 Hindus

3 Muslims.

Owing to the increased and increasing power of centralization in the secretariat the question of the representation of Muslims in this department assumes an exceptional importance. Apart from the I.C.S. posts, there are 25 gazetted posts in it, namely:—

2 Departmental Secretaries (Finance).

1 Under Secretary (Local Self-Government).

1 Assistant Secretary (Executive)

2 Vernacular Mir Munshis.

17 Superintendents.

2 Chief Inspectors and Assistant Inspectors.

Out of the above only 3 are Muslims, namely:—

Under Secretary, Local Self-Government; Under Secretary, Irrigation Department; and Mir Munshi.

All these posts are of comparatively minor importance with small emoluments. None of the Muslims is a permanent superintendent. It may be noted that the two Indians who hold the posts of Chief Secretary and Secretary in the I.C.S. cadre are both Hindus.

The clerical establishment in the Civil Secretariat tells its own tale.

Out of the total strength of 310, there are:—

50 Muslims, *i.e.*, 16%

43 Christians 14%

217 Hindus 70%.

Indian Civil Service.

Muslim representation in the I.C.S. cadre has been practically nil in the last year. The premier service in the Province has had a chequered career. In former times, recruitment for this service used to be made by competitive examination in England alone. About forty years ago an attempt was made to provide a nominated and non-competitive element in the Indian Civil Service under the designation of Statutory Civilian, but it was abandoned after a short trial and superseded on the recommendation of the Commission of 1887, and the system setting apart some superior posts to be known as listed posts to which senior members of the various provincial services might apply was instituted. This system was also subsequently superseded by simultaneous examinations in India. With the issue of the Declaration of August 1917, the position of the European element in I.C.S. has become rather uncertain. In the days of the Islington Commission, the question was 'How many Indians should be admitted into the public services?' but now the question has become 'What is the minimum number of Europeans which must still be recruited?' To carry out the spirit of the Declaration of August 1917, the Lee Commission have recommended that the present rate of Indian recruitment should be accelerated and that the rate of such recruitment should be maintained at 40 Europeans and 40 Indians out of every 100 recruits (the remainder to be filled by promotion from the Provincial Civil Service) until 50-50 cadre was reached.

U.P.C.S. Executive Branch.

The Muslim percentage in this service as well as in the police is attacked in the U.P. Legislative Council by the members of the majority community with all the vehemence at their command. The object of the Hindu members apparently is to show that the Mohamedans had got more posts than they were entitled to in this service. The facts, however, prove the other way. It will be remembered that when

the sovereignty of India changed hands the language of the court was Persian, and the British authorities had to indent upon the "madrasas," then scattered all over the country for the supply of officers to carry on their administration. Warren Hastings himself established a madrasa in 1782 in Calcutta, with the intention of training Mohamedans as officers in the service of the East India Company.

The following figures show the steady decline of Muslims in this Service:

Civil list of the year.	Total strength of the Executive.	Muslims.	Hindus.	Christians.	Percentage		
					Muh.	Hin.	Ch.
1896	443	217	202	24	49	46	5
1903	508	216	271	21	43	53	4
1919	681	283	377	25	41	55	4
1928	629	264	332	33	41	53	6

The Muslim percentage has gradually fallen from 100 per cent in 1837 to 41 per cent of the present year. The comparatively large increase in the number of the Hindus for a service, for which a number of Hindu castes are absolutely unfitted by tradition, status, heredity and temperament, is no less significant.

Recruitment for the service is made from the following sources:—

1. Promotion from Subordinate Services.
2. Nomination by the Governor.
3. Competitive examination combined by selection carried out by a committee.

Agriculture Department.

In the higher agricultural service all posts are held by non-Muslims and none by Muslims. In the Provincial Agricultural Service out of 33 posts, 24 are held by non-Muslims and 9 by Muslims. In the cadre of Agricultural Inspectors, which is not shown in the civil list, there are 29 Muslims against 111 Hindus.

The clerical establishment, however, has somewhat better percentage, that is to say, out of 120 clerks, there are forty Muslims against 80 Hindus. The Agricultural College, Cawnpore, has a very poor representation of Muslims on its staff, there being only 7 Muslims against 44 Hindus. The Bulandshahr Agricultural School is worse in this respect. It has got only one Muslim on its staff against 4 Hindus. It is highly regrettable that in the Ingram Training School, Ghaziabad, all the students (who number 81) are Hindus. It is our considered opinion that the low percentage of Muslim representation on the staff of these institutions is clearly responsible for the shortage of Muslim students therein, as well as *for the resultant shortage of Muslims both*

in the superior and the subordinate agricultural services. In the gardening branch, all the superior posts are held by the non-Muslims, although some of them have not been trained in England. According to the recommendations of the Lee Commission the provincial government will have full power to determine the number of Europeans who may in future be recruited for the Agricultural Service.

Department of Land Records.

Out of 8 superior posts 6 are held by non-Muslims. The remaining two posts are held by Deputy Collectors who have been deputed recently.

Forest Department.

According to Lee Commission's recommendations the rate of recruitment for the higher forest service is to be 75% Indians and 25% Europeans in those provinces in which forest administration is to be reserved. Out of 63 superior posts, 57 are held by non-Muslims, and only 6 by Muslims; and most of the latter are in the subordinate forest service. For some time past the door of forest service has been practically closed against the Muslims. The reasons are manifest. The entry into the service is to be obtained through the Dehra Dun College, and it is notorious that the Muslim candidates find insurmountable difficulties in getting admission to that institution. Besides, even when they get admission, they are discouraged in many ways. Muslims should be admitted freely to the college and thirty per cent of seats should be reserved for them. In the subordinate forest services, there are 236 Muslims against 1,004 Hindus, which gives a percentage of 19 and 81 respectively. Amongst the clerks, the Muslims fare worse, being 17 against 139 Hindus.

Audit and Account Department.

Out of 52 superior posts, 50 are held by non-Muslims and only 2 by Muslims. There are numerous highly qualified Muslims who are searching for employment in these services but the department for some reason or the other seems to have become the preserve of non-Muslims.

Judicial Department.

Staff of High Court, Allahabad and Chief Court of Oudh.—Out of 14 superior posts, 13 are held by non-Muslims and one by Muslim, namely, the post of the Assistant Advocate of the Allahabad High Court, which is evidently of comparatively minor importance.

Out of 7 District Judgeships reserved for Subordinate Judges, one is vacant and the remaining 6 posts have all been filled up by non-Muslims. Even the one post reserved for the Legal Practitioner is held by a non-Muslim. From this it will be clear that gross serious injustice is being done to the Muslims. Out of the 69 Subordinate Judges, 54 are non-Muslims and 15 Muslims. Amongst the 96 Munsiffs, 71 are non-Muslims and 25 Muslims. The representation of the Muslims in the Judi-

cial Department is scandalously low. Till a comparatively recent time, the department used to be almost monopolised by Muslim Sadar-alas and Munsiffs, but they are being gradually and steadily eliminated now. During the visit of the Islington Commission in 1916, the conditions were not dissimilar. The Muslim percentage in higher Judicial appointments in that year was 24·8 against 73·9 of the Hindus. In the clerical staff of the Judicial Department the percentage is 29 Muslims against 71 Hindus, that is to say, out of the total strength of 2,851, the Muslims were 829 against 2,022 Hindus. It may also be noted that out of 50 Government Pleaders only 6 are Muslims and 44 Hindus. This is most disappointing. The sooner the percentage is brought up to 33 the better. The process-servers attached to the Judicial department do not call for any remarks.

Jail Department.

In the Central Jail, out of 4 Indian Jailors, 2 are Christians, 2 are Hindus and there is no Muslim. The strength of the subordinate staff, servants and clerks is 2,082, and out of these 788 are Muslims and 1,294 Hindus. This gives a percentage of 38 for the Muslims and 62 for Hindus.

Registration Department.

In this department both the I. G. and his Personal Assistant are Hindus. Out of the 2 Inspectors recruited from the Provincial Civil Service, one is a Muslim. Thus the department is almost monopolised by non-Muslims. Again the committee which selects sub-registrars annually consists of a Hindu Chairman (I. G.) and the District Judge of Lucknow, who is sometimes a Hindu and the Judge of Small Cause Court, Lucknow, who has been for the last one decade at least invariably a Hindu. Only recently have some members of the Council been appointed members of the selection committee.

Police Department.

In this department the I. G. and the 5 D.I.G.s are all Europeans. As to Superintendents, out of a cadre of 58 there are 9 Indians, of whom 4 are Muslims and 5 Hindus, the reason being simply that amongst the senior Deputy Superintendents the Muslims predominated and their claims could not be overlooked. As to the Assistant Superintendents, out of 9 Indians there are 6 Hindus and 3 Muslims, the proportion being just as it should be. Amongst Deputy Superintendents there are 30 Muslims against 32 Hindus. We may briefly state the reasons for the comparatively high percentage of Muslims in this department.

1. A large number of Hindu castes both high and low have been considered and are really unsuitable for recruitment in the Police department.

2. Only the members of martial races are recruited, and the selection is based on other grounds than those of mere literacy, and bookishness, which are the prerogatives of some of clerical castes of the Hindus.

Robust health, good physique and proficiency in manly exercises are considered as a *sina qua non* for the Police service. Since the last decade, the Muslims have been systematically reduced in the service. Amongst the subordinate police officers the Muslim percentage is 43 against 56 Hindus, and one Christian. The details are:—

	Total.	Muslims.	Hindus.	Christians.	Percentage.		
					Mus.	Hin.	Crish.
Sub-Inspectors ...	1,697	693	997	7	40	58	2
Circle Inspectors ...	98	59	38	1	60	39	1
Prosecuting Inspectors	60	15	44	1	25	74	1
Prosecuting Sub-Inspectors	102	24	78	...	23	77	...
Station Officers in charge of City Kotwali	42	22	19	1	52	46	2
Station Officers of Police Stations, 1st class ...	268	128	138	2	48	51	1
Station Officers of Police Stations other than 1st class	542	264	275	3	47	52	1
Total ...	2,809	1,205	1,589	15	43	56	1

It is disappointing to find that in the Inspector-General of Police's office there is not a single Muslim amongst 11 Superintendents, Assistant Superintendents and Head Clerks whose salary ranges from 140 and 480. Amongst subordinate clerks there are 12 Muslims against 31 Hindus, which again is depressingly low.

The figures for the Government Railway Police are no less illuminating. Amongst the 8 Head Clerks and Accountants, there is not a single Muslim and out of 39 clerks and apprentices, there are only 3 Muslims.

In the District Police offices there are 92 Head Clerks and Accountants of whom 17 are Muslims, and 75 Hindus. At the lowest rung of the ladder, however, *i.e.*, amongst Assistant Accountants, Record Keepers and Daftaris, the Muslim percentage shows a little improvement, there being 138 Muslims against 179 Hindus.

In the Criminal Investigation Department there is only one Muslim against 9 non-Muslims under the head 'Translators, Stenotypists and Photographers.' This should be rectified.

The Police and the Executive services are properly called "security services," because on them depends the peaceful progress of the country and the stability of the government. If these services become inefficient, the whole fabric of the State will collapse, and anarchy and confusion would ensue. The advice of the Islington Commission that the difference between these services and others has been taken into account in the past policy, and the same distinction must be clearly observed in the policy of the future, is salutary and sensible; and all governments have acted upon it. Muslims have secured a comparatively large number of posts in the

Executive and Police services since the advent of the British Rule in India in the 18th century, and their glorious achievements, fine record, and unsurpassed devotion to duty, are known and admired by all the European and other officials who have worked with them. We may be allowed to add that this is due to their organising ability, power of command, their aptitude for administration, and their cultural, political and historical traditions.

Department of Industries.

In the higher grades of this department there are 5 Muslims and 32 non-Muslims. We cannot concede that a sufficient number of Muslim candidates are not available for this department. Nearly all the Industrial Schools are attended in large numbers by Muslim students and several Muslims apply for admission without success. The number of Muslims is therefore ridiculously inadequate. It is noteworthy that in the clerical establishment there are no Muslims amongst the 12 clerks carrying salaries rising from Rs. 75 p.m. to Rs. 420, while there are only 5 Muslims out of 12 clerks carrying salary Rs. 100 and below. This department also requires attention.

It is interesting to note that in the Technological Institute of this department the students went without instructions in sugar for nearly 2 years, because the only competent man that could be recommended was a Moslem, and the department did not appoint him.

Medical Department.

(*a*) *Medical College, Lucknow.*—There are 13 members of the staff out of whom 3 are I.M.S., 9 Hindus and only 1 Muslim. The treatment of Muslims by this institution is by no means ideal, and an admission test has been imposed which makes it difficult for the students to secure admission to it.

Communalism is said to be prevalent.

(*b*) Muslim students are discouraged, and the Minister in charge of the Medical Department, was personally approached by several Muslim M.L.C.'s and questions were also put in the Council. Since then matters have improved slightly, but much remains to be done. Our suggestions are as follows :—

(1) The admission test should be abolished. At present F.Sc.'s are admitted. If this University test is considered to be low, then it should be raised to B.Sc.'s, but it is absurd to allow the college to hold its own admission test, and ignore the academic degrees conferred by the University. English Universities have an admission test but only in cases in which the candidate applying for admission does not possess the minimum educational qualifications prescribed by the Universities. When the Medical College has prescribed the minimum educational qualification for admission, it is irrational to prescribe an additional admission examination. Admission should be made in precisely the same manner in which it is done in the Universities. We are strongly of the opinion that 33 per cent of vacancies should

be reserved for Muslim candidates. We are also of the opinion that the representation of Muslims on the staff is scandalously small, and 33 per cent of vacancies in the staff should be filled by Muslims. A large number of very competent Muslim Surgeons and Physicians is available.

(*c*) *Medical School, Agra.*—There are 3 Muslims against 7 Hindu members of the staff. The proportion should be properly adjusted.

(*d*) There are 16 senior Assistant Surgeons with a pay of Rs. 400 rising to Rs. 1,050. All are I.S.M.D. Europeans, and there is no Indian. Both Hindus and Muslims should be given a chance.

CIVIL SURGEONS.

Civil Surgeons of the U. P. Service.—There are 14 Civil Surgeons belonging to the Provincial Service—only 1 of them is a Muslim, the remaining 13 being Hindus. Similarly there are 14 officiating Civil Surgeons, and only one of them is a Muslim. Thus the Medical Department seems to have been made the preserve of the Hindus. Amongst the Assistant Surgeons including temporary Assistant Surgeons there are only 13 Muslims out of the total of 94, and 81 are Hindus. The explanation for this is to be found in the exclusion of Muslim students from the Medical College, Lucknow. The number of Muslims in the Subordinate Medical Service and clerical establishment is dangerously small. In the former, there are 10 Muslims against 62 Hindus, and in the latter 11 Muslims against 97 non-Muslims.

Department of Public Health.

The Director is an European. There are 6 Assistant Directors, of whom 4 are Christians and 2 Hindus. Not one of the Assistant Directors is a Muslim. The pay of these officers ranges from Rs. 950 to Rs. 1,750 a month. Of the 8 "miscellaneous" officers 2 are Europeans, 4 Hindus and 2 Muslims. One Muslim, who is an M.B.B.S., Dr., D.R.P.H. (U.S.A.), D.T.M., and H. (London), gets only Rs. 600, while a Hindu with much inferior qualifications who joined the department only 2 months before him, draws Rs. 1,000. The other Muslim gets only Rs. 250. The cadre of the Provincial Public Health Service is 90. Out of these 5 are Christians, 76 Hindus and only 8 Muslims. The pay of these officers ranges from Rs. 200 to 900. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that this department which, of all the other departments, depends entirely upon the confidence and trust reposed in it by both communities, is so thoroughly Hinduised that there is little chance of any Muslim securing an appointment there. As to the Engineering branch of the Public Health department, the Superintending Engineer and the Water Works Engineer, the Executive and Assistant Executive Engineer are Europeans. In the covenanted establishment there are 2 posts carrying a pay which ranges from Rs. 1,025 to Rs. 1,125 p.m., and both of them are held by Hindus. In the permanent establishment of Assistant Engineers there is only 1 Muslim against 5 Hindus. In the temporary establishment out of 5 there are 4 Hindus and 1 Muslim. The percentage of Muslims in the subordinate service is scandalously low, as will be clear from the figures cited below.

1. *Travelling Medical Officers.*—12 Muslims, and 54 non-Muslims.

2. *Sanitary Inspectors*—17 Muslims, 7 in rural areas, against 56 non-Muslims.

3. *Clerical and other establishment*--13 Muslims against 42 non-Muslims. These percentages are disappointingly low.

Public Works Department.

In the P.W.D., Secretariat there is no Muslim at all out of the total strength of 11, of whom 8 are Christians and 3 Hindus. Amongst the Superintending Engineers there are 7 Europeans and 2 Hindus, none being a Muslim. Amongst the Executive Engineers there is only one Muslim against 4 Hindus and 12 Christians. There are two Assistant Executive Engineers, and both of them are Hindus. There are 37 Assistant Engineers in the Building and Roads Branch, and out of these only 2 are Muslims and 23 Hindus. There is one temporary Engineer, and he is a Hindu, and similarly there is a student under training and he too is a Hindu. In this department Muslims are systematically discouraged, and unless their percentage is guaranteed, there is no possibility of any Muslim being appointed in future. We fear that unless prompt steps are adopted, even the handful of Muslims who are now in this department will disappear. One of the reasons for the small number of Muslims in this department is the policy pursued by the Thomason Roorkee College. We are strongly of the opinion that 33 per cent of all vacancies should be reserved for Muslim students in this College, and our community should be adequately represented on the staff of this College. We are not opposed to competitive examinations for admission, provided the percentage for Muslims is reserved, and Muslim students are taken only out of the Muslim candidates. The scandalously small number of Muslim students and Muslim teachers will be clear from the following figures:

Thomason Civil Engineering College, Roorkee.

		Muslim.	Non-Muslim.
1.	Staff	5	56
2.	Students	22	179
3.	Advisory Council	3	11
4.	College Staff	2	25
5.	Examinees	2	20
6.	Civil Engineering Class		26
7.	Overseer Class, 2nd year	1	38

Irrigation Department.

Secretariat.—7 Europeans, 3 Hindus and one Muslim. One of the two Chief Engineers is a Hindu. There are 6 Superintending Engineers, of whom 5 are Europeans, 1 Hindu and no Muslim. Amongst the 39 Executive Engineers, there are 23 Europeans, 11 Hindus and 5 Muslims. Amongst the 22 Assistant Executive Engineers there are 8 Europeans and the rest are Hindus, none being a Muslim. There are 3 students under training, getting an allowance of Rs. 200 each, and all are Hindus. Out of

54 Assistant Engineers there are 10 Christians, 37 Hindus and only 7 Muslims. There are 10 students under training for the U.P. Engineering Service, each getting Rs. 150 as subsistence allowance. All of them are Hindus. From this it is perfectly clear that Muslims are most inadequately represented in this department. In the mechanical temporary establishment there is no Muslim at all, and all the 5 are Hindus. The figures for the clerical establishment are also most unsatisfactory, and very few Muslims are to be found. We are strongly of the opinion that this state of affairs needs a sifting and thorough inquiry. It needs immediate reform. Before, the Government used to make some of the important appointments themselves. Now these are filled up by the Executive Engineers, and as a large number of them are Hindus, only Hindus are appointed.

Railway Branch.

In the E.I.R. Engineering Branch there are 36 posts, 15 being held by Europeans, 19 by Hindus and only 2 by Muslims. In the Mechanical Branch there is 1 Hindu and no Muslim. The same is the case with the electrical branch. In the operating branch there are 2 Muslims against 4 Hindus. As there are as many as 29 Christians, the number of Hindus and Muslims should be proportionately increased. In the Superior Account Department there is one Hindu and no Muslim. The figures for clerical establishment in the Railway offices are not available; but we may state that the number of Muslims is so grossly inadequate that it needs your immediate attention.

In the Medical Department there are 2 Hindus.

In the N.W.R., Delhi Division, there are only 2 Muslims against 10 Hindus and 15 Christians. In the B.B.C.I. there is no Mohamedan against 2 Hindus and 1 Christian.

Miscellaneous Appointments.

In the Miscellaneous Department there are 9 Europeans, 6 Hindus and 1 Muslim. The latter is the Superintendent of Muslim Monuments in the Province. The Chemical Examiner and his 3 assistants are all Hindus, and the curators of Museums are also Hindus.

In the Post and Telegraph Department, out of 8 Superintendents and Deputy Superindendents, Telegraph Traffic, there are 6 Christians, 2 Hindus and no Muslim. The salary of these posts ranges between Rs. 350 and 650. In the Railway Mail Service, Deputy Postmaster Generals and Superintendents, there are 5 Hindus, 1 Christian and no Muslim. In the Telegraph Engineering Section there are 2 Hindus, 16 Christians and no Muslim. The absence of Muslim representation in the department is noticeable. It may be noted that the Postmaster-General and Deputy P.M.G. as shown in the Civil List are both Hindus, though a Muslim Postmaster-General has since arrived to fill a temporary leave vacancy. The following departments call for no comments :

1. Civil Veterinary Department.
2. Co-operative Societies.

3. Excise.
4. Salt.
5. Opium.
6. Income-tax.
7. Survey of India.

The statements of the clerical establishment attached to these departments have not been received.

The return of the establishment received from the Improvement Trust, Lucknow, is a typical example of misleading percentages. It appears from the statement that the representation of Muslims in this office is 1 to 2 Hindus, that is to say, that out of the total of 120 officials, 40 are Muslims and 80 Hindus. In these figures are mixed up peons, daftaris, motor-drivers Basta Bardars, etc., etc., who are mostly Muslims. Amongst the high-salaried officers there are 2 Europeans and the rest are all Hindus. The Office Superintendent, Valuation Officer, Overseer and the camp clerk, are all Hindus. The salary drawn by the Muslims in this department is Rs. 1,215 per month against Rs. 5,314 drawn by Hindus. In other words Muslims get Rs. 18 against Rs. 82 of Hindus.

The representation of Muslims in the Allahabad Improvement Trust is still worse. It has got 7 Muslims against 33 Hindus, with an average salary of 7 of Muslims against 93 of Hindus. The Revenue Department reveals the monopoly of the Hindus. Though the number of Muslim Kurk Amins, etc., is fairly satisfactory, the number of Muslim Patwaris, is scandalously low. Out of about 28,000 Patwaris in these provinces, Muslims number only about 1,333. This gives them the scandalous percentage of 4·88. The Hindus constitute more than 95 per cent of Patwaris. The Education Department is nearly as bad as the Revenue Department. Figures will be found at the end of our Report on Education.

Conclusion.

Before we conclude we should like to reply to a few arguments that are often urged by communities and persons who have managed to monopolise the power, emoluments, and influence of the most lucrative appointments in the administration of the province. Such persons urge that efficiency alone should be taken into consideration in making appointment to various offices in the country. They say, "O, well, we must appoint the best man for the job." We have already indicated in the beginning of our report that we are firm believers in this principle. We are convinced that if incompetent, or inefficient, persons are appointed to these posts the interests of the country will suffer. Indeed we go a step further and assert that without efficiency in the administration no progress is possible. It is really upon the *services* that the success of all legislative measures depend. One may have a perfect constitution, perfect in the amount of liberty it confers on citizens, perfect in the division of the powers of the state, and perfect in its provision for democratic principles. Yet such a constitution will utterly fail if worked by people whose temperament, and tradition are unsuitable.

The Mexican constitution seems to possess, on paper, an immense superiority over the constitution of the United States of America. Yet, as every student of Mexican affairs knows, and as Lord Bryce has forcefully pointed out, it has been a complete failure. Why? Partly because the people have not yet reached a stage in their political development which will accustom them to the habits of constitutional Government; and partly because the officials are corrupt, the country is honeycombed with intrigue, and the constitution is most skilfully and systematically violated. That great manufacturer of the constitution, *Abbe* Sieyes, found during the French Revolution, that though paper constitutions could be made by the dozen in a week, a frame of Government that is in consonance with the history and temperament of the people, and is based on the needs and experience of the times, is difficult to construct. We have made our position on this point perfectly clear We do not want, and have never claimed, any special favours either from the Government or from the Hindus. *We stand strictly on our rights.* We believe that our community contains men who are as capable, and efficient as any other community in this province or any part of India. We believe that competent Muslims are available for every department; and we believe that they are as efficient as any non-Muslim. Our difficulty is that though the majority community talks of "efficiency" in theory, in actual practice it interprets the term in a way that suits its purpose. If efficiency had been objective, if there had been any standard that could measure its constituent elements with scientific precision, we would of course have been perfectly satisfied; but, as you know, the element of personality enters into every appointment, and this element is taken advantage of by the Hindus. It has been our painful experience that however sincere and enlightened a member of the majority community may be, when the question of appointment comes up, his nationalism is thrown to the winds, and he generally ends by appointing his own caste men, if he can; but, if he cannot, then a Hindu. We may refer you to another factor which militates against the efforts of Muslims for securing appointment. Before the reforms, appointments in all the local bodies were made on the advice of the Collector, who was the chairman of the District Board, and, generally, of the municipal boards also. The Collector was generally a European, and he being a disinterested individual, was quite impartial in his recommendation. Again, the Universities, which are now packed with Hindus, and possess the power of making all appointments, had not been reorganised. The position has been entirely changed by the reforms. A large part of the time of the local bodies is devoted to wranglings over questions of appointment. The selection committee of the Universities have exemplified the same tendency and, as you will find from our report on Education both the Lucknow and Allahabad Universities have been effectively Hinduised. There is not one Mohamedan teacher in the whole of the Science Faculty of the Allahabad University. The real reason for this scandalous state of thing is that the appointments committee in the Universities are packed with Hindus and they invariably select a Hindu. Precisely the same conditions prevail in the local bodies; there the community with the largest number of votes appoints its own man, and Muslim

applicants, and Muslim claims are totally disregarded. This is the normal feature of the proceedings of all these autonomous bodies. Indeed in no sphere has the majority community proved itself so intolerant, short-sighted, and unjust as in the sphere of appointments. Hindu officials in Government departments openly favour Hindus in the matter of appointment. This tendency is indeed carried so far that though the Hindus unite against Muslim applicants among themselves, they are torn by dissensions among themselves. It is notorious that there has been a long-standing rivalry between the Brahmans and Kayesths in these provinces, over the question of loaves and fishes of office. If a Kayesth gets a footing in an office, he will try to import as many Kayesths as possible into the office. If a Banya gets a chance, that office is bound to have a number of Banyas, later on. The Brahman follows a still more exclusive and clannish policy. The selfish, arrogant, and exclusive monopoly, which the Brahman enjoys in Southern India has been shattered by the vigour and energy of the non-Brahmans. Indeed, the principles formulated by the non-Brahmans on the question of appointments are so eminently sound that we have no hesitation in declaring them to be beneficial to India. The injustice perpetrated by a clerical caste will be realized by a glance at the questions asked by those Hindu members in the U. P. Legislative Council who do not belong to these castes. For instance, the Jats, the Rajputs, the Ahir, the Gujar and the Khatri members of the Council have frequently made representation to the Government by means of Council questions, about the appointment of members of their castes in Government service. This shows that even those Hindus who do not belong to the clerical castes, are desirous of securing representation for their castes in the public services.

We may now sum up the above by stating that efficiency must be the chief test. But efficiency must not be interpreted in a narrow sense. It must not be confounded with book learning. There are two factors in measuring efficiency: (1) quality of character, and (2) quality of mind. Both these play an essential part in all criteria of efficiency. The majority community on the other hand has used efficiency and voting strength as interchangeable terms. If they can appoint their own caste men by sheer voting strength, they can adduce numerous trivial and flimsy excuses for calling him efficient. This has been our sad experience in hundreds of cases all over the province. We believe that the only effective way is to lay down minimum qualifications and to reserve 33 per cent of all vacancies in all grades of every Government department throughout the province. These vacancies should be filled up by a Provincial Public Services on the result of a competitive examination, or on the candidate satisfying such tests as the Commission may impose. The examination will be the same for Hindus and Muhammadan candidates, but Muslims will be selected from among the Muslim candidates, and Hindus from among the Hindu candidates. This principle has been most successfully applied by the U. P. Government in the Deputy Collectors' Examination, where this percentage has been sanctioned for us. We recommend that this principle should be extended to every Government department.

As regards local bodies we strongly recommend that the power of making appointments to all the important offices of Local Boards should be completely taken away from the hands of the Local Bodies. Half of the troubles of these bodies are due to their interfering in matters, such as appointments with which they should have no concern. We recommend that Muslims should be represented in the administration of each local body in proportion to their representation in their body. This is, in our opinion, absolutely essential, if Muslims are to have their due share in the administration of these bodies. We recommend that important appointments in all these bodies should be made by the Provincial Public Services Commission which should lay down qualifications, and hold examinations, or impose such tests as it may deem fit, for all important posts. No person should be promoted or dismissed without the recommendation of the Commission.

We will never be satisfied with any constitution which does not guarantee to us these safeguards. We are firmly of opinion that the principle of representation in the Public Services, and the specific percentage mentioned by us above, should be laid down distinctly and unambiguously in a parliamentary statute. Nobody in India, whether it be a legislature or an autonomous body, should be allowed to touch this provision. It should be regarded as fundamental.

We are strongly of the opinion that the Government should charge one of its European officials with the duty—in our opinion, a supremely important duty—of keeping a list of all Muslims who satisfy the minimum qualifications laid down by the Public Services Commission. The officer should be helped by an Advisory body of Muslim leaders. Whenever a vacancy occurs a list of such candidates should be supplied to the proper authorities. This was done by the Bengal Government sometime ago. We believe this to be necessary, as our painful experience is that applications of Muslim candidates are often tampered with, and sometimes destroyed by the Hindu clerks who monopolise 92 per cent of clerical posts in departments of Government and of Local Bodies. Again, this plan will enable the Muslims to keep a check on the actions of many of the selection committees which, as we have said before, are dominated by Hindus. We will be able to show, in every case, that suitable Muhammadans were forthcoming and had actually applied. This will knock the bottom out of the theory which is often trotted out by the majority community. The U. P. Muslims have the misfortune to be represented in the Police and the Provincial Executive of the Province slightly in excess of the percentage of their population. This is due to the fact that they possess executive ability of a high order. This has been acknowledged by competent British administrators on innumerable occasions. Yet because their ability, driving power, initiative, and power of comment have brought them to the front in the public services of their country they are pursued by constant attacks in the local Nationalist daily, *the Leader*; they are baited in the local legislature by "patriotic Nationalists," and are attacked on the public platform. Why? Because, forsooth, they form only 14 per cent of the population, and their proportion in these services is slightly

greater. This agitation is so utterly illogical and inconsistent that one can only wonder at the simplicity of the belief held by these gentlemen. They are apparently attacked on the ground that their representation in these two departments is excessive. The Muslims may well reply, "All right, we now know that you do believe in the principle of representation in the administration. If so, you should apply it all round, and appoint Muslims in those departments in which they are not represented at all." This is perfectly fair. Yet, while for other departments the principle of "efficiency" is insisted upon, for the Police and the Provincial Executive Service proper representation of the majority community is demanded. The argument is worthy of the trial in *Alice in Wonderland* :—

"That's very important" the King said, turning to the jury. They were just beginning to write this down on their slates, when the White Rabbit interrupted: "*Un*important, your Majesty means, of course" he said in a very respectful tone but frowning and making faces at him as he spoke.

"*Un*important, of course, I meant," the King hastily said, and went on to himself in an undertone, "important—unimportant—unimportant—important—" as if he were trying which word sounded best.

In fact, the proceedings of nearly all the provincial legislatures for the last five years are disfigured by numerous questions asked by members on the representation of castes, communities, and religions in nearly every department of the Government. The local bodies are also plagued by it. Where the Hindus have a chance, as in District Boards of the United Provinces, the offices are packed with Hindus; but when Muslims get a chance, as in a few municipal boards in the Rohilkhand Division, they try to give a few appointments to Muslims. I am not blaming either community. The real cause of it is the lack of definite rules and regulations on the subject. Again, it has to be admitted that no convention has yet developed on this as on other matters. In some countries, like Switzerland and England, conventions have the force of law. In India, there has been no time yet for the growth of conventions; even if a convention is established for a time, it is violated by the victorious party.

We would like to draw your attention to another very important factor. The Muslim officials in every district have passed, and are passing, through very trying times. The Hindu public is prejudiced against them, and their slightest action is subjected to the keenest, and, at times, bitterest criticism. Their clerks and subordinates are Hindus, who try to use every opportunity of discrediting their work and character. If they take a firm and strong action in riot, they are mercilessly attacked in the Hindu Press. An organised agitation is immediately set on foot. Meetings of protest are held; the Hindu Sabha starts a violent campaign; and the Legislative Council, the Secretariat and the Press are flooded with representations from the "distressed" Hindus. The relations between the two communities have, unfortunately, been very strained since the collapse of non-co-operation in these Provinces. Riots have broken out on a scale unprecedented in our history and the Government have had

to adopt measures which were bound to affect one community or the other. These measures are carried out by the Executive, in which are comprised both the Police and the General Administration Department. The Muslims in these departments have representation which is slightly in excess of their population percentage. The Muslim policemen and Deputy Collectors are called upon to carry out the orders of the local Governments for the maintenance of law and order. Again, in the case of a riot they have to act on their own initiative, and adopt measures suitable to the occasion. If they do not do this, they have no right to be there. Yet, because they are instrumental in maintaining law and order, they are subjected to a species of persecution which is more effective than open and avowed hostility. The Muslim official therefore finds himself in a most delicate position. In many places he is completely isolated, and surrounded by a hostile public. His work is thwarted by his Hindu subordinates; he receives no help from any other quarter, and he is deprived of that support, and sympathy of an intelligent public opinion which acts both as an incentive, and as a corrective to an official in England. In other departments his position is still more precarious. His superior may be a Hindu, who may use an opportunity either of getting him dismissed or transferred. His own clerks, who are normally Hindus, are sometimes leagued against him. Such cases are not often reported, but we are convinced that Muslim officials suffer in numerous ways at the hands of their Hindu brethren. Yet in spite of all these drawbacks the Muslim officials have worked with a devotion, an energy and a courage which have won the admiration of all who know them, and admire their sterling qualities of heart and mind. Indeed it is difficult to foresee what would have happened in these provinces if the Muslim Deputy Collector and the Muslim Inspector of Police had not co-operated in the supremely important tasks of keeping law in order, and maintaining a high level of efficiency in the administration of these provinces. We hope that the Muslim officials will be effectively protected in the discharge of their duty by the Government. We believe that unjustifiable attacks, partisan criticism, prejudiced propaganda, malignant campaigns and gross misrepresentation of officials, whether in the press, legislature, on the platform, and at public meetings, should be effectively checked. We do not want to be misunderstood. All that we desire is that Muslim officials should not be exposed to bitter attacks simply because they happen to be Muslims. If the public gets an idea that by these methods Muslims can be eliminated from the services and the Government compelled to toe the line, the administration will receive a shock, from which it will never recover.

The chief reason why we want safeguards in the services is that we require a guarantee not only for the present, but also for the future. Let us explain our meaning. It has been our bitter experience that the reformed scheme ushered in an era of Hinduisation in most of the Government departments. This process was rapid and thorough. In seven years our community received a setback from which it will take a long time to recover. When this happened at a time when the local legislature possessed only

limited powers, when it could make its voice felt only in the transferred departments, we can conceive the effects that would be produced on our community when the whole Government, and not merely one part of it, is made responsible to it. Such an event is likely to happen in the near future. Our community is not in the least perturbed by it. It, on the other hand, has done, and will do, its very best for the attainment of this ideal, but it desires guarantees and safeguards before it can take a leap in the dark. It knows that unless its position in the services is effectually secured it will fare still worse in future than it has done during the last seven years. Our only basis for this forecast is our experience of this period. We claim that in politics the test of experience is the soundest and the safest. We therefore fear that unless this safeguard is guaranteed to us, even the position which has been left to us since the reforms will be seriously affected. The few appointments which Muslims hold in Government departments and the still fewer posts which the magnanimity of the Hindus has allowed us in the local bodies will be snatched from us on numerous grounds, but chiefly on the ground of "efficiency." We feel that our children and grandchildren will form later one of the depressed classes, those unfortunate examples of man's cruelty to man whose fate in the process of Brahmanisation had been so tragic as to draw tears from the eyes of all who compare their past achievements with their present degradation. We are resolved upon maintaining a right which we believe to be primary, essential and inalienable. All countries in Europe have made provision for the safeguarding of rights of minorities in the administration; we are not demanding anything novel or revolutionary. We are merely claiming that which is conceded to all minorities, whether by the constitution or by convention, in every civilised country. We want a guarantee for the future. We want a definite and solemn assurance, embodied in a parliamentary statute, that our existence as a community shall not be sacrificed on the altar of any theory that is propped up by the majority community, to suit its own ends.

The figures we have quoted in the early part of this report make it perfectly clear that Muslims are inadequately represented in most of the Government departments. Only in the Police Department do they hold their own. Even here they are being gradually eliminated. They used to hold 60 to 70% of posts of Deputy Collectors; now they are being weeded out of this department too. In other departments their representation is grossly inadequate. For instance, in the Medical Department, the Public Health Department, the Public Works Department, the Irrigation Department, the Secretariat, the Indian Civil Service, the Forest Service, and the Agricultural Service they are hopelessly outnumbered. In the Education Department the situation is so serious that it needs your immediate attention. The Muslims regard the Education Department as pre-eminently the department upon which depends their progress as a community. The more highly educated they are, the better they will fare in the struggle for existence. It is well-known, however, that a Muslim boy prefers to be taught by a Muslim teacher. If

the number of teachers in an institution is large, the number of Muslim boys in that institution will also be large. This has often been remarked upon by various persons, and Education Commissions, such as the Hunter Commission and the Sadler Commission. Yet the Director of Public Instruction frankly acknowledges in his last Quinquennial Report, which was published this year, that the percentage of Muslim teachers which stood at the scandalous figure of 16·3, has gone down still further, and has now reached the magnificent and respectable figure of 13·3 during the last five years. If this rate of progress continues, the Muslim element in the teaching staff of all elementary schools will disappear altogether in about fifteen years. When Muslim teachers disappear from elementary schools Muslim children will cease to attend such schools, and our community will sink to the position of untouchables. We offer our strongest protest against it, and would most respectfully urge you to take prompt steps to rectify this mistake. Owing to the importance of the Education Department we have given the list of Muslim officials in the department separately, at the end of our report on Education. A glance at the latter will convince any one of our meagre, and miserable, representation in this department. In the Revenue Department, though the number of Muslims in the grade of Kurk Amins and their servants is satisfactory, the number of Muslim Patwaris is ridiculously small. The Patwari plays a very important part in rural areas. He wields wide influence and exercises great powers. It is essential that Muslims should be appointed in adequate numbers to these posts. In the appendices to this report you will find a complete and detailed account of the number of Muslim and non-Muslim employees, and the pay they draw, in every department of all local bodies. The figures show conclusively the meagre and thoroughly unsatisfactory representation which our community possesses in these bodies. An analysis of these figures shows that in most of the departments of 90 per cent of these bodies Muslims are not given any important appointments, but are appointed only as Chaprasis or petty clerks. This state of affairs calls for immediate action on your part. We may conclude by stating that in all the Government Services and the Services maintained by local bodies Muslims have not been justly treated. We hope and believe that you will deal justly with our claims.

THE COURTS AND THE JUDICIARY IN U.P.

The High Court of Judicature at Allahabad is the supreme court of Judicature for the Province of Agra and exercises Civil, Criminal and Revenue, Original and Appellate Jurisdiction. The courts subordinate to the High Court are, on the Civil side :—

1. District Judge,
2. Subordinate Judge,
3. Munsiffs,
4. Village Munsiffs (established under Local Act II of 1896),
5. Village Panchayats (established under Act VI of 1920).

On the Criminal side the courts subordinate to the High Court are:—

1. Sessions Judges,
2. Magistrates, both stipendiary and honorary,
3. Village Panchayats.

Letters Patent, establishing a High Court for the North-Western Provinces (now called the Province of Agra) were issued in 1866, and deal with extraordinary Original Civil Jurisdiction, Appellate (Civil), Jurisdiction as to infants and lunatics, testamentary and intestate jurisdiction and matrimonial jurisdiction. Clauses 15 to 23 as amended by Letters Patent 1919 deal with the Criminal jurisdiction of the Court.

Additional Powers for the High Court.—It is suggested that the High Court of Judicature at Allahabad should further be invested with the following additional jurisdiction.

1. The Court exercises only Extraordinary Civil Jurisdiction. The High Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal and, nearer home, the Chief Court of Oudh, exercise ordinary Original Civil Jurisdiction. The High Court at Allahabad should, it is submitted, be invested with powers to try in its Original Civil Jurisdiction suits of the value of 3 lakhs of rupees.

2. Certain other reforms in the High Court call for immediate notice :—

(*a*) It is anomalous that there should be a Letters Patent Appeal to a Bench of two Judges in all Civil Suits even if the valuation be only a pice, while there be no such appeal in criminal cases even if a man on conviction be sentenced to 10 years' rigorous imprisonment. Surely a man's reputation is more valuable to him than his civil liability. We, therefore, propose that all criminal appeals should be to a Bench of 2 Judges, or Letters Patent appeal be allowed when a man has got more than 6 months.

(*b*) High Courts in 2nd appeals do not go behind the facts and the finding of fact of a Subordinate Judge in an appeal heard by him from Munsiff's Court is held binding on the High Court, even when the Subordinate Judge differs from the trial Judge. It is submitted that in such a case the finding of fact of a Subordinate Judge should not be held binding on the High Court and the High Court should enquire into and adjudicate on the fact.

(*c*) O. 41, R. 11, C.P.C. should be repealed, leave, instead, to appeal should be applied for first so as to obviate the necessity of paying full court-fee on what may prove *prima facie* to be futile litigation.

We are of opinion that the time has arrived when the practice of England in appointing only lawyers to the Bench of the High Court should be followed. This, if followed strictly, may lead to certain difficulties. We therefore suggest that no I.C.S. be appointed to the High Court Bench unless he is also a lawyer, and that the proportion of such civilian Judges be reduced to one-fourth of the total number of Judges on the Bench.

3. *The Chief Court of Oudh.*—The Chief Court for Oudh was constituted in 1925. The United Provinces of Agra and Oudh have therefore the unique distinction of possessing two High Courts (barring Bombay and Sindh), one deriving authority from His Majesty the King Emperor, and the other from the Viceroy. This anomaly is carried further in the existence of two Provincial Judicial Services which are not interchangeable. We are of opinion that the system be unified and the Provincial Judicial Service of Oudh be amalgamated with the Judicial Service of the Agra Province.

We recommend that the Chief Court of Oudh be invested with the same additional jurisdiction which is recommended for the High Court of Judicature at Allahabad.

4. *Trial of suits with the aid of Jury.*—The broad question with regard to trial of original civil suits with the aid of the Jury need not be considered. This system is in vogue in England and other European countries, Jury system in the trial of criminal cases has been applied to many districts in these Provinces and is being extended to others. The Panchayat system for the trial of petty civil cases (Act VI of 1920) has been enforced in many of the districts of these Provinces, and we think therefore that time has now arrived when the trial of civil suits by Jury should be tried in these Provinces. We do not, however, advocate a wholesale application of this system. We only propose that it be tried in selected districts in cases where questions of fact are alone involved, *i.e.*, of small cause nature and where the pecuniary limit of the suit does not exceed Rs. 10,000.

5. *Grading of the Courts.*—In the grading of the Courts of Civil Original Jurisdiction as at present constituted, we have not much criticism to offer. They have stood the test of time, and are familiar to the ordinary litigant. We, however, propose that the designation of the Subordinate Judges and Munsiffs having become obsolete, it should be altered to Civil Judges of 1st and 2nd Classes.

6. *Power of Subordinate Judges to hear appeals.*—The power of Subordinate Judges to hear appeals should be subject to the reservation that no Subordinate Judge unless he has exercised the powers of a Subordinate Judge for at least one year shall hear appeals from the decrees of Munsiff Courts ; and in order to curtail the number of second appeals going to the High Court, benches of Subordinate Judges should be created in important centres of the Province, which should be empowered to hear appeals from the adjoining districts, the decision of these benches being final except in the following cases only, namely, when the decision is contrary to some specified law or usage having the force of law. If, however, trial by Jury be experimented, appeal from such a decision either to the Subordinate Judge or District Judge or the High Court may lie only on the following grounds :—

1. The decision being contrary to some specified law or usage having the force of law.
2. The decision having failed to determine some material issue of law or usage having the force of law.
3 A substantial error or defect in the procedure as prescribed by the code which may have produced error or defect in the decision of the case upon the merits.

7. *Separation of the Executive and Judicial functions.*—In writing on the Courts and the Judiciary of these Provinces, the question of separation of the Executive from the Judicial looms large before one's eyes. The amalgamation of the two functions in India took place in 1787 when Lord Cornwallis came to India as Governor General. This question has been considered by the Government of India from time to time since. Even Lord Cornwallis spoke disparagingly of the system, and was of opinion that the combination of the two functions would lead to the sacrifice of justice. In 1859, the Government of India appointed a commission and in the minute which Mr. Halliday wrote, he stigmatised the system as anomalous in theory and mischievous in practice. In 1888 Lord Dufferin speaking at the St. Andrew's Dinner at Calcutta said that the Government of India would be willing to adopt this " demand for the separation of the two functions, if funds permitted." Speaking in the House of Lords, Lord Kimberley the then Secretary of State for India as well as Lord Cross, one of the ex-Secretaries of State for India, both said that they approved of the reform, but were deterred for want of funds from carrying it out. In 1899 a Memorial signed by some of the most distinguished Anglo-Indians, such as Lord Hobborn, Sir Richard Garth, Sir John Scott, Sir William Wedderburn, Sir Roland Wilson, etc., was submitted to the Secretary of State for India in Council, but remained unheeded. In 1908 Sir Harvey Adamson on behalf of the Government of India made a declaration in the Imperial Legislative Council accepting the principle of the separation of Executive and Judicial functions. In 1913 Mr. (later, Sir) Surendra Nath Banerjee brought up this subject for discussion in the Imperial Council and was told that it was under the consideration of the Secretary of State for India. It appears that this subject has been under the consideration of the Secretary of State for India since then. Since the introduction of the Reforms this subject has been brought for discussion several times in the local council. In 1921 Sir William Vincent, Home Member of the Government of India, said in the

Legislative Assembly that if any Provincial Government wanted to introduce this Reform the Government of India would not stand in its way. A resolution was tabled in 1921 in the Local Provincial Council and the reply of the Government was that it accepted unreservedly and definitely the principle of the separation of Executive and Judicial functions. The only point that remained for consideration was the cost and how best to effectuate it. A commission was soon constituted after this reply of the Government, but nothing has so far come of it. Questions have been repeatedly put on this subject and resolutions have been as equally repeatedly tabled, but the answer of the Government, which the public considers unsatisfactory in the extreme, has been that the matter was under the consideration of the Government of India and Secretary of State for India. The manner in which this particular question has been handled by the Government shows that the Government wants to go behind its own decision. Instances are not lacking to illustrate the miscarriage of justice that has taken place and takes place almost every day, owing to this combination of Judicial and Executive functions. One obvious defect of this system is that the Executive tramples even upon the religious rights of an individual on the pretext that breach of the peace was likely. If Reforms have any meaning in India, the separation of the Executive from the Judicial functions ought to be the initial step.

8. *Urdu (or Hindustani written in Persian script) as Court language of these Provinces.*—The East India Company took up the administration of justice both civil and criminal from the Moslems. The British Government adopted the Persian language, the language of Mughal Government, as the Court language of the Province. Later, the Persian language gave place to Urdu, *i.e.*, Hindustani written in Persian characters. The United Provinces of Agra and Oudh have been the cradle of Moslem civilization and Moslem culture. The Hindus coming in contact with the Moslems in these Provinces imbibed their art and science. They learnt Persian, their mother tongue was and is still in most cases Urdu (Hindustani written in Persian characters), in common with the Moslems. The language question was brought to the fore in these Provinces by the MacDonnel Circular No. 585/III-343. C. 68, dated 18th April, 1900. This Circular has now been embodied in para. 385 of the Manual of Government Orders of these Provinces. It empowers persons presenting petitions or complaints in Criminal, Civil and Revenue Courts to so present them in Hindustani written either in Persian or Nagri characters ; it also enjoins that all summonses and proclamations issuing from the court and Revenue Officials shall be in the Persian and Nagri characters both. The MacDonnel Circular referred to above was condemned by all the Moslems of these Provinces and by such enlightened Hindus as Hon'ble Pt. Ajudhia Nath, the leading lawyer of this Province. It has done the greatest mischief in the relations of the two communities in these Provinces. Indeed it marks the epoch from which the separatist tendencies of both the Moslems and Hindus began to develop. The Hindus have been trying to introduce in the court Bhasha, which no villager understands, and which only a few educated Hindus do. Urdu (Hindustani written in Persian characters), besides containing in its literature the best thought of the East and particularly India for the last three hundred years is indeed the *lingua franca*

of India. Moslem religious and moral books are written in that language. It is understood, it is spoken and written in every Province of India by the Moslems generally, and other peoples particularly. It is a sort of shorthand which occupies less space to write and is most easily decipherable. For these reasons it is used mostly by the Hindus also. These advantages cannot be claimed by the Bhasha of the Hindus. It is therefore submitted that the MacDonnel Circular referred to above be abrogated, but if that be not feasible, it be so modified that all summonses, proclamations, and orders issuing from the courts and Revenue Officials be issued and written only in Urdu. This will be in keeping with the recognition of Urdu as the Court and Office language of these Provinces.

9. *Position of Moslems in the Judicial Services of these Provinces.*— The programme accepted by the Secretary of State for India on the recommendations of the Lee Commission is that 13 more posts, *i.e.*, 20 p.c. of the superior I.C.S. posts, should be listed in 15 years beginning from April 1st, 1924. These 13 posts refer to the Provincial Service, both Executive and Judicial. In the Judicial Branch prior to April 1st, 1924, there were 8 listed posts. As the number of the listed posts in the Executive Branch of the service is comparatively small, the Judicial Service cannot expect to secure more than five posts out of 13 sanctioned under the Lee Commission report. Thus the number of listed posts would be at least 13 by March 30th, 1929, the number on the 30th May, 1928, being 8. Out of this, the number of Moslem is only one, and he was appointed in the current year. The following table will show the number of Moslem Judicial Officers:—

AGRA PROVINCE.

	Total.	Hindus.	Moslems.	Others.
Subordinate Judges (both permanent and officiating) ...	70	53	15	3
Munsiffs	111	78	26	7
Subordinate Judges (both permanent and officiating) ...	70	53	15	2
Munsiffs	47	33	14	0

The smallness of the number of Moslem officers is deplorable. We feel that in the matter of appointment of Moslem officers to the Judicial Service, justice has not been done to the community. Till 1870, the number of Moslem Judicial officers serving in the province was nearly 65 per cent. About the year 1880 it was above 50, and since then it has gradually declined to the low number obtaining now. The question of appointment of the members of any community is not a question of bread alone, it is a question of training, power, influence, and service to the country. The Moslems before the British came into power were the people in authority, since the advent of the British the Moslems in every branch of the service including the judiciary have been systematically elbowed out. We recognise that the Government must take into consideration the claims of other communities as well. But this recognition should not mean the concentration of authority among the members of the caste Hindus only. The Moslems in these Provinces number 64,81,032 according to the Census Figures of 1921. High

class Hindus, *i.e.*, Agarwalas, Brahmins, Kayesths, Rajputs and Jats number 1,05,97,917. The depressed classes, *i.e.*, Tamolis, Kachhis, Kahars, etc., number, 39,73,188, and the untouchables, *i.e.*, the sweepers, Doms, Bourias, etc., number 1,46,93,816. We are credibly informed and our own personal knowledge bears this out that not more than half a dozen of the members of depressed classes are employed in the Judicial Service, while none of the untouchables are so employed. Is it fair then that caste Hindus should practically monopolize this service? It will be interesting to compare, say, the number of Kayesths residing in this Province with their number in the Judicial department alone. We therefore very strongly urge that the number of Moslem Judicial officers both in the listed posts and the Provincial Cadre should in no case and at no time be allowed to fall to a figure less than 33 p.c. We urge this because (1) there is no dearth of competent and qualified Moslems now for these posts ; (2) the Moslems are qualified by their temperament and past history to deal Justice better between men and men ; (3) in every court questions of Muhammadan Law arise which can better be negotiated by Moslem Judges ; (4) the large increase in the number of Hindu judicial officers has led to the failure of justice in several cases ; (5) the population, qualification, and standing of the Moslems demand that this proportion be maintained. These remarks apply with still greater emphasis to the ministerial departments of these officers. These are flooded with caste Hindus. There is a Government circular still in force in these Provinces which prohibits the concentration of members of one community in any particular department or office. But this is observed more in breach than in observance. The Kayesths congregate in large numbers in practically every office. The Munsarims (Superintendents of office) of the District Judges being almost entirely non-Moslems, prevent with all their main the entry of any Moslem in the clerical staff of their offices. It is submitted therefore that at least 33 p.c. of the ministerial staff should be immediately secured to the Moslems.

This portion of our statement could have better found place under " Services " but we feel that justice which is one of the brightest landmarks in the history of the British Rule in India is being cast out of its moorings by the concentration of superior authority in one particular class of persons to the neglect of others equally competent but less organised and less vocal.

The concentration of particular castes in offices does not conduce to the efficient working of that office.

We are most anxious that justice should be above reproach in these Provinces, and this is impossible unless a strong leaven of the minority communities (the European and the Moslem) is maintained as Judicial officers and a strong Moslem element is introduced in the ministerial offices of the department.

For fuller information reference is invited to our Report on Services. For the Bench of the High Court and the Chief Court of Oudh, we strongly press that at least 33 p.c. of the Judges should be Moslems, and in the ministerial department of these Courts the same proportion of Moslems be employed.

10. *Recruitment of Judicial Officers.*—The system of recruitment of Judicial Officers has so far not been satisfactory. For the Provincial Judicial Services practice at bar for 3 years used to be the rule till recently. A system of competition has been lately established by the High Court of these Provinces and the rule of 3 years' practice has been abandoned. Persons so appointed under either systems begin from the lowest rung of the ladder and take their chance of promotion in due course.

Indian Civil Servants when showing special aptitude for judicial work, which is rare, are drafted to the judicial side of the administration for appointment, mostly as District and Sessions Judges. Such officers rarely exhibit any grasp of legal principles, and do not conceal their restiveness when hearing a case of Civil nature. They however, make good Sessions Judges, on account of their early training as Magitrates. No recruitment for Judicial service is allowed to be made from among the members of the Bar except for the High Court Bench.

It is submitted therefore, (1) that no member of the Indian Civil Service be transferred from the Executive to the Judicial side. Indian Civil Servants should be recruited from the Judicial side in the same way as they are recruited for the Executive side. These Indian Civil Service officers as soon as they arrive in India should be trained as Magistrates, Munsiffs and Subordinate Judges, and should not be appointed as District Judges till they have finished at least 5 years' Judicial training. (2) Members of the Bar who have finished at least ten years' practice and who have by their education, ability and integrity of character proved themselves as honourable members of the profession should be employed either as Subordinate Judges or District Judges. (3) The former system of recruitment to the Judicial Service was unsatisfactory. It generally gave to the service persons who were failures at the Bar. The present has still greater drawbacks, the balance of the advantages is, however, in favour of the former and we recommend that it be restored with the additional test of Examination existing now.

In all systems of competitive examination not less than thirty-three per cent of all vacancies should be reserved for Muslims who should be selected only from among Muslim candidates for such examinations.

11. *Observations on Judicial Administration generally.*—The introduction of administration of Justice based on the model of British judicial system has not contributed to the welfare of the public. It has fostered litigation, has stimulated perjury and forgery, and has generally contributed to the poverty of the litigant public. The increase in the number of lawyers also contributes to the increase in litigation. It is difficult to suggest effective palliatives for this disease, but one of the remedies will be the curtailment of the number of lawyers. In the Mofussil Bar and, generally speaking, in the High Court Bar also, study of law for the sake of law is practically unknown and the lawyers here live for case work. He has some agents of his, scattered in different parts of the country where he lives, who get and create case work for him. It is generally this class of people that is the pest of the society. Nobody should be allowed to practise at the Bar merely because he has passed certain examinations. We suggest that

both in the High Court and Mofussil Courts, two branches of lawyers be constituted, one entitled to practise like Solicitors, the other entitled to plead like Counsels in England. This system will very much do away with the system of touting so much rampant in this Province.

Courts are generally in great hurry to dispose of cases without making any attempt to get at the truth. Proper delay in the disposal of cases should always be condoned and courts should be strictly warned to get at the truth as far as possible. It is notorious that Moslems as a class have greatly suffered under the present system of Judicial Administration. The Courts, obliged by the rigidity of a codified law, by an attempt laudable as far as their future counts to show alacrity in quick disposal of cases, by a natural inclination on the part of Hindu judges to favour their persuasion, have observed the letter and not the spirit of law against the Moslem. A careful Census will show that in every decade Moslems lose their property through the agency of the Civil Court. The anxiety of the Courts to respect the sanctity of contractual obligation derived no doubt from English jurisprudence entirely ignores the realities of Indian life, where an overreaching moneylender domineers the will and feeds the idiosyncracies of a youthful profligate, in expectancy of an estate; or a young heir is surrounded on all sides by parasites, some of whom are agents of the moneylender bent on grab. We have knowledge of cases where as much as 200 p.c. interest alone has been decreed by the Court mostly to the detriment of Moslem debtors, and we therefore propose that in order that the Courts of Justice may deserve the appellation, law should be so relaxed as to make it obligatory on the Courts to investigate zealously every case, where it is either pleaded or appears to the Court *prima facie* from the circumstances of the case that the transaction is not a *bonafide* one in all its aspects and details, and grant relief to the debtor.

Appointment of Honorary Magistrates and Honorary Assistant Collectors.—These officers are appointed on the recommendation of the District Magistrate and Collector, but it is well known that, these appointments have not given satisfaction to the general public. However low in society, however ill-treated, however profligate in character, however loose in morals, and however old a man may be, if he could keep the District Magistrate in good humour, he either gets appointed or continues in office for another term or even for life. We propose that these absolute powers of recommending the local government for conferment of these powers should be taken away entirely from the hands of the District officer, and vested in a commission consisting of the District Magistrate, the District Judge, the President of the Bar Association in important centres, the President of the Upper India Chamber of Commerce in a place like Cawnpore, at least two members of the local Legislative Council and Chairmen of the Municipal and District Boards. We further suggest that in their appointment some educational test be made a condition precedent, and further that all such officers if they have not passed any law examination, be made to undergo a course of training or a course of instruction for at least six months before they are allowed to work independently on the Bench. In all such appointments, a minimum of 33 per cent should be reserved for Muslims.

Summary of our recommendations.

1. Investing of the High Court and Chief Court with certain additional jurisdiction.

2. Trial of Civil Suits by the aid of Jury.

3. Power of Subordinate Judges to hear appeals.

4. Separation of the Executive from the Judicial.

5. Urdu, *i.e.*, Hindustani written in Persian and not Nagri characters, must be affirmed as Court language of these Provinces by the constitution.

6. Moslems should be appointed in the Judicial Service and the Judicial ministerial staff in larger numbers. As no depressed classes are yet eligible for service, they should be excluded from the general population, and the classes ordinarily eligible for service should alone be taken into consideration in determining the proportion of appointment of each community.

7. In the recruitment of Judicial officers no I.C.S. should be taken from the Executive line, but direct recruitment of I.C.S. officers for Judicial line similar to the rule obtaining in the Executive line be made ; such officers being first trained for 5 years as Munsiffs, Subordinate Judges and Magistrates be appointed District and Sessions Judges. Members of the Bar be enrolled for services as Judicial officers.

8. The number of lawyers be curtailed ; higher test be applied to those taken in the Bar.

9. Some suggestions in the procedure of the working of the courts have also been made.

PROGRESS OF EDUCATION IN THE UNITED PROVINCES.

The introduction of reforms in these provinces affected every transferred department. The local bodies were made practically autonomous bodies; universities were reorganised, and "democratised," and the elective principle was introduced in the newly created Board of Intermediate and High School Education. As we have explained in our report on Safeguards, the Muslims of these provinces have no desire to put the clock of progress back. They are genuinely anxious for the educational advancement of their country, because they feel certain that with the growth of primary education, the encouragement of intermediate education, and the organisation of universities on a rational basis, their country will attain a status, and her people will reach a level of civilisation, that are the pride and glory of all the nations of Western Europe. In this process of modernisation, they have taken, and are willing to take, as active a part as any community in India. Their past record shows conclusively their desire for the intellectual advancement of their motherland. The U. P. Muslims have played a great and glorious part in the development of these provinces. It is due to their organising ability and executive capacity that the various districts of these provinces were developed ; it was their statesmanship which developed a succession of Culture States like Jaunpore ; it was their brains that evolved that magnificent school of architecture whose supreme example is exhibited in the Taj Mahal at Agra ; they created, and, in some cases, founded institutions which are the foundation of modern administration. They perfected the revenue system ; they evolved the judiciary ; they were responsible for the organisation of an efficient police system ; and they fostered a culture and developed a civilisation which have won the admiration of all who have come into contact with it. Their artistic instincts are expressed in architectural works whose exquisite beauty has rarely been surpassed. Nor do they occupy a mean position in the social life of these provinces. They pay nearly one-quarter of the total revenue of these provinces, though their population percentage is only 14·28. They are not behind any community in these provinces in any sphere of activity, whether intellectual, political or moral. They have been slowly moulded from centuries of Moghal rule in a stable and formative framework ; they have created and absorbed a literature which is perhaps their most potent instrument for distilling the spiritual from the material phenomena of life ; they have legal systems, the first sanction of which is the respect for Law.

From this brief analysis of the position of Muslims in these provinces, it will be clear that they have been foremost in all the movements for the educational and political advancement of their country. It may be said without any fear of exaggeration that the Muslims of the United Provinces are the nerve-centre of Muslim India, and most of the movements for the amelioration of our community originated here. The foundation of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh by the great leader of

Indian Muslims, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, created a revolution in the intellectual life of our community. As the College was founded in a district of these provinces, it was only natural that the U.P. Muslims should take the fullest advantage of the unique facilities which the creative energy, and prophetic foresight of the great Sir Syed had brought into existence. The ascendancy which that great institution soon established throughout Muslim India contributed in no small measure to that great revival of Muslim learning and Muslim culture whose far-reaching effects are perceived to-day in the insistent demand for political advance, and educational progress.

The Education Programme of the United Provinces.

We repeat, we are as anxious as any community in India for the spread of mass education in India ; we are genuinely desirous of a sound system of intermediate education ; we are convinced that if, and when, the finances of the province improve, the principles laid down by Sir Michael Sadler's Commission as regards unitary, teaching and residential universities should be consistently and persistently followed.

Our community is, however, desirous of safeguarding its rights in any scheme that might be formulated for the development of various grades of education, whether primary, secondary, or University. In our opinion, education stands on a completely different footing from any other sphere of national activity. It is in, and through education, that the distinctive traditions of our community can be, and are, built up. It is through the schools that our children imbibe the elements of their religion ; it is in the school that the Urdu language can be learnt. It is the instrument whereby their glorious past is linked up with the immediate present. If they lose their position in the different grades of education, if they disappear from the important bodies and staffs of the colleges, the secondary and primary schools, the universities, and the local bodies, they will be reduced to the position of depressed classes and untouchables. They will, in fact, disappear from the public life of these historical provinces. In all countries and all climes education has been the chief means for the development of culture, and religion, of a community.

Lack of Safeguards.

It has been pointed out above that the one great drawback of the Government of India Act was the lack of fundamental safeguards for the protection of minorities in India. The elective principle was remorselessly applied, and the majority gained all power, and neglected all the principles of fair play and discipline. This principle has not been a uniform success even in the highly developed nations of the West, and has succeeded only partially in England, France and Germany, where centuries of strong central government have levelled all barriers, and created unitary, and organic states. The history of Austria Hungary, Russia, and other South European states has provided numerous examples of racial, religious, and linguistic conflicts. The history of the states that have been either created or reconstituted as a result of the Treaty of Versailles furnishes another example of the extreme solicitude which the great nation of Europe manifested for the protection of minorities. The treaties with Austria,

Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Esthonia, Finland, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Roumania, Jugoslavia, and Turkey, contain adequate and substantial safeguards for the protection of the language, education, and culture of the minorities of these states. We may also mention the Polish-Danzing Treaty of November 9, 1920 ; the Convention between Greece and Bulgaria signed on November 27, 1919, and the convention concerning the exchange of Greek and Turkish population signed at Lausanne, on January 30, 1923. The powers that have signed the Treaties have embodied them in their constitutions. This part of their constitution is fundamental, and can only be modified by the League of Nations.

We have discussed this question in our report on Safeguards for Minorities, and in a pamphlet by the Chairman of this Committee, Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, M.L.C., entitled, *What are the Rights of the Muslim Minority in India?* It is, however, necessary that we should draw your attention to the provisions which safeguard the education of minorities. As language is intimately connected with education, we reproduce below important provisions relating to these cognate subjects.

Article 9 of the Polish Constitution states, " Poland will provide in the public educational system in towns and districts in which a considerable proportion of Polish nationals of other than Polish speech are residents, adequate facilities for ensuring that in the primary schools instruction shall be given to the children of such Polish nationals through the medium of their own language."

" In towns and districts where there is a considerable proportion of Polish nationals belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities, these minorities shall be assured an equitable share in the enjoyment and application of the sums which may be provided out of the public funds under the *states. municipal or other budget*, for educational, religious or charitable purposes."

Article 10. " Educational committees appointed locally by the Jewish communities of Poland will, subject to the general control of the state, provide for the distribution of the proportional share of public funds allocated to Jewish schools in accordance with Article 9, and for the organisation and management of these schools."

Articles 13 and 131 of the Czechoslovakian Constitution embody precisely the same provisions, so do Articles 21 and 22 of the constitution of the Esthonian Republic.

Article 16 of the constitution of Jugo-Slavia states, " Religious training is given according to the wishes of the parents or elders, based on their creeds, and in accordance with their religious beliefs."

Article 120 of the Polish Constitution is as follows, " In all educational establishments for the instruction of young people who have not reached the age of eight years controlled in whole or part by the state, or by local autonomous bodies, the teaching of religion is compulsory for all peoples. The direction and control of all teaching is the provision of the particular religious body, without prejudice to the supreme right of control reserved to state educational authorities."

Article 149 of the German Constitution states, " Religious education shall be a part of the regular school curriculum, with the exception of secular schools. Religious education shall be given in harmony with the fundamental principles of the religious association concerned, without prejudice to the right of supervision by the state." Article 146 of the German Constitution says, " Within the municipalities, upon the request of those persons having the right to education, elementary schools of their own religious belief shall be established, provided that an organised school system in the sense of Paragraph I is not thereby interfered. Detailed regulations shall be prescribed on the basis of a national law."

Article 105, sub-section 11 of the German Polish Convention signed on May 5, 1922 at Geneva states, " The needs of minorities as regards public elementary education shall be supplied by means of the following institutions:—

(a) Elementary schools, employing the minority language as the language of instruction.

(b) Elementary classes, employing the minority language as the language of instruction established in the elementary schools employing the official language.

(c) Minority courses, including (1) the teaching of the minority language, (2) religious teaching in the minority language."

Article 113. " (1) As a general rule, only teachers belonging to the minority, and perfectly acquainted with its language, shall be appointed to minority schools."

We may also refer here to the Czechoslovakian law for the protection of the language of minorities passed on February 29, 1920, quoted in our report on Safeguards, and the decree for the protection of minorities passed by the Hungarian Government on August 21, 1919.

We have mentioned above the Treaties signed by various powers in Paris, in 1919, and subsequent years, for the protection of minorities. The minority clauses in all these Treaties are substantially the same. As an example of such clauses, we may cite Section III of the Treaty signed by Turkey at Lausanne, on July 24, 1923.

Article 37.

" Turkey undertakes that the stipulations contained in Articles 38 to 44 shall be regarded as fundamental laws, and that no law, no regulation, nor official action shall conflict or interfere with these stipulations, nor shall any law, regulation, nor official action prevail over them."

Some of these articles are left over, as they have been quoted above.

Article 41.

" As regards public instruction, the Turkish Government will grant in those towns and districts, where a considerable proportion of non-Muslim nationals are resident, adequate facilities for ensuring that in the primary schools the instruction shall be given to children of such Turkish nationals through the medium of their own language. In towns and districts where there is a considerable proportion of Turkish nationals belonging to non-Muslim minorities, these minorities shall be assured an equitable share in the

enjoyment of application of the sums which may be provided out of the public funds under the State, municipal or other budgets for educational, religious or charitable purposes."

Article 44.

" Turkey agrees that, in so far as the preceding Articles of this section affect non-Muslim nationals of Turkey, these provisions constitute obligations of international concern, and shall be placed under the guarantee of Council of the League of Nations."

We have deemed it necessary to cite these provisions, as we are firmly of the opinion that the supineness and indifference with which the statesmen who framed the Government of India Bill with regard to the Rights of Minorities have created difficulties and produced a situation which is intolerable. The U.P. Municipalities Act of 1916 and the District Board Act of 1922 made both the municipal and district boards purely elective. Every question in all these bodies is decided by the votes of the majority. In other countries, parties are constituted on the basis of community of interest, or of identity of political, educational and economic policy. In this country unfortunately parties are organised on the lines of religion. The division, here, is vertical. The result is as might have been foreseen. The Hindus have an overwhelming majority in these provinces. Hindu members of the municipal and district boards have large, and permanent majority, over Muslim members of every district board, and eighty-five per cent of the municipal boards. Several striking results flow from these phenomena. In the first place, questions concerning primary education are decided on communal lines. In the next place, if the Muslims complain of the harsh treatment meted out to them by these bodies, they are told that the latter possess statutory powers, and the government is, to all intents and purposes, helpless. In the third place, the Legislative Council contains an overwhelming number of Hindu members, and if Muslims draw the attention of the Council to the drawbacks from which they suffer, the question is decided on communal lines. In the fourth place, this is a transferred subject and is in charge of a Minister. Hence, even if the Minister and the Government desire to do anything, and the Hindu majority in the Council disapproves of it, the Minister may be turned out. The Minister must carry out the policy dictated to it by the legislature, that is to say, by the majority in the legislature, or the Hindus. In the fifth place, the Director of Public Instruction must please his master, the Minister. Even the Governor is helpless. This was put very frankly and cogently, by Sir William Marris, then Governor of the United Provinces, in reply to a deputation of representative Muslim educationists of these provinces which waited upon him at Agra on August 14, 1924. The deputation presented a memorial to the Governor in which the grievances of the U.P. Muslims in the domain of secondary, primary, and university education were detailed. The reply of Sir William Marris is as follows: " I note that you refer to a certain clause in the Governor's Instrument of Instruction ; but I would not have interpreted that as constraining the Governor to adopt your proposals. The Instrument has to be read as a whole, and in the light of the existing constitution, by which education is a transferred subject, and its administration in the long run is controlled by the legislature. It is

for you to do what you can to get your views accepted by discussion and argument, and advocacy in the legislature." Sir William's advice was salutary, but any one who knows the mentality of the Hindu mind will acknowledge that it was impracticable.

It is therefore clear that in bodies that are dominated by a permanent majority, whose basis of organisation is not community of interest, but community of religion, it is impossible to expect that fair, equitable and impartial treatment of our rights to which we are entitled by our past record, the services we rendered to the Empire during the Great War, our present social and economic position in these provinces, and our stake in the country. As ballot has replaced bullets, the majority must rule—in the Council Chamber, educational institutions, as well as local and other bodies. We are convinced that the only remedy for this state of things is the insertion of fundamental safeguards for the protection of our culture, language and education. Unless this is done, unless our rights are placed on a definite, certain and statutory basis, in clear and unambiguous terms, there is no guarantee of just consideration of our needs, or an equitable treatment of our claims.

We shall now deal with each grade of instruction and indicate the steps which, in our opinion, are absolutely essential for the protection of our interests.

Primary Education.

We cannot do better than quote the following from Sir William Hunter's book entitled the "*Indian Mussalmans.*" Though it was published in 1871, his remarks regarding Muslim education are true to-day, as they were in 1871; and they are applicable no less to the U. P. Muslims than to the Bengal Muslims.

The Education of Bengal Muslims.

Sir William Hunter's account of the backwardness of Bengal Muslims is summed up in the following just and impartial statement: "The truth is that our system of public institutions ignores the three most powerful instincts of the Mussalman heart. In the first place, it conducts education in the vernacular of Bengal, a language which the educated Muhammadans despise, and by means of Hindu teachers. The Bengali schoolmaster talks his own dialect, and a vile Urdu, the latter of which is to him an acquired language as much as it is to ourselves. Moreover, his gentle and timid character unfits him to maintain order among Mussalman boys. 'Nothing on earth,' said a Muhammadan husbandman recently to an English official, 'would induce me to send my boy to a Bengali teacher.' In the second place, our rural schools seldom enable a Muhammadan to learn the tongues necessary for his holding a respectable position in life, and for the performance of his religious duties. Every Muhammadan gentleman must have some knowledge of Persian, and Persian is a language unknown even in our higher class district schools. Every Mussalman, from the highest to the lowest, ought to say his prayers in one of the sacred languages, Persian or Arabic, and this our schools have never recognised. In the third place, our system of education makes no provision for the religious education of the Muhammadan youth. It overlooks the fact that among the Hindus a

large and powerful class has come down from time immemorial for supplying this part of a boy's training, while among the Muhammadans no separate body of clergy exists. Every head of a Mussalman household is supposed to know the duties of his religion, and to be his own family priest. Ministrations are indeed conducted at the mosques; but it is the glory of Islam that its temples are not made with hands, and that its ceremonials can be performed anywhere upon God's earth, or under His heavens. A system of purely secular education is adapted to very few nations."

The backward state of Muslims had not escaped the notice of the Court of Directors, and Sir Charles Wood in his famous Despatch on Education said in 1854 :

" We shall receive with favour any proposition which may appear to you to be likely to supply the want of so large a portion of the natives of India."

The Hunter Commission recognised the need for the encouragement of Muslims, and formulated a series of comprehensive proposals. We give below the recommendations of the Hunter Commission :

Recommendations of the Hunter Commission.

In the early days of the administration of the East India Company the proceedings of the Courts were conducted in the Persian language and the Musalmans naturally desired that Persian and Urdu should be the media of instruction in the Schools and Madrassas. It is not necessary to describe here in detail the controversy between the advocates of English and Oriental education. The Despatch of 29th September, 1833 by the Court of Directors gave decisive preference to the promotion of English education, and Lord Macaulay's Minute of the 2nd February, 1834, ended the controversy in favour of English. This was soon followed by Act XXIX of 1837, by which Persian was finally abolished as the language of judicial and revenue proceedings. The Musalmans kept aloof from the new system of instruction, partly on account of their national pride, and partly because the new system was unsuited to their traditions and requirements ; for the schools in those days were either missionary schools, or those maintained by the Committee of Instruction which made no provision for the teaching of Urdu, Persian or Arabic.

The recommendations of the Hunter Commission bearing on the primary education are summarised below :—

(1) " That the special encouragement of Muhammadan Education be regarded as a legitimate charge on Local, Municipal, and Provincial Funds."

(2) " That indigenous Muhammadan schools be liberally encouraged to add purely secular subjects to their courses of instructions."

(3) " That special standards for Muhammadan Primary Schools be prescribed."

(4) " That Hindustani be the principal medium for imparting instruction to Muhammadans in Primary and Middle Schools, except in localities where the Muhammadan community desires that some other language be adopted."

(5) " That the official vernacular, in places where it is not Hindustani, be added as a voluntary subject to the curriculum of Primary and Middle Schools for Muhammadans, maintained from public funds ; and that arithmetic and accounts be taught through the medium of that vernacular."

(6) " That where necessary a graduated system of special scholarship for Muhammadans be established ; to be awarded (a) in Primary Schools, and (b) tenable in Middle Schools."

(7) " That in all classes of schools maintained from public funds, a certain proportion of free studentships be expressly reserved for Muhammadan students."

(8) " That in places where educational endowments for the benefit of Muhammadans exist, and are under the management of Government, the funds arising from such endowments be devoted to the advancement of education among Muhammadans exclusively."

(9) " That where Muhammadan endowments exist, and are under the management of private individuals or bodies, inducements by liberal grants-in-aid be offered to them to establish English teaching schools or colleges on the Grants-in-aid System."

(10) " That where necessary, Normal Schools or classes for the training of Muhammadan teachers be established."

(11) " That wherever instruction is given in Muhammadan schools, through the medium of Hindustani, endeavours be made to secure, as far as possible, Muhammadan teachers to give such instruction."

(12) " That Muhammadan inspecting officers be employed more largely than hitherto for the inspection of Primary Schools for Muhammadans."

(13) " That Associations for the promotion of Muhammadan education be recognised and encouraged."

It is pertinent to point out here that many of these recommendations were not carried into effect, and the grievances of the Muslims remained unredressed.

Mr. Sharp's Letter and U.P. Government's Action thereon.

There is reason to believe that the Government did nothing substantial, until the Hon'ble Mr. Sharp, on behalf of the Government of India in a letter No. 585-595, dated the 3rd April, 1913, invited the attention of all local governments to the subject of Muhammadan education. The Government of India, he said, are " anxious that all reasonable facilities should be provided for the education of this backward community," and he laid down the lines on which inquiries should be made and special action taken. The despatch dealt with primary, secondary and university education. It is of special importance, as it was in compliance with this Despatch that the various local governments appointed committees to report on the

methods necessary for the development of Muslim education in each province. We are not concerned with committees appointed by other local governments, and therefore restrict ourselves to the action taken by the U. P. Government. The government of Lord Meston appointed an influential, representative committee to consider the letter of Mr. Sharp, and to suggest proposals in all the points mentioned by him. The committee elected the late Moulvi Karamat Husain Sahib as its chairman, and sent its report on April, 26, 1914.

On account of the outbreak of the War, and the consequent financial stringency, the Government of India could not take any action on the reports received from the local governments in their resolution of 1913. But various local governments took action on the report of their committees. It must be admitted that the action taken by the United Provinces Government was halting and hesitating, and did not satisfy the desire, or meet the needs of the Muslims of these provinces.

Their policy towards the education of our community was elaborately and clearly laid down in the resolution No. 1611-XV of 1914, dated 26th August, 1914.

The policy of the Local Government towards the education of Musalmans was elaborately and clearly laid down in the Resolution (No. 1611/XV of 1924, dated the 26th August, 1914). The Resolution did not accept in full the recommendations of the Aligarh Committee of July, 1913, or of Mr. Karamat Husain's Committee of April, 1914. This was unfortunate, as we regard them essential for the progress of Muslim Education. However, even if all the resolutions of the Government had been put into effect and adhered to, not only in the letter but also in the spirit, the progress of Muslim education would not have been so slow in the last decade.

In Resclution No. IV, paragraph 4, Sir James (now Lord) Meston acknowledged that it was necessary that a general scheme for the extension of primary education should " embrace a number of safeguards for the interest of the Muhammadan community," that " facilities should be given for a proper infusion of Muhammadans among the teachers and the inspecting staff," that " boards should be asked to insist that Muhammadan boys are freely educated and properly treated in schools where Hindus predominate," and that efficient teaching in the Persian script and in the Urdu supplementary reader, be afforded in every board's school to any boy who asks for it. His Honour considered that ' these injunctions cannot in themselves be expected to supply that special stimulus which the backward condition of Muhammadan education admittedly demands.' He added that " further measures are called for both by the undertakings of the Government in the past, and by the steady decline at least up to 1912, in the proportion of Muhammadan boys who are receiving primary education." His Honour, after noticing that the special recommendations in favour of Muhammadans which were made by the Education Commission of 1881-3 were not followed by any definite change of policy, observed, " In the primary school, whatever may be the cause, the advance has been slow as compared with that of Hindus, and the Committee presided over by Mr. Karamat Husain adduced figures which show a large and disturbing decline over the last 18 years, in the proportion of Muhammadans to the

total number of primary pupils. It would serve no useful purpose to consider the reasons for retrogression. Whatever they may be, the Government is pledged to do all that is in its power to check the decline."

In Chapter II, paragraph 1, of its Report, Mr. Karamat Husain's Committee stated " It is our duty to point out that there has been a steady and gradual retrogression, and that the Musalmans have been losing ground in the field of primary education. Their percentage, with regard to total number of students, has fallen gradually in the course of the last 18 years, from 23·6 p.c. to 18·75 p.c. It may be noted that the percentage of children to the school-going population Musalmans is only 13·4." In paragraph 2 it said, " A reference to the statistical tables of 1895 will establish the fact that, at the time, 32·6 of the pupils belonging to these two sections were Muhammadans."

Accordingly, as a first step in this direction, the Government decided that " in any town or village where a sufficient number of Muhammadan parents come forward to guarantee an attendance of at least 20 boys, and whether there is an ordinary primary school already in existence or not, the district board *shall* start a special Islamia School, and provide it with a qualified Muhammadan teacher." That this provision is not being given effect to will be clear from the policy of the district boards. Numerous applications for new Islamia schools are rejected. The Government further resolved that liberal grants-in-aid should be made to maktabs.

Why Islamia Schools are Popular.

The existence of Islamia Schools, specially in villages inhabited by a fairly large number of Musalmans is essential to the progress of primary education. In Board schools Muslim boys sometimes experience considerable difficulties regarding admissions. What is, however, of much more importance is the fact that the primary education of a Muslim boy is permeated by religion through and through, and it is the lack of facility for religious instruction that is at the back of a demand for Islamia Schools. This was recognised, and emphasized by the Education Commission of 1882. The Board's ordinary schools do not appeal to the Muslim parents in the village. Owing to the fact that often there are no Muslim teachers in the majority of mixed schools, they do not command the confidence of the Muslim public, and certainly do not evoke any great enthusiasm for them. It cannot be seriously contended that these are narrow prejudices, for sentiment is a primary factor which cannot be ignored, and no scheme of primary education can be successful unless it is in consonance with the prevailing sentiment. We are convinced that without the encouragement of such institutions, the progress of education among the Mussalmans will be exceedingly slow. Their need was fully recognised by His Honour, Sir James (now Lord) Meston in the Government Resolution No. IV, para. 1, in the following words : " It is useless to ignore the fact that in existing conditions the ordinary board schools do not and cannot adequately cater for certain sections of the community ; and for the education of these sections special measures must, therefore, be taken." The necessary result of this lack of support is that only 762 Islamia Schools exist for the education of the boys belonging to a community numbering nearly 70 lakhs.

It is, therefore, with considerable regret that we, on the strength of the materials in our possession, have been informed that applications for grants-in-aid to maktabs remain unheeded often for over a year, and are ultimately rejected on an adverse report received from not too sympathetic an officer.

The only satisfactory solution is the fixation of an adequate proportion of the grants for the primary education of Muslim boys. The system of fixing only a minimum is unsatisfactory, as the boards seldom think of spending more than the minimum on Muslim education. Indeed, there are many cases in which the whole of the amount intended for Muslim education is not spent, with the result that it lapses at the end of the year. The lapsed amount then provides excuses for the diminution in the grants for subsequent years. It is, therefore, essential that the amount should be earmarked, and any portion remaining unspent should not lapse, but be utilized in the following year in addition to the normal grant for the year.

Similar difficulties are experienced with regard to applications for building grants to Islamia schools. Practically no allotment has been made for the building of Islamia schools and maktabs in the whole of these Provinces.

Lord Mayo and Muslim Education.

The question of Muslim Education as a distinct problem attracted the attention of Lord Mayo, who in his resolution, dated the 7th August, 1871, after expressing regret at the general backwardness of the Mussalmans in education, and their aloofness from co-operating with the educational system of the country, laid down the following four principles :—

(1) Further encouragements should be given to classical and vernacular languages in all schools and colleges.

(2) English schools should be established in avowedly Mohammadan districts ; the appointment of qualified Mohammadan English teachers might, with advantage, be encouraged.

(3) As in vernacular schools, so in avowedly English schools, assistance might justly be given to Mohammadans by grants-in-aid to create schools of their own.

(4) Greater encouragement should also be given to the creation of vernacular literature for the Mohammadans.

The great disparity between the progress of the Hindus and Mohammadans at various stages, specially attracted the attention of the Education Commission of 1882. The Education Commission, after examining the causes of the backwardness of the Mohammadans in Education made a series of seventeen recommendations to remedy the evil. These recommendations dealt mainly with primary and secondary education ; they proposed to help Mohammadan education by special grants, scholarships and studentships, by reorganising the teaching of secular subjects in Mohammadan Schools, by prescribing special standards for Mohammadan primary schools, by the use of Hindustani as the principal medium of instruction in Primary and Middle Mohammadan Schools, by better provision for instruction in Hindustani and Persian, by encouraging higher education among the Mohammadans, by training Mohammadan teachers, by the appointment of

Mohammadan School Inspectors, by devoting special attention to Mohammadan education in the annual reports of the department of Public Instruction, by encouraging associations for the promotion of Mohammadan education, and by bestowing upon Mohammadans a large share of Government patronage.

Proposals of U.P. Government for Primary Education of Muslims.

In dealing with the Piggot Committee's report the Government of the United Provinces in their resolution No. 1611/XV, dated 25th August, 1914, sanctioned—

(a) The appointment of a Mohammadan Inspector for the Province to assist and advise on the various measures concerning the extension of Mohammadan education both primary and other.

(b) The appointment of Mohammadan Deputy Inspectors for each division under Divisional Inspectors, who will pass on their reports to the Special Mohammadan Inspector, and will freely consult the latter in all matters of importance arising out of the Deputy Inspector's special work. It further established the Provincial and District Maktab Committees to supervise the teaching of and frame special courses for Maktabs. The resolution further directed that "Facilities will be given for proper infusion of Mohammadans among the teachers and the inspecting staff. The Boards are being asked to insist that Mohammadan boys be freely admitted and properly treated in schools where Hindus predominate." The resolution urged that special facilities should be given for spreading primary education among the Mussalmans by efficient teaching in the Persian script, and by establishing Muslim schools in any town or village where the attendance of at least 20 boys is guaranteed, and by allowing the use of special readers suited to the requirements of the Mussalmans and approved by the Maktab Committees.

The Educational Backwardness of Muslims.

A question has been raised in various quarters, whether Muslims are really backward in education. We have no desire to indulge in a controversy that reminds one of the dialectical hair-splitting of a medieval scholastic, or the microscopic subtlety of a seventeenth century Jesuit, but we think it necessary to point out that the criterion of "backwardness" which is frequently employed is unsatisfactory. There are other elements besides those of present literacy. We have to ask not merely what the percentage of literacy of a community is, but also what its condition was in the past, and what position it holds in the social economy of these provinces? For this purpose we need only quote the Fifth Despatch of the Government of India, paragraph 22, dated April 23, 1919:

"If we were writing on a clean slate, we should desire to establish a ratio of Muhammadan seats which would bear closer relation with their strength as a community, while amply fulfilling our undertakings to regard them as a minority. In determining that ratio, we should have to

start with certain established facts. *In the first place, the Muhammadans have been definitely promised some electoral advantage on the ground of their political importance.* We should have to measure that advantage and to fulfil that promise. Secondary, the Muhammadans are the poorer community, and therefore any property qualification common to them and to the Hindus will make the Muhammadan electorate smaller in proportion to the Muhammadan census than will be the case with the Hindus. *In the third place, the census strength of the Muhammadans by no means corresponds to their political strength.* In Bengal and Assam, the Muslims are politically weaker than their number would dictate, *while in the United Provinces with 14 per cent. of the population, they are incomparably stronger than in Bihar and Orissa with 10.5 per cent.* Past history and the presence of Muhammadan centres count for much. Fourthly, it might be argued that inasmuch as a majority can always impose its will upon a minority, it does not greatly matter whether the Muhammadans in places where they are in a conspicuous minority are awarded, for example, 15 or 20 per cent. of the seats. But we think it a valid answer to observe that the effectiveness of a minority depends upon its being large enough to have the sense of not being entirely overwhelmed."

Indeed, to adopt numerical proportion as the basis of calculation in the matter of education of such a backward but important community as the Mussalmans of the Provinces is not only unfair but also misleading. It may be that, according to the census figures, the proportion of Musalmans to the general population of the United Provinces is about 14.28, per cent, but considering the class of Musalmans who inhabit these Provinces, and comparing them with the rest of the population, the submission that Muslim educational needs should not be determined by their percentage but by their status, past history, and present condition in the country, is not at all unreasonable. The principle that numerical strength is not the only criterion for determining the question of communal rights and interests has now been accepted as a fundamental principle by the Government of India and the Parliament.

Lord Morley said, " Coming to the United Provinces, the Muslims are $6\frac{3}{4}$ millions to $40\frac{3}{4}$ millions of Hindus—14 per cent to 85 per cent. This ratio of numerical strength no more represents the proportion in the elements of right and importance, than in Eastern Bengal does the Hindu ratio of 37 per cent to 58 per cent of Muslims."

Recommendations of the Karamat Husain Committee.

Moulvi Karamat Husain's Committee, after carefully considering the figures for various classes of Musalmans and Hindus and the figures for Musalmans in the urban population, concluded, " The standard of numerical population, so far as Muslim educational interest is concerned, should be at least 40 per cent." We beg to quote from their report as follows :—

> " In this connection it is extremely important to bear in mind the nature and composition of the Hindu and Mussalman population of these Provinces. While the Hindus are divided by a sharp line of demarcation into ' higher ' and ' lower ' classes, the Musalmans form one people, and according to Islam, not only in theory but in practice,

all stand on one and the same level. Every Musalman, whatever his position in life may be, can join an educational institution, but such is not, and cannot, for a long time to come, be the case with that large section of the so-called Hindu population who are known as ' untouchables.' Properly speaking they are no more Hindus than they are Musalmans. Such is their state of civilization and their relation to the rest of the Hindu population. The point which deserves particular consideration is that the so-called ' lower classes ' constitute the vast majority of the Hindu population of these Provinces.

" Taking the case of the untouchables alone they number over 77 lacs in these Provinces ' a figure higher than the whole Muslim population.' Of these only 3 in 10,000 get primary education and not even one is attending any secondary schools ; still the number of these illiterate untouchables is counted by the Government in working out percentages and deciding the fate of Muslim education. This reference to these untouchables is by no means intended to deprive them of any educational advantages. We wish them to receive an education suitable to their needs ; all we want is, that consideration for them should not in any way be a check to the educational progress of the Musalmans.

" Taking the case of the Musalmans, even if we exclude their labouring and artisan classes, the percentage of such classes as may, for the sake of comparison, be said to correspond to the higher classes of the Hindus will still be found to be very large. It will be admitted that Sheikhs, Syeds, Mughals, Pathans, Turks and Kambohs constitute those classes among the Mussalmans who may be said to correspond to the higher and literary classes of the Hindus. The following figures show the number of these classes according to the last Census of these Provinces:—

Sheikhs (including Sheik Momins)	...	2,268,712
Syeds	...	250,204
Mughals	...	60,362
Pathans (including Khanzadas)	...	978,515
Turks	...	77,166
Kambohs	...	2,314
Total	...	3,637,273

The total number of Musalmans in these Provinces being 6,904,731, the proportion of these classes to the total Muslim population is 53.38 per cent.

Referring to similar statistics of the Hindus we get the following figures:—

Brahmans	...	4,659,738
Banyas	...	1,114,029
Kayasthas	...	471,541
Khatris	...	41,764
Aryas	...	85,831
Dhusars, Gurkhas, Bhunhars	...	144,701
Total	...	6,517,604

"Thus the proportion of Mussalmans of these classes to the corresponding higher classes of the Hindus is about 36 to 65, *i.e.*, about 36 per cent of the total.

"In the above calculation, the number of Hindu and Muslim Rajputs has not been included, as the majority of these are either agriculturists or belong to the soldier class. But even if we include them, the proportion of Musalmans still remains much higher than what it is generally taken to be in official calculations, as will be evident from the following figures:—

The total number of Hindu higher classes, including 3,428,831 Rajputs, amounts to 9,946,435, and the corresponding classes of Musalmans, including, 194,044 Muslim Rajputs amount to 3,831,317, the proportion of the latter to the former is still 28.7 per cent of the total.

"Now if we compare the number of higher classes of Hindus who need education to the total population, it comes to 16 per cent, or including Rajputs, about 24 per cent, while the corresponding classes of Musalmans who particularly require education as compared with their total population are about 33 per cent, or including Rajputs, about 55 per cent.

"But there is another aspect of the question which deserves earnest consideration. It will not be denied that for all practical purposes it is only the urban population which does and can take advantage of the secondary and collegiate education provided by the Government for the people of the country. In estimating the proportionate progress of Musalmans in the field of higher education, therefore, we should take, as the basis of our calculation, not the total but the urban population, and we shall find that the position of Mussalmans is far worse than what is shown in Government Educational Reports.

"The following table shows the Hindu and Muslim urban populations in the United Provinces:—

Hindu population in Towns and Municipalities of the United Provinces	2,959,661
Mussalman population in Towns and Municipalities of the United Provinces	1,860,756

From the above figures it is clear that in urban population the proportion of Mussalmans to the total population of the Hindus and Mussalmans is nearly 39 per cent, and it is only fair that in judging our position, at least in secondary and collegiate education, this percentage should be the basis of calculation, and not the 14 per cent, on which all official estimates have been hitherto based, and which has been the chief obstacle in the way of the progress of Muslim Education in these Provinces."

Percentage of Illiteracy of Muslims Compared with that of Hindus.

It is regrettable that the Mohammadans of the United Provinces, in spite of their belonging to a high class, are backward in education as compared with the Mussalmans of India as a whole. The number of

Mohamedan scholars to the Mohamedan population is 2.8, while literacy for the whole of Mohamedan India is 3.3.

We are of the opinion that in calculating the backwardness of the Muslim community in these provinces, the number of depressed classes ought to be excluded. We do not wish to be misunderstood. We desire their effective representation in the legislature. We are in complete sympathy with them in their desire to raise their social and economic level. But it will not be denied that though they are imposing in numbers, they cannot be regarded as on a par either with the caste Hindus or with Muslims. Indeed, from many points of view, they constitute a separate entity, and their figures of backwardness should not, consequently, be included in the figures for the literacy of the Hindus. This is done by the caste Hindus solely with a view to resisting our demand for a legitimate and natural share in the educational opportunities that ought to be afforded to every citizen.

Again, a mere consideration of percentage in the school-going population cannot supply the correct criterion for ascertaining the educational progress of a community. If the standard of literacy of that community is very low, the mere fact that a high proportion is attending schools in a particular year would not make it any the less backward, or render unnecessary those special measures which a backward community requires to stimulate its progress. If such special measures are withdrawn, the progress of the community would automatically stop. The more backward a community is in literacy, the more rapid progress it requires in order to reach the level of the other communities. Without a proportionately higher percentage in the school-going population, it will be impossible for it to come up to the general level, within a measurable distance of time.

In this connection it is not out of place to mention that the Musalmans in the United Provinces are even more backward than the average Musalmans throughout India. According to the Census Report, Vol. I, Part 1, p. 187, the number of literate Musalmans per 1,000 is 93 among males and 9 among females in the whole of India ; whereas in the United Provinces the number is only 73 among males, and 8 among females. These, however, are percentages for persons of 5 years of age and over. If all ages were included the percentage for males in the United Provinces comes to 65 per thousand.

Thus the average of literacy (*i.e.*, a mere ability to read and write) of the Musalmans in these Provinces is lower than that of the Indian Musalmans.

Literacy of Hindu Castes.

The figures for literacy of the various communities (including males and females) in these Provinces are as follows :—

Class.	Population.	Literate.	Percentage.
(1) Muhammadans	... 6,481,032	243,937	3.76
(2) Hindus			
(a) (*i.e.*, Agarwal, Brahman, Kayasth, Rajput, Ahar, Dusadh, Goshain, Jat, Saini, Sainithar, Sonar, Taga, Aryas.)			

	Population.	Literate.	Percentage.
U.P. Total ...	10,819,742	924,908	8·54
British Districts Total ...	10,597,917	919,366	8·67
(b) Untouchables:— (i.e., Agrahari, Bhangi, Bhar, Chamar, Hill depressed, Dhanuk, Dhobi, Dom, Haburas, Kalwar, Khatik, Koeri, Kol, Kori, Kumhar, Nat Pasi, Tamboli, Tharu, Thatera, and others.)			
U.P. Total ...	13,973,188	69,789	49
(c) Other depressed classes:— (i.e., Gond, Gadarya, Ahir, Baghban, Barahi, Bari, Bhurji, Bhat, Bhoksa, Dhunia, Goriya, Gujar, Kachhi, Kahar, Kewat, Lodha, Lohar, Luniya, Mali, Mallah, Murao, Nai, Teli, Barai, Darzi, Faqir, Kisan, Kurmi, Halwai.)			
U.P. Total ...	14,693,816	146,630	·99
State Total ...	666,477	16,628	2·49
Total of Untouchables and Depressed classes	28,000,537	199,791	·71
(d) Other minor Hindu castes ...	12,008	———	
(3) Jains	67,887	20,748	30·56
(4) Sikhs	14,234	2,947	20·70
(5) Buddhists ...	488	60	12·29
(6) Christian ...	200,718	47,511	23·67
(7) Parsi	925	692	74·81
(8) Jews	41	28	68·29
Grand Total ...	45,375,781	1,688,872	3·72

Literacy of Hindu and Muslim Boys of School-going Age.

Even if the depressed classes be not excluded from the Hindu population, the percentage of literacy among Muslim males is lower even than the percentage of Hindus, and of course still lower as compared with the Christians and other communities. This standard is very low indeed for the younger generation with which your Committee is mainly concerned. If no special steps are taken to stimulate Muslim education, the forecast is that the percentage will fall even further in the next decade. The following quotation from the Census Report, 1921, Vol. XVI, Part 1, paragraph 12, page 118 will make this point clear:—

" Of the two main religions the Hindus have progressed more than the Muhammadans. . . . As regards males only the Hindu proportion is now 67 and the Muhammadan 65 (per 1,000 males). In 1911 the figures were 58 and 59 respectively. As the Muhammadans have a superiority only in the age period 20 and over, it seems likely that they will in the next decade fall further behind."

In Part II, Table VIII, the Hindu proportion of literate males is 62, and not 67 ; and the Muhammadan proportion is 65. Even so, this does not invalidate our argument. The Hindu percentage is arrived at by including

a very large number of untouchable and depressed classes,* who belong to a comparatively primitive state of civilisation. For all practical purposes, these are wholly excluded by the caste Hindus from schools and colleges as well as offices and services. But their number is always included in calculating the percentage in order to lay the foundation for claiming their share of the benefits, while those benefits are actually monopolised by the caste Hindus to the exclusion of such untouchable and depressed classes. The next two tables show the percentages of some of the other communities taken as a whole, and also of the higher castes who alone flood the educational institutions and services.

The corresponding figures for some of the other communities taken from page 118 of Part I are as follows:—

Jains	... ...	510 literates per thousand males.
Aryas	... ...	313 ,, ,,
Christians	... ...	283 ,, ,,
Indian Christians	...	108 ,, ,,

The following table, prepared from the figures on page 126 of the same volume, gives at a glance a comparison of the literacy of the high classes of Hindus and Muslims.

LITERATES PER THOUSAND MALES.

Hindus.		Muslims.	
Agarwal	398	Syed	210
Kayesth	523	Mughal	145
Brahman ...	191		
Bhuinhar ...	166		
Sonar	140		
Kalwar	144		
Rajput	114		

Let us now deal with boys who are capable of acquiring primary education. We confine ourselves to "boys" capable of acquiring "primary education", and the extent to which such boys are literate, or are under instruction. For all practical purposes the male population of the age period 5 to 10 years will include all persons within the purview of a system of compulsory primary education. It is notorious that ages are mostly under-estimated and, therefore, the period 5 to 10 will in reality cover the period 6 to 11, during which all boys receive primary education. For purposes of literacy the figures for the period 0-10 (which alone are available) would be practically the same as for the period 5-10, as hardly any boy between 0-5 can be described as literate. The following principles must, therefore, underlie all calculations, as any other basis would produce misleading results:—

(a) Figures should be taken for the British districts only in preference to the whole of the United Provinces.

(b) Only the male population should be counted, and the females excluded.

* In the Census Report (1921) Vol. 1 page 225, the Depressed classes in U.P. are estimated at 9 millions plus a large proportion of an additional 7 millions.

(c) Out of the male population, only boys of the age period 5-10 should be included, as these only receive primary education.

(d) Mere literacy, as distinct from literacy in English, should be the test.

If these principles are borne in mind the comparative percentages can be easily deduced.

(1) In Vol. XVI, Part 1 of the Census Report (1921) at page 120 are given the following numbers per mille who are literate persons between the ages 5 to 10 and 10 to 15 :—

	5 to 10.	10 to 15.
All religions	14	62
Hindus (Brahmanic, including depressed classes)	13	60
Aryas	112	341
Brahmos	571	909
Muhammadans	12	54
Christians	132	251

(2) Vol. XVI, Part 11 of the Census Report gives the following figures:—

MALES FROM 5 TO 10 YEARS IN BRITISH TERRITORY.

Page 56	...	All Religions	3,351,780
,, 56-7	...	Hindus (including Aryas and Brahmans with depressed classes)	2,846,020
,, 60	...	Muslims	486,303

LITERATE MALES FROM 0-10 YEARS IN BRITISH TERRITORY.

Page 108, Col. 7	...	All Religions	46,231
,, 108 ,, 7	...	Hindus (including Arya and Brahma with depressed classes)	37,673
,, 108 ,, 7	...	Muslims	6,069

These sets of figures give the following three percentages of literacy correct to two decimals.

All Religions 1·38, Hindus 1·32, and Muslims 1·25.

It will thus appear that the Muslim population of the age period 5 to 10 years is not only more backward than the total population, but even more backward than the Hindus, including the untouchables and the depressed classes. If the untouchables and the depressed classes were excluded from the calculation, the position of the Muslim boys becomes much worse.

Literacy of Muslims in the Urban Areas.

It is well known that the Muslim population is concentrated in urban areas. Its percentage of literacy in the Municipalities is perhaps a better test of the true state of its education.

(1) In Vol. XVI, Part 1, Ch. VIII, page 115 of the Census Report, the following table is given to show the literacy of the two great communities:

LITERATE PER 1,000 IN CITIES.

	Hindus.		Muhammadans.	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
1911	194	31	130	18
1921	221	47	154	24

(2) Vol. XVI, Part 11, pages, 128, 130 and 132 gives the following figures for 24 cities:

(1) All ages—males	Population	Literate
All Religions	1,216,940	258,949
Hindus	726,811	160,502
Muhammadans	433,347	68,180

The percentages for the three sets of figures come to :—

All Religions 21, Hindus 22, and Muhammadans 15.

(2) Ages 5 to 10		Population	Literate
Pages 94 and 128	All Religions	132,126	8,723
„ 98 and 130	Hindus	74,825	5,407
„ 102 and 132	Muslims	53,195	1,953

The percentages come to:—

All Religions 6·60, Hindus 7·23, Muslims 3·67

It is obvious that in Municipal areas, where the Muslims are mostly concentrated, their percentage is about half that of the Hindus (including the untouchables and the depressed classes), and a little more than half of the average percentage.

(3) In the city of Allahabad the figures are:—

(*a*) All Religions—all ages—males	89,663	literate	25,740
Hindus	„	60,349	„	16,676
Muslims	„	24,635	„	5,441

The percentages are:—

All Religions 28·7 per cent; Hindus 27·6 per cent; Muslims 22·0 per cent.

(*b*) Ages 0-10	Males	Literate	Percentages
P. 128—All religions	17,368	1,065	6·1
P. 130—Hindus	11,602	687	5·9
P. 132—Muslims	5,003	160	3·1

Proportion of Muslim Scholars to Scholars of other Communities.

As previously stated, a mere percentage of the scholars belonging to a community in any particular year, without regard to its general illiteracy, is no true test of the actual advance made by that community. But even if one looks to mere numbers of scholars, the position of Muslim boys is by no means strong.

(1) The Quinquennial Report on the Progress of Education in India (1917-1922) para. 404, page 200, shows that in British India the Musalmans form approximately a quarter of the total population (24·1 per cent), but the percentage of Muslim scholars to the total scholars is only 23·5 per cent. Paragraph 405 on the same page states that " the community has still much lee-way to make up, before it reaches the educational level of the

Hindus." The reasons for the backwardness of the Musalmans are stated to be:—

(1) Religious education is far more important to Muslim parents than secular. Indeed, by some secular education is regarded rather as a hindrance.

(2) Muslim boys first undergo religious education.

(3) The chief reason is their general poverty.

With regard to the number of scholars in the primary stage, paragraph 407 shows the proportions 82.5 for all religions and 81.8 for Muslims.

(2) According to the Report of the Director of Public Instruction, United Provinces (1920-21), page 27, the total number of Hindus under instruction increased in that year by 4 per cent, while that of Muslims only by $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

According to the United Provinces Report for 1921-22, page 129, the percentage of increase is larger, but the percentage of Muslims to pupils of all creeds is 15·7.

According to the U.P. Report for 1922-23, the Hindus under instruction increased by 5·3 per cent, while the Muslims by 3·4 per cent.

In the year 1923-24, the increase of Muslim boys is shown as 9·3 per cent against 6·2 per cent of the Hindus. But this percentage is misleading, because the percentage looks large as the figures for 1923-24 are compared with those for 1922-23, ignoring the fact that there had been a steady decline in the rate of progress during 1920-21, 1921-22 and 1922-23. The percentage of increase for the last four years taken as a whole (1920-24) is lower for Muslims than for Hindus.

The temporary increase is entirely due to the increase in the number of maktabs and Islamia schools, and would altogether disappear if there were to be no further increase in the number of such institutions.

The following table, based on the reports of the Director of Public Instruction for various years, gives the annual percentage of Muslim boys undergoing primary education :

REPORT (1920-21) PAGE 19(A).

Number of Muslim males in Upper and Lower Primary stages:—
17,831 + 112,498 = 130,329.

Total number of all Religions :—
116,600 + 671,759 = 788,359.
This gives a Muslim percentage of only 14·3.

REPORT (1921-22), PAGE 21(A).

Number of Muslim boys in Upper and Lower Primary classes:—
17,073 + 106,460 = 123,533.
Total number of all Religions : 112,972 + 656,539 = 769,511.
This gives a percentage of 16.0.

REPORT (1922-23), PAGE 20(A), COLS. 5 and 10.

Number of Muslim boys in Primary classes (A to IV) = 133,381.
Total number of all Religions = 846,802.
This gives a percentage of 15.7.

REPORT (1923-24) PAGE 20(A).

Number of Muslim boys in Primary classes (A to IV) = 146,440.

Total number of all Religions = 901,755.

This gives a percentage of 16·2.

With regard to the last three years, which show slightly larger percentages, the following points deserve consideration:—

(1) A large percentage of the population is reading in urban areas, where Muslims are concentrated, and where in some Municipalities compulsion has been introduced.

(2) In such urban areas the Muslim boys, as shown previously, are much more backward (3·67 as against 7·23 of the Hindus), and unless a much larger per cent of them are educated, the difference cannot be made up within a reasonable time.

(3) Whatever progress has been made is due to the growth of Islamia schools and maktabs, which need further encouragement.

We have deemed it necessary to discuss the question of backwardness at some length, as otherwise our position is liable to be misunderstood.

Let us briefly recapitulate our conclusions.

1. It is perfectly clear that Muslims of these provinces, who had hitherto been noted for culture, enlightenment, and energy, have declined greatly since the advent of reforms.

2. It is no less clear that the Government of India in the resolution of 1913, quoted above, impressed upon all local governments the need for the encouragement of education among the Muslims.

3. All the local governments admitted the fact of backwardness, and appointed committees to formulate proposals for removing them.

4. The U. P. Government admitted their duty to our community, and made a solemn promise in 1914 to adopt suitable measures for the development of primary education.

How far were the proposals of the Governments carried out?

Immediately after the publication of the U. P. Government Resolution cited above, the Great War broke out, and shortly after, the reform scheme was inaugurated in these provinces, and the District Board Act of 1922 was passed. As we have said in our Report on Local Self-Government, the greatest defect lay precisely in this, that it invested the Hindu majority in rural areas with enormous powers, and imposed no check on their vagaries, or their propensity to remove all elements that did not harmonise with their policy. Primary education was one of the strongest and most powerful levers for this purpose, and the majority used it deliberately, systematically, and effectively.

The resolution of the government had aimed at the establishment of special or Muslim schools and the improvement and encouragement of maktabs. The pivot of the whole scheme was the Muslim Inspector, whose duty was on the one hand to advise the Government in the interest of the scheme, and on the other to originate Muslim effort for the establishment of Islamia schools and for qualifying private schools for grants-in-aid.

The figures supplied by the department of Public Instruction show that in the year ending 1926-27, 100,260 Muslim boys attended the ordinary mixed schools, while 92,629 attended Islamia schools and maktabs. The popularity of the latter is evident from these figures.

How have the District Boards treated Muslim Schools?

In the year ending 31st March, 1926, the District Boards spent Rs. 11,74,546 on Education, and the Government contributed Rs. 69,47,947. In other words, the District Boards spent 51.14 per cent of their total income on Education. Out of the amount so provided by the Government, a minimum expenditure of Rs. 3,48,020 was prescribed for Islamia schools and maktabs. In the Government resolution above referred to, it was distinctly laid down that a special Islamia school will be provided at Government expense wherever twenty Muslim boys could be congregated. No limit was fixed as to the number of schools to be opened or the expenses to be incurred. In violent and flagrant violation of the most solemn pledges which any Government could give, and which were binding no less on the Government than on the District Boards, when the latter acquired virtual control over primary education after the Act of 1922, the District Boards made it a rule not to spend a pie more than the minimum prescribed by the Government. Nay, more, there have actually been savings in the amount allotted for these schools. According to the information supplied by the Government to Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan in reply to his question in the Legislative Council, the savings effected in the budget allotments in the years 1923-24, 1924-25, and 1925-26 were respectively, Rs. 42,364; 20,938; and 16,598.

Hence the District Boards have not only converted the minimum prescribed by the Government into a maximum; they have actually effected savings in the meagre, miserable, and miserly doles which the government gave them from time to time. This might have been excused on the ground that there is little or no demand for this type of education. The facts show conclusively that Muslim parents are desirous of sending their children to maktabs and Islamia schools, because instruction is given to them in Urdu by Muslim teachers. In the case of maktabs, they also learn the rudiments of their religion. This is the chief reason why preference is given to such schools. It is our conviction that their progress has been seriously retarded by the refusal by the Board of applications for the establishment of new schools. Such refusals are so common, so persistent, and so frequent that we are compelled to draw your attention to this flagrant violation of a promise solemnly given. As will be clear from one of the appendices to this Report, though the Board spend more than a crore of rupees on Education, the amount spent on Muslim education is only 3 per cent or less than half an anna in the rupee. Even this scandalous proportion would have disappeared, if the government had not prescribed a minimum expenditure on Islamia schools and maktabs. We must be thankful for small mercies. While Muslims contribute nearly 25 per cent of the land-revenue in the province, the amount spent on Muslim education bears the proportion of 100 to 1½, or about a pice in the rupee.

In spite of the repeated requests of influential Muslims, comparatively little has been spent by the Boards on the building of Islamia schools and maktabs.

Again while Maktabs are unjustly treated and Hindus dominate the ordinary mixed schools, the District Boards, sometimes at the instigation of Hindu Mahasabha, are busy adding to the number of Hindu Pathshalas. They have utilised section 79 of the District Board Educational Rules for this purpose, and in 1926-27, the total number of such institutions was 665. The injustice of this method will be clear from the fact that nearly 88 per cent. of the boys in ordinary board schools, and the same proportion of teachers, are Hindus.

Lack of Muslim Teachers.

The Quinquennial Report of the Director of Public Instruction, published this year, contains following frank admission: " From figures reported by the Inspector of Muhammadan schools it appears that of a total of 28,857 teachers employed in boards' primary and preparatory school, including Islamia schools, 4,013 are Muhammadans. The percentage of the Muhammadan element in the staff is 13.9. *This shows a regrettable decrease from the percentage 16.5 reported in 1921-22.* It is therefore most desirable that the number of Muhammadan teachers in ordinary board schools should be increased, especially in view of the fact that the flow of Muhammadan boys is turning more to the ordinary board school, than to the special schools for that community." This statement by the Director of Public Instruction makes it perfectly clear that the boards have pursued the policy to which your attention has been drawn, systematically and deliberately. It shows, moreover, the need for effective safeguards for Muslim education. For the Director can only bring moral influence to bear on the boards ; he has no statutory power to compel them to appoint so many Muslims each year. In our opinion, a substantial representation of Muslim teachers is absolutely essential to the progress of education in our community. The proportion of Muslim teachers is remarkably low in most districts. Muzaffarnagar has a large Muslim rural population, yet it employs only 16 Muslim teachers, out of 164 ; Aligarh 33 out of 515 ; Muttra 9 out of 164 ; Agra 22 out of 573, Mainpuri 11 out of 425 ; Etah 22 out of 423 ; Farrukhabad 31 out of 575 ; Etawah 7 out of 506 ; Cawnpore 17 out of 790 ; Fatehpur 41 out of 444 ; Benares 36 out of 1,176 ; and Ballia 6 out of 759 ; Gorakhpur 21 out of 1,495, and Azamgarh 57 out of 908. In the Kumaun and Jhansi divisions the percentage is tragically low. We give in the appendix to this Report figures relating to the number of Muslims who were successful in getting admission to Training classes in 1927. Only 71 Muslims were successful in seeking admission to District Board Normal Schools. They show the injustice to which our community is subjected by local bodies. Figures are also given for the number of trained and untrained teachers in Islamia schools, in the Appendix to this Report.

Scholarships for Muslims.

We strongly advocate the reservation of 33 per cent of all seats in training classes, normal schools and other institutions for the training of teachers for our community. Unless this is done, the small percentage of Muslim teachers in these schools will disappear.

We would next draw your attention to the resolution of the United Provinces Government, No. 1611-XV, dated August 25, 1914. It explains the policy adopted by the Government towards Muslim demands.

Resolution No. IX, paragraph 1, laid down that in the Rules, " provision will be made for the reservation, wherever the attendance and standard of work deserve, of a certain number of scholarships for Special Muhammadan Schools "; and para. 2 directed that with regard to the exemptions to poor children, " an equitable ratio of exemptions should be reserved for impecunious Muhammadans in ordinary schools. In the new Primary Islamia schools the boards may raise the limit of exemptions (from 25 per cent) to one-half of the average attendance." There is a provision for Scholarships in Rule 64.

These important resolutions have not in practice been given effect to. We are of the opinion that in the absence of the reservation of a definite proportion of scholarships and exemptions from fees for poor Muslim boys, their educational progress is being unduly hampered. According to the information supplied by the Government the number of Muslim candidates who received scholarships in 1927, in the (a) University stage, and (b) Secondary stage was 13, and 337 respectively, while that of Hindus was 80 and 1,720 respectively. The difference comes out chiefly in the amount received by Muslim candidates. In the University and Secondary stage, Muslims received Rs. 1,972, and 19,153; while the Hindus received Rs. 19,299, and 1,17,855 respectively. The gross injustice which these figures reveal shows how consistently Muslim claims are ignored.

How far have Government Resolutions of 1914 been carried out ?

Again, in the Government Resolution No. IV, para. 3 (i), it was laid down that " if a definite demand for it is apparent, the Government will establish a special normal school for the secular training of teachers for maktabs."

Although there is a constant and pressing demand for an increased supply of teachers for maktabs, and the need for a special Normal School for the training of Muslim teachers has long been apparent, the Government has not yet seen its way to establish such a school. We strongly urge the establishment of a special normal school. The statistics supplied in the Appendix to this Report support our contention.

Government Resolution No. I, paragraph 4, provided that " In schools where there is only one teacher, he should be familiar with both Hindi and Urdu, where there are more than one teacher, one of them should be thoroughly capable of teaching Hindi, and one of teaching Urdu."

And Resolution III, paragraph 7, stated :

" It would be the care of district boards to see that these are provided, and of the Department of Education to ensure that every future teacher is thoroughly instructed, in both characters and in the intelligent use of both the supplementary readers."

Our Report on Local-Self-Government shows conclusively how harshly and unjustly our children are treated. These bodies appoint mostly Hindi-knowing teachers, who do not know, and really do not like to teach, Urdu. Muslim parents object strongly to this. This process of Hinduisation has been in full swing for the last six years, yet the Department has done nothing, and the Government resolution remains a dead letter.

In Resolution VI, Sir James Meston's Government fully appreciated the need for the encouragement of maktabs. Such institutions combine a certain amount of secular with religious instruction. " By tradition and ancient usage they have a special claim to veneration in all Islamic countries, and considerable number of Muhammadans still regard them as the only true gateway to general education." As Mr. Karamat Husain's Committee explains, they are wanted for the sake of religious and moral instruction which they give, as well as for the provision of primary education to those who do not go to board schools, either through want of accommodation, or from the absence of religious teaching. Again, as already referred to, there is often a complete lack of sympathy between the Hindu teacher and his Muslim pupils; while the paucity of Muslim teachers, and the absence of facilities for reading Urdu, deter many parents from sending their boys to mixed schools.

Muslim Education Committees.

The Government established a Provincial Maktab Committee, District Committees, and a Provincial Maktab Text-book Committee. This measure was acclaimed by the Muslim educationists as a salutary provision calculated to encourage the growth of primary education.

It is a matter of extreme regret that the Maktab Committees (now called District Board Muhammadan Educational Committees) have not shown any marked activity, and their meetings as well as their attendance at these meetings have been most unsatisfactory. We would like to draw the attention of your Committee to the Presidential Address of Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, M.A., Litt.D., M.L.C., delivered at Provincial Muslim Educational Conference at Allahabad, in February, 1925, which supplies statistics on this point, and advances reasons for their failure. This is due partly to the general backwardness of Muslims in education, but chiefly to the absence of any power which would arouse interest and provide an incentive to the members of the Committees. They are purely advisory bodies, and their advice is more often ignored than followed.

We are firmly of the opinion that the Muhammadan Educational Committees should be invested with substantial powers. At present they have no real voice and no authority. Their recommendations are generally ignored by the District Boards. Their status should be made equal to that of Educational Committees. Appointments, dismissals, suspensions, transfers and promotions of teachers in Islamia Schools should be made on the recommendations of such committees, and they should be consulted in the preparation of the budget, and the disbursement of the allotments ot grants.

Some Significant Figures relating to Maktab Committees. Average Attendance at Meetings of such Committees. Need for more Inspectors.

Statement showing the number of meetings of Muhammadan Educational Committees (Maktab Committee) in the United Provinces during 1923-24, and the average attendance at those Committees, supplied by the

Government in answer to a Council question by Dr. *Shafaat Ahmad Khan*, in 1925 :

District.	Number of meetings held.	Average attendance at these meetings.	Remarks.
Dehra Dun	5	3·6	
Saharanpur	9	3	
Muzaffarnagar	4	3	
Meerut	Nil	Nil	No committee existed in 1923-24.
Bulandshahr	7	3	
Aligarh	10	6	
Muttra	3	3·6	
Agra	8	46·8 p. c.	
Mainpuri	5	5	
Etah	2	3	A third meeting was postponed for want of a quorum.
Bareilly	Nil	Nil	The committee ceased to exist in 1923-24. One is being formed now.
Bijnor	6	8	
Budaun	8	4·4	
Moradabad	6	3	
Shahjahanpur	10	35 p. c.	
Pilibhit	2	3	
Farrukhabad	3	5	
Etawah	2	3	
Cawnpore	Information is awaited.	...	
Fatehpur	10	3·7	
Allahabad	3	3	
Banda	7	4	One meeting postponed for want of a quorum.
Hamirpur	3	36·6	
Jhansi	4	4	
Jalaun	6	5	
Benares	Information is awaited.	...	
Mirzapur	3	3	
Jaunpur	7	50·6	
Ghazipur	6	6	
Ballia	4	6	
Gorakhpore	8	4	
Basti	6	3·5	
Azamgarh	2	58 p. c.	
Naini Tal	Nil	Nil	A committee duly exists, but no meetings were held.
Almora	4	3	Muhammadan population is small, hence no meetings were held.
Garhwal	Nil	Nil	
Lucknow	1	44·4 p. c.	
Unao	4	4	
Rae Bareli	8	35·5 p. c.	
Sitapur	4	5	
Hardoi	7	72 p. c.	
Kheri	2	4	
Fyzabad	6	4	
Gonda	1	2	
Bahraich	6	1·3	
Sultanpur	8	6	
Partabgarh	10	5	Three were adjourned for want of a quorum.
Bara Banki	4	25	

We strongly urge the necessity of establishing Muhammadan Educational Committees in Municipal areas on the same lines as those in the rural. We think that the power of such educational committees should be as wide, if not wider than, those of the District Board Educational Committees as proposed in this Report.

Government Resolution No. IV, paragraph 4, declared that facilities will be given for a proper infusion of Muhammadans among the teachers. We have already shown above the way in which the District Boards have interpreted this policy.

Resolution No. VIII, para. 3, clearly laid down that exceptional measures for the extension of Muhammadan education will require, over and above the strengthening of the ordinary inspecting staff, and the gradual infusion into it of a stronger Muhammadan element, corresponding additions to the machinery of inspection.

With this end in view, provision was made for the appointment of Muslim officers in the department. We are compelled to state that these recommendations of the Government have been either completely ignored, or given effect to in such a manner as to render them useless.

Need for the Retention of Islamia Schools and Maktabs.

The Muslims of these provinces are strongly of the opinion that the present Maktabs and Islamia schools should be maintained. It is no doubt true that a certain number of these institutions are comparatively inefficient, but it is also clear that this inferiority is due, not to the system as such, but to the method and manner in which the system has been worked. The attitude of the District Boards towards these institutions has been consistently hostile and unsympathetic. They have done nothing to improve them ; they have kept them in a state, and maintained them in a position, which were hardly calculated to develop those qualities, and encourage those traditions, which were the object, nay the ideal of the Muslims no less than those of the government at their inception. On the contrary when, after neglecting them, ignoring them, and then opposing them, and trying to abolish them altogether, they have succeeded in lowering their status, stifling their growth, and crippling them financially, the defenders of this policy turn round and say, " These schools are inefficient; they foster communalism, develop sectionalism, and should be abolished."

We want to make it perfectly clear that the Muslims will oppose determinedly any movement that has for its object the destruction of these schools. They will regard it as a grave violation of a most solemn pledge embodied in a resolution of the government. It is our bitter experience that applications for the establishment of Islamia schools are rejected by the boards ; the Muhammadan Education Committees are powerless and impotent; Muslim teachers are being gradually replaced by Hindu teachers who are imbued with a notion of Hindu superiority, and in whom sympathy with Muslim boys is lacking. Muslim boys of tender age naturally prefer Muslim teachers, while Muslim parents fight shy of sending their sons to schools in which their culture is sometimes despised, and at all times ignored. Nor is this all. Little provision is made for the equipment and building of these schools, and no attempt is made to improve them. All the resolutions

of the government, and most of the promises made to them solemnly, have been shelved, and Hindus openly talk of closing these schools altogether. We recommend that one-third of the total amount spent by each board on vernacular education should be earmarked for the education of Muslims. The minimum prescribed by the government should be increased to 4 lakhs, and an amount *equivalent* to this minimum should be set apart by each District Board for expenditure on these schools. We also recommend that the government and the Boards should grant every three years, in equal proportions, rupees eight lakhs for the building and equipment of Islamia schools and maktabs. This is one of the fundamental safeguards for minorities in countries mentioned above. Our other recommendations concerning Islamia schools are given below.

Mixed Schools.

We wish to make it clear that we are not opposed to ordinary schools, provided three conditions are fulfilled. In the first place, (1) Muslim children should be given religious instruction during school hours. The education of a Muslim child is incomplete, unless the rudiments of his religion are imparted; (2) in the next place, Urdu is taught to our boys; (3) in the third place, there is a substantial element of Muslim teachers in every school which contains at least 5 Muslim boys.

We may also draw your attention to the fact that the Provincial Muhammadan Education Committee, which had been established by the Government for fostering, encouraging, and developing education among the Muslims has become practically useless, and is not carrying out the object for which it was originally designed. We give below extracts from two of the minutes of the meetings of the committee. Comment on the state of affairs described in these extracts is superfluous. We have made a few verbal changes in the resolutions of the Committee.

Proceedings of the Meeting of the Provincial Mohammadan Educational Committee held at Allahabad, on the 3rd March, 1927.

1. Read the Director of Public Instruction's letter No. V.E. 2571/XXXVII, dated March 1, 1927, informing the Committee that the orders on the proceedings of the meeting of the Provincial Muhammadan Educational Committee, held at Aligarh on December 27, and 29, 1925, will be issued after the Government have considered the report of the Wetherill Committee.

2. In the opinion of this Committee it is proper that the findings of the Wetherill Committee should be considered by this committee, and its opinion be forwarded to the Government before they issue any resolution on that report. For this reason it is resolved that a meeting of this committee be again held in the third week of April, 1927.

3. In the opinion of this committee the appointment of the Supervisor for the Islamia schools and Maktabs in three districts has proved satisfactory, and the committee therefore very strongly urges the Government to appoint a similar supervisor in every district.

4. (*a*) *In spite of the Government sanction for holding Provincial Muslim Educational Committee thrice a year, and repeated suggestions of the members, the meeting is held once a year, and no meeting was held last year.*

(*b*) Contrary to the previous procedure, the Annual Reports of the Inspector of Muhammdan Schools, United Provinces, for the last few years have not been sent to the members, *which cannot keep in touch with* the progress of the Islamia schools and Maktabs and other necessary informations, and it is unable to form any opinion in this connection. After a long period an extract of the Annual Report for 1925-26 has been sent to the members, which does not contain full details.

(*c*) Contrary to the previous procedure, the copy of the proceedings of the Committee is not sent to the members.

(*d*) Contrary to the previous procedure, the copy of the Government order on the resolutions passed by the committee is not communicated to the members.

(*e*) Contrary to the previous procedure, the extract of the proceedings of the committee sanctioned by the Government is not published in Islamic papers, hence the Committee thinks it very essential that the above-mentioned defects should be removed at once, otherwise the committee will be useless.

4. In Gorakhpur, Fatehpur, Jhansi and other districts some Maktabs were run by the aid of District Boards. Now the District Boards decline to continue their assistance to the schools lying within the areas of Municipal Boards, and the latter refuse any help. The result is that either the schools have closed or are being closed. This committee therefore strongly requests the Government to ask the Municipal Boards to allot the same amount of money as was allotted by the District Boards, in order to enable these schools to continue.

5. Although the Islamia schools have been in existence for a long time, yet they are in great difficulties for want of suitable buildings. No money is given to them for this purpose by the District Boards. Therefore this committee requests the Government to kindly sanction a special non-recurring grant-in-aid for the buildings of such schools.

6. The Islamia Schools and Maktabs suffer in tuition and discipline for lack of adequate inspection, and in order to improve the administration of Islamia schools and Maktabs, the committee recommends to the Government to entrust inspection of these institutions to a Muslim Sub-Deputy Inspector in each district.

7. That the work for which the committee was constituted is enough for at least three meetings in a year. Three sittings were also proposed in 1916. The committee therefore again requests the Government to allow three meetings of the committee, and allot funds for the same.

8. The following question was put by Nawab Mehdi Hasan Sahab to the President :—

At the meeting of the Provincial Muhammadan Educational Committee held on 22nd and 23rd February, 1925, it was resolved [see Resolution 1 (ii)] that a report be called for at an early date from each District Board Muhammadan Educational Committee stating the particulars of the difficulties they feel in their work, and these reports were to be put up for consideration at the next meeting of the committee.

Will the president kindly let us know if the reports mentioned in the resolutions are called for or not, and if such reports are received why were they not put up before the committee ?

Reply.—" No action was taken by my predecessor."

9. The question of Ramzan holidays in Islamia schools was considered, and it was decided by the majority of members that they should not be observed, and instead the schools should be closed in seasons like other schools of the boards, but during Ramzan there should be morning schools.

The meeting then came to an end.

Copy of the Proceeding of the Provincial Muhammadan Educational Committee held on October 24, 1927.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

RESOLUTIONS :—

1. The orders on the proceedings of this Committee held in December, 1925, were withheld on the ground that the whole question was still under the consideration of the Wetherill Committee, but this committee has not yet received the report of the Wetherill Committee. This committee therefore regrets the delay and urges upon the Government to send copies of this report to the members of the committee before passing any orders on it.

2. Whereas the Islamia schools and Maktabs do not receive sufficient aid, and in spite of repeated efforts in the past both the Municipal and District Boards do not allot any money to open new Maktabs in some districts, therefore the committee requests the Government to increase the allotment for Islamia Schools and Maktabs in the three years' contract.

3. Most of the Municipal Boards and Notified Area Committees do not allot amount for Islamia schools and Maktabs, and some of them give only nominal help, therefore it is very difficult to open Islamia schools and Maktabs in Municipal and Notified Areas. This committee requests the Government to kindly direct all the Municipal Boards and Notified Area Committees in these provinces to make a separate allotment in their budget for this purpose.

Need of Religious Education, Urdu, and Muslim Teachers for Muslim Children.

As regards religious education, the policy of this community was expounded in the debates in the United Provinces District Board Primary Education Bill, which was discussed by the U.P. Legislative Council in February, 1926. The Muslim members desired that religious education should be imparted to children whose parents desired it, provided the number of such children in any school was not less than 5. We would like to point out here a factor which is often ignored by our critics. We did not desire, and have never wished, that children of other communities should be deprived of religious education. We made it perfectly clear that the concession which we wanted for our community we are prepared to extend to others also. That the Hindu community is also desirous of the inclusion

of religious instruction in the school curriculum will be clear from the memoranda submitted by Hindu organisations to the Committee appointed by the Government in 1925, under the chairmanship of Mr. H. B. Wetherill, I.E.S. The report was published in the beginning of this year. Yet this reasonable demand of Muslims for the maintenance and conservation of their religion, a demand which finds its justification in the practice even of European countries, some of whose constitutions we have cited above, was opposed by the majority community. So unsympathetic was the attitude of Hindu members of the Council in this matter, that Muslim members of all parties walked out of the Council Chamber in protest, and the Bill passed its third reading in their absence. We would particularly like to refer you to the debates in the U. P. Legislative Council, on February 24 and 25, 1926, and to our Note on Religious Education, included in the Appendix to this Report.

As regards the second point, we feel that Urdu enshrines our literature ; in it are preserved our historical, political and religious traditions ; to it we owe the preservation of our political existence, and cultural life. A Muslim boy is not an isolated unit, but a link in the mighty chain that stretches from one part of India to another. If he learns Hindi, he is completely cut off from that rich stream of Muslim culture and tradition which is, and must always remain, the distinctive contribution of Islam to India. Consequently if a Muslim parent hears that Hindi is being forced down the throats of his little ones, he will rather forego all the advantages which education offers, than expose his son to a process which may de-Islamise him. This feeling is so keen, intense, and vivid, and is so well-known to everyone who has the least acquaintance with the educational movements and educational progress of this country that we do not think it necessary to emphasise it here.

The third condition to which we attach equal importance is the proper infusion of Muslim element in the teaching staff of primary schools. Our object in stating this is not to bring general charges against all Hindu teachers. We should be the last to state that all Hindu teachers are unsympathetic. But we feel that we should be false to the trust reposed in us by our community if we do not state our deliberate conviction, founded on prolonged experience and a multiplicity of data too long to quote, that Hindu teachers are generally unsympathetic to Muslim students in primary schools. We regret to have to state this. We would have wished to have avoided all references to a subject which is as painful to us as it must be to others. But we shall stultify ourselves if we suppress material particulars, and gloss over a phenomenon which materially affects the educational progress of our community. We are obliged to state that in schools staffed by Hindu teachers, Muslim children are badly treated ; their religion is despised ; and they are exposed to insults and indignities which a high-spirited community cannot possibly endure. Many Hindu teachers are now imbued with a missionary spirit, and they use all devices to spread Hindu culture, and inculcate Hindu ideals in the minds of tender children. We will refer you to our report on Local Self-Government for details of the process of Hinduisation which is going on in nearly every District Board nowadays. We may add that we would have ignored this, if the object of their propaganda had been boys of 18 or 19 years, who are able to take good care

of themselves. But the tragedy of the situation is that the pupils are tiny tots, sometimes of six or even 5 years of age, to whom religious education has not been taught, and in whom the cultural and religious traditions of our community have yet to be inculcated. The consequence is that Muslim children of tender age, when they are subjected to this novel form of teaching, refuse to attend schools taught by Hindu teachers; their parents are reluctant to send them to such institutions, and Muslim education suffers, through the neglect, apathy, and, generally, obstinacy and opposition of District Boards. In the rural areas, at all points in which the people are vitally concerned—such as education, sanitation, etc.—the local authorities hold sway, and do practically what they like. If the Commissioner disallows any resolution, his decision may be, and is, upset by the Hindu ministers. We, therefore, demand religious education, instruction in Urdu, and thirty-three per cent representation of Muslim teachers in primary schools. We regret to state that all these three conditions are completely ignored by nearly everybody, and even the Government is helpless, as it is a transferred subject.

Compulsory Primary Education.

The attitude of the Muslim community on this question has been clear, unambiguous and definite. We have unhesitatingly advocated the extension of mass education. We believe that without mass education political reform, and constitutional progress are impossible. We refer here to the resolution on compulsory primary education moved in April, 1924, and another moved in 1925, by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, M.L.C., in the U.P. Legislative Council, in which he urged the Government to organise a system of compulsory primary education throughout the province. As is admitted by the Director of Public Instruction, U.P., in his Quinquennial report, ending March 31, 1927, these two resolutions were " the precursors of the United Provinces District Board Primary Education Act of 1926." We may refer you to the debates that took place on both these resolutions. The proceedings of the Council make it perfectly clear that Muslim members were not, and are not behind any other community in the movement for the expansion of primary education among the masses.

We are convinced that compulsory primary education is absolutely essential to the development of our economic life ; we are no less convinced that without mass education, no progress is possible in the political, social or economic domain. We are of the opinion that sustained and vigorous efforts ought to be made for this purpose ; we strongly recommend that the Compulsory Primary Education Act of 1919 should be amended, in order that the Government might be empowered to call upon a municipal board which persistently refuses to introduce compulsory education within its area, to do so. In the matter of compulsion, the Cawnpore Municipal Board led the way by introducing compulsory education in two of its wards. The example of Cawnpore was followed by 11 municipalities in 1923, 5 in 1924, 6 in 1925, and 2 in 1926. Other municipalities are expected to introduce compulsion. We feel that the progress in urban and rural areas has been unusually slow. The time has now arrived when compulsion should be enforced in most of the municipal boards without further delay. We recommend that

for this purpose, it is essential that liberal and substantial grants-in-aid should be given by the government. We are of the opinion that the system of grant-in-aid which was brought into force in or about 1922 is unsound. This was pointed out by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, M.L.C., in the Council, in moving his resolution in April, 1924. It was confirmed later on by Mr. K. P. Kichlu in his Report on Primary Education. Dr. Khan drew the attention of the Council to the system devised in the Punjab, where boards are graded according to the percentage of grant they are entitled to from the government. We strongly recommend the adoption of this system in the United Provinces. We think that if the boards are carefully graded, it will encourage them to carry out their expansion programmes in a shorter time. The grants-in-aid might vary from 5 to 75 per cent of the total expenditure. The percentage will depend upon various factors, viz., poverty, backwardness, and population of the area, etc. According to the information supplied by the Government, the number of Muslim students and Muslim teachers in schools maintained by the municipalities in these provinces was 24,098 and of Muslim teachers 749. A serious effort to be made to treble these numbers in 2 or 3 years. We think that this is possible and practicable.

Need for Vigorous Propaganda in Rural Areas.

We are of the opinion that sustained efforts ought to be made in our countryside for the removal of illiteracy. Something has already been done; but we feel that greater efforts are necessary and more expenditure essential. We are in complete sympathy with this movement. We would, however, like to point out that the percentage of Muslim population to total male population in the urban areas is substantial; while in rural areas it is only about 9. It is therefore essential that in all schemes of compulsory primary education, either for the urban or the rural areas, the claims of the Muslim population should not be disregarded. Careful regard should be paid to the principle that in all schemes for compulsion, both communities should benefit. There is a great danger that the district boards will select only those areas which contain a predominant Hindu population, and apply the scheme of compulsory education there. Careful and elaborate rules should be laid down to which the boards should be compelled to conform. That the danger is real will be clear from the fact that in some of the district boards which have decided to introduce compulsory education in a few areas, the number of Muslim boys who will attend the schools under the compulsory scheme will be very small indeed. For instance, in Muttra, a scheme has been sanctioned for one area. The number of Hindu boys who will attend the schools under the compulsory scheme will be 175, and of Muslim boys only 8. In Gonda, for which a scheme has been sanctioned in four areas, 1,045 Hindu and only 269 Muslim boys will attend the schools; in Bara Banki, the area chosen seems to have been a predominant Hindu area. It is contemplated that 3,468 Hindu boys will attend schools under the proposed scheme, while only 253 Muslim boys will do so. Again, a predominant Hindu area has been chosen at Cawnpore, where under the scheme, 2,678 Hindu boys will attend schools, while only 258 Muslim boys will do so. For these reasons, we are strongly of the opinion that the areas chosen should be such as contain a fairly good proportion of Muslim

population, and, therefore, of Muslim boys of school age. As the matter is completely under the jurisdiction of the district boards, and as they contain an overwhelming number of Hindus, it is the duty of the Government to frame rules in such a way as to compel the district boards to apply compulsion only in those areas which contain a good proportion of Muslims.

Again, in Section 17, sub-section 2(h), the government is empowered to lay down the conditions of, and qualifications for, the appointment of teachers with due regard to the educational needs of different communities in every community. We are informed that this section has remained a dead letter. We are strongly of the opinion that it is absolutely essential that thirty-three per cent of appointments in all grades of schools maintained or aided by the local bodies should be reserved for our community. We may also draw your attention to the small number of headmasters and assistant masters in district board middle vernacular schools. The figures we quote in the Appendix to this report confirm our views.

Need for Changes in the Curricula of Primary Schools.

Other improvements suggested.—We are strongly of the opinion that the curricula both of the urban and of the rural schools need overhauling. We think that such schools are completely out of touch with the needs of our country. We would most strongly impress upon you the absolute necessity of overhauling the curricula of our rural schools. In our opinion earnest efforts should be made to link up the school with our environment. By this we do not mean that nothing but practical agriculture or practical hoeing and weeding should be taught. What we wish to point out is that the education of a country-child should mirror his environment, and should enable him to adapt himself to it, and, if possible, to improve it. This is unfortunately not done. Our education is too bookish, and is completely out of touch with the realities of hard, strenuous life. We would draw your attention to the extraordinarily good work that is being done by the Board of Education, London, under Sir Daniel Hall, and to the work on which the Punjab Government is engaged. Reference may also be made here to the excellent report of Messrs. Sanderson and Parkinson. We agree with most of their proposals. A large number of our pupils who leave such schools, relapse into illiteracy, or if they retain a modicum of their learning, they all wish to become gentlemen, and to throw up the calling which their ancestors had pursued for generations. This not only retards the progress of agriculture which is our basic industry, but also creates a glut in the labour market in urban areas, and develops a type of discontented and disappointed citizen, who is as dangerous to his country as he is useless to his family. Such a state of affairs ought not to be allowed to go unreformed. The need for this has been emphasised by educationists like Dr. Ziauddin, and Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, and by administrators like Sir Selwyn Fremantle, who laboured hard for this object, and mobilised public support in favour of ruralising our curricula. We regret to state that little has been accomplished in these provinces so far, and we really see no prospect of success, unless strenuous efforts are made. As it is, the number of schools which make provision for it is ridiculously small, and until something substantial is done our countryside will continue to swarm with a multitude of all-educated, ill-fed, ill-nourished and ill-kempt individuals, whose only ambition in life

is to become clerks on a miserable pittance in a dingy and dark room, and whose contempt for manual work, and for the calling of their forefathers, is paralleled only by their ignorance, and impudence.

The effect which environment exercises on boys will be clear from the following passage from Ruskin: 'Go out, in the spring-time, among the meadows that slope from the shores of the Swiss lakes to the roots of their lower mountains. There, mingled with the taller gentians and the white narcissus, the grass grows deep and free ; and as you follow the winding mountain paths, beneath arching boughs all veiled and dim with blossom, —paths that for ever droop and rise, over the green banks and mounds sweeping down in scented undulation, steep to the blue water, studded here and there with new-mown heaps, filling all the air with fainter sweetness,—look up towards the higher hills, where the waves of everlasting green roll silently into their long inlets among the shadows of the pines. . .''

We would strongly impress upon you the need for careful inquiries on the curricula of our primary and middle schools, as our industrial and educational future depends upon it. We do not know what the recommendations of the Agricultural Commission are, but we are inclined to believe that it will emphasise the need for a careful system of agricultural system.

Again, we feel that rural education will be futile, and curricula for rural schools will be defective, unless and until there is a change in the outlook of teachers. What is needed is, not merely the drawing up of curricula which are eminently suitable for the rural folk, but also the training of the rural classes for the duties and responsibilities of teaching in such areas. Otherwise, our schools and colleges might have hundreds of curricula, full of courses of study, ready-made, ticketed, sorted, and numbered: suited to every season and every fancy some with the top of the pattern at the bottom, and some with the bottom at the top, some plain, others flowered, some containing directions, others without any directions, some regarded as soft options, others considered as "stiff." What good would the mere drawing up of curricula do, unless the spirit of the teaching is completely changed? The teacher is, really, the pivot round which the whole system revolves, and it is upon his work, his initiative and his industry that the success of all schemes depends. Benjamin Kidd expresses this idea in his own crude, doctrinaire way, "The stupendous potentiality of civilisation, as distinct from barbarism, consists in its cultural or collective heredity imposed on the rising generation under suitable conditions. The most important element in this, the idealism of mind and spirit, conveyed to the young of each generation, under the influence of social passion, is absolutely limitless in its effect. The power which is represented thereby is capable of creating a new world in the lifetime of a generation."

The mistake of the present system lies precisely in this, that not only does it neglect the child's environment, but also it neglects training, aptitude and habits of the teacher for the task. The failure of the zamindar schools in the Punjab was due chiefly to the limitations of the urban teacher in whose hands such schools were placed.

We deem it to be essential that teachers for the rural areas should be drawn from among the rural classes. There is, we admit, a great danger of such teachers stagnating in the country, and we therefore advocate the

institution of refresher courses, which will keep up their interest, vitalise their teaching, and vivify their knowledge. Our aim in ruralising the curricula in the villages is not so much to teach agriculture, as to ensure the conveyance of ordinary instruction through the medium of actualities present to the mind of the ordinary village boy or girl. The villager is to be educated to be a better villager, and curricula are to be adjusted to his environment. He should also be encouraged to become a teacher in his schools. To ensure the success of this scheme, the training school methods and curricula should be overhauled. Pupils in rural schools should be taught by their practical experience in maintaining gardens and farms attached to the institution which they attend, to imbibe sound principles for their basic industry. The project at Moga, in the Punjab, seems to illustrate admirably the truth of the principles we have enunciated above. We may add that the Punjab has 1,200 rural areas in which compulsion has been applied. This is a record of which any country might be proud. We agree with the remarks of our Chairman, Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, M.L.C., in his lecture at King's College, London, in October, 1927, that the credit for this remarkable progress is due to the driving power, initiative, and statesmanship of Sir George Anderson. We advocate the reorganisation of the Text-book Committee, in order that it might contain persons who know the country-side, and are cognisant of its needs. We regard this as absolutely essential to the success of any scheme of rural education. In our opinion, the text-books used in rural schools should be changed, and better types of text-books, suited to rural areas should be introduced. While we do not advocate the abolition of the one-teacher school, we are strongly of the opinion that they should be converted into " branch schools," and should be linked up with " central " primary schools. We are strongly of the opinion that the Departments of Co-operative Credit Societies and the Education Department should work in closest harmony for the spread of mass education. We do not think that any progress is possible without intimate co-operation between these two Departments. We strongly advocate the spread of education among the adult population. In spite of the passage of a resolution on this subject by the U. P. Legislative Council about three years ago, nothing substantial has been done. In our opinion, the Department of Co-operative Credit Societies will render greatest help in this movement.

Our remarks regarding curricula in rural school apply *mutatis mutandis*, to schools maintained by the municipal boards. We are of the opinion that in these schools some industry could usefully be taught, and their teaching linked up with the industrial life of the town. A number of our towns and cities are justly famous for the exquisite workmanship, delicate finish, and artistic manufacture of various articles, and there is a growing demand for Indian manufactures in Europe. We are strongly of the opinion that the inclusion of such a subject in the curriculum of an ordinary school will vitalise its teaching, and make the lessons real. There is a positive danger of our school education becoming utterly formal, and unreal. Cramming is the inevitable outcome of such methods, and cramming is the negation of sound teaching. Such towns should provide practical instruction in the manufacture of articles for which they are noted. The problem of urban schools is no less important than that of rural schools, and every effort ought to be made for reforming their curricula.

We would emphasise the importance of night schools in municipal boards, and urge the desirability of increasing their number. We think that adult schools are essential not only for those adults who have never been to any school, but also for those who have forgotten what little they learnt there and for those who wish to keep abreast of the times, and improve their knowledge. We think that a number of such schools ought to be opened. In this work, the co-operation of the department of co-operative credit societies, the department of Public Instruction, and the local bodies, is vital. The activities of all these bodies ought to be unified, co-ordinated and harmonised.

As regards technical schools maintained by the Industries Department we are of the opinion that the distinction between the ordinary board schools, and technical schools proper is necessary. The problem of technical education still awaits a solution. We would, however, refer you to Chapters II and IV of the *Report of the Balfour Committee on Industry and Trade*, which was published in 1927. The remarks made by the Committee on education as a factor in industrial efficiency are apposite. We strongly recommend the multiplication of technical schools, and the co-ordination of the departments of Industry and Education in the framing of their curricula and their organisation.

Muslim Demands in the Domain of Primary Education Summarised.

We may now formulate our demand, and summarise our conclusions.

1. We are of the opinion that fundamental safeguards should be introduced for the protection of our education in an Act of Parliament.

2. We are of the opinion that these safeguards should not be liable to modification by anybody other than Parliament. They should be binding no less upon the local and other autonomous bodies than upon the legislature of these provinces. We deem them to be absolutely necessary for our community. If various bodies are given complete control over appointment to offices, committees, and the framing of curricula and other matters, they will be used entirely for the benefit of the majority community, which exercises a permanent and dominating majority in all these bodies.

3. The safeguards, so far as primary education is concerned, are :—

(i) Representation of Muslims in the teaching and administrative staff of each municipal and district board of Muslims. Their representation on the staff of all educational institutions maintained by the local bodies should in no case be less than thirty-three per cent. We believe this to be a sound and workable formula, and we are sure that it will work satisfactorily. This percentage should be earmarked for the members of our community.

(ii) An adequate and substantial share of grant-in-aid. This principle is recognised in all the constitutions cited above. Their share in the grants for primary education should bear the same proportion as their representation in that body. We are strongly of the opinion that each local body should

be compelled by law to spend grants-in-aid of Muslim institutions.

(iii) Imparting of religious instruction to Muslim children in mixed schools, if 5 Muslim children are enrolled in each school.

(iv) Provision for instruction to Muslim children in Urdu in all the schools if 5 Muslim children attend a school. We also strongly recommend the following proposals: Maintenance of Islamia schools and maktabs, and substantial grants for their improvement.

(v) Effective representation of Muslims in all the committees of local bodies which have been provided for in an Act passed by the Council in February. This seems to us to be necessary for the protection of our interests.

We are convinced that the following recommendations are vital to our community, and should be given effect to, without further delay. Indeed, no improvement in the existing situation is possible until these recommendations are carried out.

(1) No other duties should be assigned to the Inspector of Muhammadan Schools, and his office establishment should be an integral part of the office of the Director of Public Instruction. The post of the Inspector of Muhammadan Schools is now vacant, and we strongly recommend that it should be filled up immediately ; the status and position of the Inspector of Muhammadan Schools should be the same as that of Divisional Inspectors.

(2) The power of the Muhammadan Deputy Inspectors at present is very restricted, with the result that their utility is much curtailed. We are, therefore, of opinion that the Deputy Inspectors should be authorized to correspond directly with the Inspector of Muhammadan Schools and also with the Muhammadan Education committees of the district under their jurisdiction. In the resolution of Lord Meston's Government it was clearly mentioned that the Deputy Inspectors would be under the Divisional Inspectors ; and they should continue to remain under them instead of being under the Assistant Inspectors, as is the case at present.

(3) A Sub-deputy Inspector or a supervisor be appointed in each district to look after the Islamia schools and maktabs.

(4) The formation of Muslim Education Committees should be obligatory, and not optional, and they should be advisory bodies to the municipal and district boards.

(5) The Chairman of the Muhammadan Education Committee should be a gazetted officer selected by the District Magistrate as in the old constitution. The Secretary of the Muhammadan Education Committee should ordinarily be a Muhammadan Deputy or Sub-deputy Inspector of Schools.

(6) The powers regarding appointment, leave, arrangement, dismissal, transfer, control of teachers in Islamia schools and maktabs should be vested in the Muhammadan Education Committee or in its Chairman, in the same way as similar powers for boards' schools are proposed to be vested in the Chairman of the Education Committee or of the board.

(7) The boards be compelled not to take any action on any question dealing with the Muhammadan education and particularly with Islamia schools and maktabs without consulting the Muhammadan Education Committee whose opinions ought to carry great weight with the board in their deliberations.

(8) The board should require the Muhammadan Education Committee to prepare a budget for Islamia schools and maktabs and for the educational requirements of the Mussalmans, and incorporate it in the general education budget of the board.

(9) The savings, if any, in the budget allotments of Islamia schools and maktabs should be utilized for the development of Muslim education, and should be at the disposal of the Muhammadan Education Committee.

(10) The power of selecting Muhammadan candidates for teachership in vernacular schools, training classes, and normal schools should be vested in the Committee. The Committee may be required to take assistance from the Muhammadan Inspecting Officer of the district or in special cases from the Special Muhammadan Deputy Inspector of the division.

(11) In order to avoid unnecessary delay and misrepresentation of their requirements, the Muhammadan Education Committee should be authorized to correspond directly with the Deputy Inspector and the Inspector of Muhammadan Schools.

(12) The District Muhammadan Education Committee should also be required to prepare an annual report on the progress of Muslim education in the district. The report should mention the principal events and give an account of the income and expenditure every year. It should incorporate all the proposals made by the committee, but rejected by the board. A copy of this report should be sent direct to the Deputy Inspector and to the Inspector of Muhammadan Schools.

(13) The Muhammadan Education Committee to be supplied by the board all papers dealing with Muslim education, such as statements showing the number of free and half free scholars, number of scholarships, number of teachers and scholars, for preparing statements with regard to Muslim education. We urge also reservation of a fixed proportion of free and half free scholarships for Muslim boys. We would fix the proportion at 33 per cent.

(14) Muslim girls' schools should also be under this committee.

(15) The grants ear-marked for Islamia schools and maktabs should be increased to four lakhs, and the boards should contribute an equal amount from their budgets on education. A capital grant of rupees eight lakhs should be made every three years for the buildings of Islamia schools and Maktabs.

(16) It is also desirable that Muhammadan Education Committees should be formed in municipalities and individual areas on the same lines and with the same powers as the committees suggested for Muhammadan education in the district boards.

(17) The board allows contingent charges, equips the schools maintained by it and also the school for depressed classes, but no such provision is made for the maktabs. We, therefore, recommend that maktabs should be equipped, and the contingent charges should be provided by the board in the same way as is done in the case of scholars for depressed classes. The inspection of the maktabs should be confined to Muhammadan members of the board, Muhammadan educational officers or other Muhammadans appointed by the board, as the text-books generally contain lessons on theology.

(18) It is also desirable that a Muhammadan clerk should be assigned to the Muhammadan Education Committee which should keep all the records dealing with the maktabs and Islamia schools and other matters connected with Muhammadan education.

(19) According to recent rules teachers trained in Islamia primary training classes are not eligible for appointment as teachers in any schools except maktabs. We suggest that such teachers of the Islamia training classes as have passed the vernacular final examination should not be debarred from becoming teachers in the board schools and particularly in Islamia schools.

(20) Some boards in these provinces have issued instructions that Hindi should be taught as a compulsory subject in Islamia schools. Such an order is against the object for which Islamia schools were established, and is opposed to the intentions of the Government repeatedly announced in various resolutions. Such orders of the boards should not be allowed to have any effect.

(21) In certain districts the salary of Muslim teachers in ordinary board schools is paid out of the grants reserved for Islamia schools and maktabs. This is against the intention of the Government grant which should be reserved exclusively for the purpose for which it is given.

(22) It is also necessary that an adequate number of primary scholarships should be reserved for Muslim scholars passing the

upper primary examination in the same proportion as we have recommended for teachers—thirty-three per cent.

(23) Some of the boards have issued instructions that all their correspondence should be carried on exclusively in Hindi written in the Nagri character. This has created a great deal of excitement and agitation among the Mussalmans, as it is opposed to the settlement arrived at by the Government of Sir James Latouche. This practice will be a source of great annoyance and inconvenience to all the persons who do not know Hindi, for teachers of Islamia schools, maktabs and of Muhammadan girls' schools, according to this rule, are compelled to correspond in Hindi.

(24) In the hostels attached to the middle schools cooking sheds and servants are provided for Hindu students, while Muhammadans are left to shift for themselves on the ground that their number does not justify separate arrangements. Our experience is that the number of Muhammadan boarders does not increase, simply because suitable kitchen arrangements do not exist. If a Muhammadan superintendent or assistant superintendent is appointed in charge of the Muslim boarders with suitable kitchen arrangements the number is bound to increase.

(25) The number of Muhammadan candidates for the normal schools is fixed for each district. This number is very inadequate and should be increased in the proportion already mentioned, i.e., thirty-three per cent. We also beg to recommend that the number of Muhammadan candidates for the training classes should be fixed in the same way, and that they should be selected by the Muhammadan Education Committee, as already mentioned.

(26) The curriculum of studies for Islamia schools should be drawn by the Muhammadan Education Text-book Committee.

We feel that safeguards numbers 1 to 4 are fundamental, and the general principle, should be embodied in a parliamentary statute. As regards other proposals, we are strongly of the opinion that they should be embodied in an Act of the local or central legislature or under rules framed by the Secretary of State for India, under a rule-making power expressly conferred upon him by a statute. They should not be based on an executive order of the local government.

Secondary and Intermediate Education.

The system of secondary and intermediate education was reorganised in 1921, and the U.P. Intermediate Education Act of 1921 constituted a Board, which is charged with the supervision of secondary schools and Intermediate colleges throughout the provinces. The significance of this change will be apparent from the fact that the Board controls the curricula of all secondary schools and intermediate colleges, appoints examiners in each subject, lays down courses of study, recognises new institutions, and conducts the examinations. In the

year 1927, there were 190 high schools, and 32 Intermediate colleges, for which the Board conducted examination; there were besides 9 institutions for Commerce, and 2 for Agriculture, for which examinations were conducted. The number of candidates who appeared for the High School Examination in 1927, was 7,413, for the Intermediate examination, 2,878, for the Commercial Diploma examination, 294 and for Agricultural Diploma examination, 34. It will be no exaggeration to state that the Board moulds the secondary, no less than the Intermediate, education not only of these provinces, but also of other provinces where schools recognised by the Board are located. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance to find out the basic principles upon which it was established, and the manner and method in which it has been conducted. As regards the first we cannot do better than quote the principles enunciated by the Sadler Commission. They were of the opinion that no satisfactory reorganisation of university system will be possible unless and until a radical reorganisation of the system of secondary education, upon which university work depends, is carried into effect. The deficiencies of the old secondary system were radical and patent. They arose, in the main, from four principal causes. (a) In the first place, most of the high English schools were under-equipped and were conducted by an underpaid and for the most part an untrained staff. (b) In the second place, they were unduly dominated by an examination (the matriculation) which is itself ill-designed and not of sufficiently high standard, and which gives no encouragement to many lines of study necessary for the welfare of the pupils and for the prosperity of the country. (c) In the third place, owing to the existing division of authority between the University and the Department of Public Instruction there was no adequate machinery for supervising, guiding and assisting the work of the schools as a whole ; in other words, no coherent system of secondary education existed. (d) In the fourth place, a large and vitally important part of secondary instruction was actually conducted, not by the schools, but by the colleges of the University in their intermediate classes; and, because it was so conducted, it largely failed of its purpose, partly because the methods chiefly employed (those of the mass-lecture) were unsuitable for work at this stage, and partly because many subjects and lines of study, especially those which have a vocational bearing, were almost wholly disregarded.

2. A radical reform of these conditions was necessary not only for university reform, but also for national progress in Bengal. The principal changes which they recommended for this purpose were as follows:—

(*i*) The stage of admission to the University should be (approximately) that of the present intermediate instead of that of the present matriculation.

(*ii*) The duty of providing training at the intermediate stage should be transferred from the universities to new institutions to be known as ' Intermediate Colleges,' some of which should be attached to selected high schools, while others should be organised as distinct institutions. *There should be at least one intermediate college in each district of the Presidency, besides a certain number in Calcutta and Dacca;* and the courses of the intermediate colleges should be so framed as

to afford preparation not only for the ordinary degree courses of the University in arts and science, but also for the medical, engineering and teaching professions and for careers in agriculture, commerce and industry.

(*iii*) The intermediate colleges for men should in all cases be separate from degree colleges, and even where they are provided or managed by closely-linked authorities, should be organised under a distinct educational and financial control.

(*iv*) There should be two secondary school examinations, the first, approximately corresponding to the present matriculation, to be taken at the end of the high school stage, at the normal age of 16, or, in special cases, at the age of 15, and to be known as the high school examination ; the second, approximately corresponding to the present intermediate, but much more varied in its range, to be taken at the end of the intermediate college course, at the normal age of 18, and to be known as the intermediate college examination. Success in this examination should constitute the normal test of admission to university courses. The range and standards of both of these examinations should be carefully reconsidered. Detailed recommendations on these heads will be found in Chapter XXXI, paragraphs 31-70, and in Chapter XXXII.

(*v*) The existing Department of Public Instruction was not so organised as to be able to regulate and supervise the new system; more than half of the high English schools were then entirely outside its jurisdiction. And although the University is entitled to a large voice in their affairs, its governing bodies cannot be so organised as to be able to deal effectively with them, especially as they lack the necessary funds. The Commission, therefore, recommended that there should be established a Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education, to consist of from fifteen to eighteen members, with power to appoint advisory and other committees including outside members. Among the statutory committees of the Board should be included a committee on the education of girls and a committee on madrassahs, the latter to conduct the examination of the reformed madrassah course. The Board should also have the power to constitute provincial or divisional advisory councils.

(*vi*) It should be provided that a majority of the Board should consist of non-official members, and that the Board *should always include* at least three representatives of Hindu and *at least three of Muslim interests.* Subject to these provisions, the Board should include: (*a*) a salaried President, appointed by Government ; (*b*) the Director of Public Instruction, ex-officio; (*c*) a member elected by the non-official members of the Bengal Legislative Council ; (*d*) five representatives appointed by the University of Calcutta and two by the

University of Dacca ; (*e*) from five to eight members appointed by Government among whom should be included (if not otherwise provided for) representatives of the needs of industry, commerce, agriculture, medicine and public health, secondary and intermediate education, the educational needs of girls and those of the domiciled community.

(*vii*) The powers of the Board will be: (*a*) to define the various curricula to be followed in high schools and intermediate colleges; (*b*) to conduct the two secondary school examinations described above, subject to the proviso that the universities should in each case have the power to determine what forms of the intermediate college examination they would accept, and under what conditions, as qualifying for admission to their courses in various faculties; (*c*) to grant, after inspection, formal recognition to high schools and intermediate colleges as qualified to present candidates for the high school or the intermediate college examinations, and as adequately organised and equipped places of instruction ; (*d*) to advise Government as to the needs of these grades of education, and as to the best modes of expending the available funds for these purposes. In the opinion of the majority of the Commission it was essential for the adequate performance of the functions of the Board that it should have an inspectorial staff of its own, and that it should exercise substantial executive powers, especially in regard to the distribution of grants to schools and intermediate colleges (within the limits of the allotments made for these purposes by Government in its annual budget), and in regard to the exercise of control over such high schools and intermediate colleges as may be maintained out of public funds.

(*viii*) The Board thus organised, with its President, should not be wholly separated from the Department of Public Instruction, but should be regarded as an important branch or aspect of the whole system of educational organisation, closely linked with the other branches, especially through the Director of Public Instruction. The character of the Director's office would thus be materially changed. He would be relieved of much detailed work, but he would become chief of the staff and expert adviser to the Member or Minister in charge of Education, and would himself be in touch with all the aspects of educational work. To express this important change in the functions of the Director, the Commission recommended that he should be given the position of a secretary to Government.

(*ix*) In order to give unity to the educational system by reducing the existing cleavage between Government schools and colleges and privately managed schools, and by facilitating an interchange of teachers among these institutions, *the main body of the teaching staff of the Government schools and inter-*

mediate colleges should be gradually reorganised upon a professional rather than a service basis, the fullest safeguards being taken to protect the actual or prospective rights of members of the existing services, and to ensure an adequate salary scale and reasonable security of tenure under the new system. At the same time a superannuation fund for teachers should be organised to replace the existing pension system for future recruits to the profession. To this superannuation fund all aided schools should be required, and all recognised but unaided schools should be encouraged, to contribute.

(*x*) In view of the need of enlisting the services of a number of western-trained teachers in the reorganisation of secondary and intermediate work in Bengal, *a special corps of western-trained teachers should be organised, the members of which should be enlisted not on uniform graded rates of pay, but on such terms and conditions as might be necessary to secure the right types of men and women in each case.* Their services should be available, under the direction of the Board, either in Government institutions, or in private institutions which expressed a desire for their services.

We may summarise these recommendations by saying that the Commission insisted on a special corps of western-trained teachers; (2) they desired the establishment of a separate Board of Secondary Education; (3) they advocated the establishment of Intermediate colleges, which were to be separate from the university ; (4) they proposed the organisation of the main body of the teaching staff of government schools and intermediate colleges upon a professional rather than upon a service basis ; and (5) they made it perfectly clear that the new colleges were to serve a double purpose—on the one hand the students who were trained in the new institutions were to be admitted to universities only after they had passed the Intermediate examination, and on the other hand the course in the colleges was to be self-contained, and was to be designed in such a way as to enable the students to enter various professions without going through a University course.

We may say at the outset that the Commission ignored completely the needs of primary education. This, we admit, it was bound to do, as it was limited by its terms of reference; yet this is precisely the reason why the financial implications of their proposals must be subjected to the closest scrutiny. If their recommendations had been carried out in their entirety, if, as they suggested, " there should be at least one intermediate college for each district in the Presidency," then we have no hesitation in saying that the provinces which had embarked on such a policy would have pawned their credit, and mortgaged their property and revenue. The recommendations were meant chiefly for the urban intelligentsia, and did not take into account the needs of the rural classes. We do not wish to be misunderstood. We sympathise with the object of these reforms, but we would urge upon you the need for maintaining a certain proportion and balance between primary, secondary and university education. While the rural classes contribute nearly 82 per cent of the revenue of these provinces, and while everything is

done for the towns, the people in our countryside lead the same hard, joyless, frugal and stagnant life. If it does not pulsate with life, if it carries on a vegetative existence, the fault is not so much of the people, as of the hand that feeds, and of the stream that fertilises.

Again, it is clear that the U. P. Government was unaware of the financial implications of this scheme until they had actually launched this ambitious scheme. Even so, there are only 32 Intermediate colleges in the province, and the ideal of the Commission has not yet been realised. Yet, the expenditure on these colleges and High schools has risen from Rs. 25,86,303, in 1921-22, to Rs. 37,31,985 in 1927. The expenditure shows no signs of diminution. In these figures, such accounts as relate to intermediate classes maintained by degree colleges are not included. It will be correct to say that the expenditure on Intermediate education does not fall short of forty lakhs. This may appear to be a small amount, but when compared with the expenditure on primary education, which are in urgent need of millions of rupees, and which the poor countryfolk can ill afford to pay, it is undoubtedly high. Again, instead of improving these colleges, as was suggested by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, M.L.C., in the Legislative Council, as early as 1924, in his budget speech, who stressed the need of quality, and advised the Department *festina tente*, the tendency is to multiply them. We fear that in such cases quantity is purchased at the expense of quality.

How has the New System Worked ?

Let us deal now with the other recommendations of Commission. One of the strongest grounds for the establishment of these colleges was the improvement in the quality of candidates for admission to the universities. The Commission thought that the candidates will be maturer, and better fitted for their university work if they spent two years in the Intermediate colleges. There was a latent fallacy in their argument which actual experience has laid bare. The mere fact that students who have spent two years away from the universities did not, and of course, could not, improve either the quality of candidates or the quality of university instruction. If the course of instruction in the university for the B.A. students remained the same, the existence of the Intermediate college would have been justified only if, when, it could be shown that the standard of instruction in these colleges was better than that imparted in the intermediate classes attached to the degree colleges of the university. It is the almost unanimous testimony of teachers, educationists, and other persons in these provinces that the standard in some subjects, such as English, has deteriorated. Eminent educationists have repeated the statement that the type of student in the third year classes of universities which has been trained in the new intermediate colleges is inferior to the students who were trained in the intermediate classes of degree colleges. The reason for it is to be found in the fact that students had constant intercourse with senior students; they were taught by teachers whose academic qualifications were undoubtedly superior to those of an overwhelming majority of teachers employed in the existing intermediate colleges. Again, they imbibed the traditions of a renowned college which generally nourished traditions, and fostered a spirit which are non-existent in these institutions of mushrooms growth, with poor equipment, poorer staff, and little or no corporate life. These facts are indeed notorious, and have

been pointed out on innumerable occasions. The effect of the new system on students must also be mentioned. Not only are the candidates for admission to the university poorer in quality ; they learn less than their predecessors did, for the duration of the regular B.A. course from the intermediate to the B.A. stage was then four years. When the new intermediate college took away two years out of this, only two years were left for the regular B.A. Degree course. It is well-known that in most of the colleges, a two-year course involves actual teaching and residence in the college and university of only about 17 months. Now the universities have not raised their course to 3 years, as was suggested by the Commission. This is due to the fact that most of the candidates come from comparatively humble homes, and cannot afford to spend either the time or the money necessary for getting the B.A. degree in three years. If this period had been increased, there would have been a sudden fall in admissions. The universities consequently had to keep the two years for the B.A. degree, and the result is that the students now spend less than about 17 months in a university or college. This period is absurdly insufficient for the formation of those habits of industry, and traits of character which it is the ideal of every university to develop. The students who, as shown above, are undoubtedly inferior to their predecessors, now put in less than 17 months in the university. Hence not only are the students who pass out of the new Intermediate colleges for admission to the university inferior to their predecessors, but also they spend only half the normal amount of time in a university. The effects of these two forces—poor quality and short duration —working simultaneously on the average student can well be imagined. A system which produces such results stands condemned.

The only solution of this difficulty is the reduction of the course for the intermediate examination from four to three years. The universities can, we are certain, they will, then increase their Degree course to three years.

The Intermediate College has not yet been separated from the Lower Classes. Its effect on the Students.

Again, the Commission had emphasised the need for separating all classes lower than the IX class from the proper intermediate college, and combining classes IX, X, XI and XII into an intermediate college of the status and position which they desired such institutions to attain. How far their scheme has been carried out will be clear from the Quinquennial report of the Director of Public Instruction, published in 1928.

It states that before the reorganisation of the Allahabad University and the institution of the Board of High School and Intermediate examination, the university course commenced after the High School course and the intermediate course formed the first half of the full university degree course ; intermediate education was therefore dealt with as a part of university education. Thus there was in the preceding quinquennium no institution exactly corresponding to the intermediate college. Even yet it is not possible to define the standard type of intermediate college. Several of the larger and more efficient government and aided high schools became intermediate colleges by opening classes XI and XII, strengthening their staffs and making necessary additions to their buildings and equipment; these form intermediate colleges with ten classes, III to XII. Some of these have since

separated the four junior classes into a separate junior school and may be regarded as intermediate colleges with six classes from class VII to class XII. A few of the degree colleges formerly affiliated to the Allahabad University, which had high schools, although separate, associated with them, discontinued or made separate provision for their post-intermediate work, and taking over classes IX and X from the associated high school became intermediate colleges with classes IX and XII, the high school consequently becoming a middle school. Other degree colleges associated with the Allahabad University continued their intermediate classes as before in the same institution with the same staff and management as the classes of university standard. It had been contemplated that, within a comparatively short period of five years, intermediate classes might be completely severed from university classes, and that the colleges in which both co-existed would have decided their fate by developing into university colleges and shedding their intermediate classes, or by confining themselves to the humbler but no less important role of intermediate colleges. It is, however, evident that for a considerable time to come the co-existence of intermediate and university classes in the same institution will have to continue. Thus there are at present intermediate institutions of four distinct classes and it cannot yet be decided which will ultimately evolve as the standard type. " There is a general disapproval of the institution comprising classes III to XII, and the most desirable types would appear to be those institutions comprising six classes from III to XII, or four classes IX to XII."

Comment on this statement is superfluous. We need hardly draw your attention to the moral and intellectual influence of an instruction in which boys whose age ranges from 8 to 21 years are promiscuously brought together. We are of the opinion that if intermediate colleges are to be effective and to serve the purpose for which they were originally designed, it is essential that they should contain only the four forms IX to XII inclusive. Unless this is done, these institutions will produce effects, and breed troubles, which, we are certain, will outweigh all the advantages which are claimed by the advocates of these institutions.

Again, the Commission had laid it down as a fundamental principle that the staff of such colleges should be carefully chosen. They had stated in Chapter XXXI, paras. 99—104, and paras. 85—98 of their Report that a special corps of trained teachers should be organised. We regret to have to report that these conditions have not been observed. The Department did not, simply because, owing to financial reasons, it could not, engage the services of suitable men, who could found a tradition of well-ordered scholarship, mould the character of the students, and leave a deep impress on institutions which need for their growth and development all the reservoir of trained judgment, liberal outlook and mature experience. The Department, on the contrary, engaged the services of a number of persons, who possessed little experience of teaching, and less of that class and age of boys with whom they were brought into contact in their classroom. Instead of organising a corps of teachers, trained on western lines, it created a new cadre for such teachers, a grade which is barely distinguishable from that of the Subordinate Educational Service, and is intermediate between it and the Provincial Service. The pay of persons in this cadre is Rs. 200—25—450. A mere glance at this rate of pay will convince anyone that men with suitable

qualifications could not be secured for this service, for they naturally preferred either the Provincial Educational Service, with its attractive prospects, or the university service, which carried, and still carries, greater social status, and offers better prospects and opportunities to a brilliant man. Hence only those who could not be appointed to these services, or who had missed their chances of promotion in the subordinate service, were taken. A number of teachers of the new colleges were appointed by promotion ; mostly from among members of the subordinate service. Could this type of teacher, with his narrow outlook, limited qualifications, and ignorance of teaching, perform the miracles which the Commission had conjured up in their Report? On glancing at their qualifications, the only conclusion at which one can arrive is that the new teachers of such colleges did not possess any one of those qualifications on which the Commission rightly insisted. We would content ourselves with asking you to compare the qualifications which the Commission laid down, with the qualifications actually possessed by these teachers.

The Number of Trained and Untrained Teachers in U. P.

On this subject we need only refer to the Report of the Director of Public Instruction, U. P., who in his Quinquennial Report ending March 31, 1927, stated as follows :—

> The number of trained and untrained teachers in English schools (including intermediate colleges) in each year of the quinquennium are shown in the following statement :—

	1922-23.	1923-24.	1924-25.	1925-26.	1926-27.
Trained	1,340	1,466	1,569	1,686	1,883
Untrained	2,764	2,773	2,726	2,753	2,770
Total ...	4,104	4,239	4,295	4,439	4,653
Percentage of trained element in total staff ...	33	35	36	38	40

The figures indicate a satisfactory rate of increase in the proportion of trained staff. The percentages of trained to total staffs in government and non-government institutions during the quinquennium are as follows :—

	1922-23.	1923-24.	1924-25.	1925-26.	1926-27.
Trained percentage in government schools ...	67	68	70	70	71
Trained percentage in non-government schools ...	16	19	22	25	28

It may be added that among untrained teachers are included pandits, maulvis and the majority of drawing masters; if these teachers be excluded, 89·6 per cent. of the ordinary class-teachers in government English institutions are trained. It has now been ruled that no untrained teacher may in future be appointed permanently as an ordinary class master of high or middle school classes, and the employment of trained men has been made a

condition of increased grant-in-aid; assistance will be afforded, where necessary, to school managers to enable them to secure trained teachers. Government schools can absorb but a small number of the trained men who pass out from the training colleges, so that a large residuum is left for employment by other institutions. But the extension of the scheme of English classes in vernacular schools may necessitate a larger provision for the training of undergraduate teachers in the province.

Heads of government institutions (except of certain intermediate colleges whose principals are in the Indian Educational Service) are in the United Provinces Educational Service, of which the initial pay is Rs. 250 per mensem, rising to Rs. 675 per mensem by annual increments of Rs. 25, and there is a selection grade with pay Rs. 700—50—800 per mensem. Teachers, other than language teachers of intermediate classes, are in a special grade of the Subordinate Educational Service in the scale of pay Rs. 200—25—450 per mensem. Teachers of classical and vernacular languages to intermediate classes, and trained graduate teachers in high schools receive an initial pay of Rs. 100 per mensem, rising annually by Rs. 10 per mensem to Rs. 300 per mensem. Trained undergraduates, pandits, maulvis and drawing masters are in scales of initial pay Rs. 50 per mensem rising to Rs. 150 per mensem; for 25 per cent. of the cadre of trained undergraduates there is a selection grade, the pay of which rises to a maximum of Rs. 200 per mensem. In non-government institutions teachers are under much worse conditions of pay than their fellows in government service. The initial pay obtained by a teacher freshly trained may approximate to that obtained by his class-mate fortunate enough to be appointed to a government school; most frequently it is less. But he has no hope of attaining the same ultimate maximum; he is lucky if he gets regular increments of salary, and very lucky if he is placed in a scale of pay the maximum of which is two-thirds of the corresponding maximum in government institutions. Several aided institutions compare very favourably, both in the number of pupils and in the quality of work as shown by results, with the largest and best run government schools; it cannot be matter of pleasurable reflection to the heads of such institutions that the headmaster of a small government high school in an out-of-the way place may draw a salary 50 per cent. higher than his own. The disparity in pay between teachers in government and in non-government institutions does not tend towards general educational efficiency; and the interests of education appear to demand that steps should be taken to reduce the disparity.

The Government Provident Fund scheme is almost universally taken advantage of in recognized institutions ; a few institutions retain their own schemes. Teachers permanently appointed are required to contribute one anna per rupee of salary monthly ; the management add one-half anna per rupee of the teacher's salary and the total amount is invested in the post-office savings bank. On the teacher's retirement from the service the amount is allowed to be withdrawn, and Government add thereto one-third of the total amount standing to the teacher's credit in the fund.

The relation of management and staff in aided institutions is slowly being established on an improved basis. On both sides in the past there have been cases where one party has treated the other with scant consideration:

these cases have diminished in number. A practice, common among managers of impecunious schools, of giving notice to teachers that their services will be dispensed with before the commencement of the annual vacation has practically disappeared, and managers generally recognize that a teacher who has served for the whole of the school session should receive pay for the ensuing vacation or, if appointed during the vacation to another post, until he enters upon the duties of the new post. A complaint, however, is now sometimes heard among teachers that a manager, after having appointed a teacher upon a fixed advertised scale of pay, finds means to discharge him when he is nearing his maximum pay in order to effect economy by engaging a new teacher at the minimum of the scale. The Department has now drawn up a form of agreement to be entered into by teacher and manager and it is proposed to make its execution a condition of the receipt of government grant. We cordially approve, and greatly appreciate the progress recorded by the Department in this direction.

The introduction of the present time-scale of pay of teachers in government schools, which dates from April 1, 1921, has resulted in an improvement in the quality of candidates admitted to training colleges, and there is keen, almost fierce, competition for appointment to government service among freshly trained teachers. Government schools, therefore, each year secure the pick of groups of trained men who are of better quality than their predecessors of some years earlier were.

What is the Quality of Teaching, and Types of Teachers in the U.P.?

There has also been an increase in the proportion of trained staff. But inspectors report that the work of teachers in government schools is not of the standard that may reasonably be expected. Their remarks in this respect do not apply as yet to intermediate classes, and there are, of course, honourable exceptions to be found amongst teachers of school classes. For the first two or three years after appointment the teacher generally works well; his initial zest has not worn itself out and, further, he has not yet been confirmed in his appointment. But after confirmation he sees that many years must elapse before he may be considered for promotion to a headship or to a selection grade. " Secure in the tenure of his post and in the enjoyment of annual increment accruing to his salary without effort on his part, he too often becomes slothful and maintains his work just a little above the standard of positive inefficiency." The difference in quality between the work of a teacher of ten or more years' service in a government school and that of his brother of similar standing and service in an aided institution is not as a rule sufficient to justify the wide difference existing between the pay drawn by the two teachers. Although the new scales of pay should have rendered private tuition unnecessary as a means of adding to the teacher's income, and an improved standard of tuition should have diminished the necessity of the pupils for such tuition, the practice still flourishes. One divisional inspector states that " there are very few teachers in government high schools who have not taken one, or in the majority of cases two private tuitions and have not been found neglectful of their class work." There is certainly something wrong with class tuition when a large number of boys finds it necessary to have private tutors who, by solving all difficulties in mathematics, translation and other subjects for their private pupils, may

in the long run prove themselves to be a curse rather than a blessing to them." Without exonerating the teacher, it must be remarked that the headmaster of a school in which private tuition persists to an excessive extent cannot be absolved from responsibility. The headmaster should be acquainted not only with the amount of private tuition undertaken by his assistants, but also with the extent to which the pupils of his school engage tutors and the subjects in which they find tuition necessary. If he finds that many boys of a class require coaching in a particular subject, he may conclude that the class teaching in that subject is defective; his regular visitation of classes when teaching is in progress, and periodical scrutiny of teachers' diaries and boys' written work may confirm this conclusion and he may devise remedial measures. There is little doubt that there are some headmasters who suffer from the lethargy which is noticeable among assistant masters, and, as schools and staffs very readily take on the impress of the headmaster, it is not matter of surprise that inspectors have remarked instances of an aided school with an ill-qualified and ill-paid staff securing better results than the neighbouring government high school.

Teachers in Aided Schools.

In non-government schools an unsatisfactory standard of work is due to lack of spirit in the teachers and lack of a sufficient strong trained element amongst them. The former is probably the main cause. Insecurity of tenure, unsatisfactory conditions of work and insufficient pay, often irregularly disbursed, must in many cases prevent a teacher from putting his whole heart into his work, and discontent is not likely to be lessened by contemplation of better conditions in neighbouring schools and of the great disparity between the pay of teachers in aided schools and that of the corresponding members of the staff of the local government school. More than one inspector, moreover, remarks that the freshly trained teacher labours under the impression that his college training is all-sufficient and that no further study or knowledge of up-to-date methods is required; comparatively few take any real interest in the literature of their profession; in class-lessons reference is seldom made to books outside of the prescribed text-books, even to volumes in the school library. There is not sufficient co-operation among the members of the staff; in many schools each teacher acts as if he considered that his subject bears no relation to subjects taught by other masters, and no proportion is observed between the amounts of home work in the various subjects. These, however, are faults that the head of the institution should be competent to deal with; systematic class-visitation to see the teachers actually at work, regular inspection of teachers' diaries and occasional scrutiny of boy's written work should place the headmaster in a position to evaluate the work of his subordinates and to aid and stimulate them with suggestion and criticism. While the failings of a weak and inefficient headmaster are speedily reflected in the quality of work carried on in the school, it is equally true that a strong and capable head can soon infuse life and efficiency into his subordinates. There are many schools, although still too few, to which the foregoing criticisms are not applicable and which offered excellent examples for the guidance of other institutions where the organisation is defective.

How far have other Recommendations of the Commission been carried out ?

We may refer to another factor, which, in our opinion, has determined the character of these institutions. The Commission in chapter IX had stated that " Most of the high English schools were underequipped and conducted by an underpaid and for the most part an untrained staff " (chapters VIII and XXI). They were, in the opinion of the Commission " unduly dominated by an examination (the matriculation) which is itself ill-designed and not of sufficiently high standard, and which gives no encouragement to many lines of study necessary for the welfare of the pupils and for the prosperity of the country." They pointed out in Chapter XII that many subjects and lines of study, especially those which have a vocational bearing, are almost wholly disregarded. Accordingly they suggested in chapter XXI, paras. 3 and 4; and chapter XXXII, paras. 9, and 12—15, that the courses of the Intermediate colleges should be so framed as to afford preparation not only for the ordinary degree course of the university, but also for the medical, engineering and teaching professions and for careers in agriculture, commerce and industry. In chapter XXXII, paragraph 10, they insisted that the Intermediate colleges for men should in all cases be separate from degree colleges, and even where they are provided or managed by closely-linked authorities, should be organised under a distinct educational and financial control.

On this point we are compelled to state that the Intermediate Colleges have not been successful in preparing students for various professions. For some time, after the institution of the Board, the curricula framed by the universities for the first and second year of university examinations were adopted by the Board. The instruction in these colleges was, and is, mostly literary, of a type which has been graphically described by the Commission in volume I of their Report. The Board has not performed some of those functions which have been so satisfactorily discharged by, for instance, the London Board of Education. Methodology is in a chaotic state. Some sort of co-ordination is, no doubt, attained by inspectors of intermediate colleges, but the inspectors are so many, their conception of methods of teaching is at times so hazy, vague, and contradictory, that there is no unifying principle in their inspection. They are appointed at regular intervals, for a short period, upon a principle which is as inexplicable as is their relation to the official inspector who generally accompanies them. The result is that teachers pursue no method in their teaching of various subjects. Each is virtually a dictator in his little kingdom, and is completely oblivious of the improvements that have been and are being made by educational psychology, and experimental pedagogy. He is a master of all he surveys, and his classroom is his castle, where he may do what he pleases, subject, of course to such a check as his overtired principal, if he has the will, the inclination and the capacity to set a high standard of teaching in his school, may exercise. The work of the Curriculum committee is perfunctory, and it does everything else except issue helpful suggestions to teachers of various subjects on the methods of teaching, for instance, English, Hygiene or History, or Geography. This is specially regrettable as recent advances in methodology under the inspiring guidance of Sir John Adams, Dr. Dewey of Columbia University, Dr. Percy Nunn, and the excellent reports in the teaching of

English, Science and other subjects by the London Board of Education have revolutionised our conception of teaching. Experimental Pedagogy is almost unknown in these provinces.

As regards new courses of study, which were to make the new colleges a " world in a miniature," and to develop the industrial and intellectual resources of this province, it may suffice to say that little or no progress has been made in this direction. It is true that, as the Quinquennial report, above referred to, points out, compulsory science has been introduced into many schools up to the middle stages; and nature study has been included in a few schools, but " manual training is not a popular subject with the boys in the higher classes, mainly because it leads to nowhere," and though commerce is a subject which has gained favour of late, it is confined mainly to those colleges which specialise in it. Agriculture is a staple industry of these provinces, and it was expected that the *alumni* of these institutions would try to develop the agricultural resources, and reform the primitive methods of agriculture current in this as in other provinces, yet the fact remains that in the year 1926, only two students sat for the Agricultural Diploma, while in 1927 only 34 did so. The number of candidates for the High School examination in 1927 was 7,431, and for the Intermediate examination 2,898. In Commerce, the number is certainly high, but this is due not to the policy or influence of the Board, but to the fact that institutions like the Lucknow and Cawnpore Colleges of Commerce had existed for several years before the constitution of the Board, and fostered interest in these subjects. The Board has no doubt framed courses for these subjects, but it is the colleges which had been founded with this specific aim in view which are responsible for this improvement. Even so, the number of students who sat for the Commercial Diploma examination in 1927 was only 294, and of these 66 per cent passed.

Dissatisfaction with the Working of the Board.

The Board has, therefore, failed in the second object for which it was founded. It is no exaggeration to say that there is, and has been, widespread dissatisfaction with the working of the Board among public men and educationists. This feeling was voiced in a resolution moved by Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad in the U. P. Legislative Council in 1925 : the resolution, it is true, was not passed by the Council, mainly because the Minister who has recently resigned his post was strongly opposed to it, and the official bloc voted against it. The resolution demanded an enquiry into the working of the Board, and the mover, who was a member of the Sadler Commission, quoted facts to prove his thesis that it needed overhauling. In this he was supported by the leading educationists in the Council. But the Minister refused to appoint a committee to enquire into the methods on which the Board was conducted, and it was made clear in the course of the debate that the Government was not prepared to institute an inquiry on these lines. They were, however, compelled to appoint a committee a year later on with strictly defined terms of reference. The committee was told at the outset that no recommendation concerning the structure of the Act could be made; and the members had to confine themselves to such

recommendations as could be carried out without any change in the Act itself. Such a committee was useless for all practical purposes, and it accomplished nothing. The members even of this committee were, however, obliged to confess that the standard of instruction in English had deteriorated, and the question of the duration of the Intermediate course necessitated reconsideration. The Committee's recommendations did not satisfy the public, and on March 19, 1928, the question of the duration of courses in Intermediate Colleges was again raised in the Legislative Council. The Government was now, after persistent agitation, obliged to promise an enquiry. We are convinced that a strong and impartial committee is absolutely necessary for the investigation of those defects which undoubtedly exist and which should be removed without delay. If this is not done, it will seriously affect the quality of university and secondary education in these provinces.

We have deemed it necessary to discuss at a somewhat disproportionate length the various problems connected with the administration of the Board, as we think that upon their right solution depends the fate of higher, secondary and professional education in these provinces. We are spending a very large sum on these colleges, and we have a right to demand that the amount we spend on them yields reasonable returns.

The Policy of the Board towards Muslims.

We may conclude this part of our report on Intermediate Education by drawing your attention to the policy of the Board towards Muslims. The total number of members of the Board is 37. Of these one is the Secretary, who is a Hindu, and one Chairman, who is an European. There are, besides, 35 other members. Of these only 5 are Muslims. They are there, not because they are elected under any one of the various sub-sections of Section 3 of the Intermediate Education Act, but because three of them are nominated by the Government, and one is elected by the Legislative Council.

Another member is appointed by the Muslim University, Aligarh, who is of course a Muslim. Hence all the Muslim members are nominated, except one, who is elected by the Legislative Council. From the above it will be clear that Muslims who play such a large and, we may even say, an important part in the public economy of these provinces have to depend practically for nomination for representation of their community in the Board. The reason, of course, is that the number of Muslim principals of Intermediate Colleges and headmasters of High Schools is so small, that no Muslim has a chance of election to the Board either under clause (c), sub-section 1, section 3 of the Act, or under clause (e), sub-section 1, of section 3. There are, besides, various bodies which send their representatives to the Board. As these bodies are dominated by Hindus, not a single Muslim has any chance of election. The Allahabad University elects three representatives. All the three are Hindus; the two members of the Chambers of Commerce are Hindus; the British Indian Association and the Agra Landholders' Association return Hindu members. As the number of Hindus in the Board is large, and they have a permanent majority, the three persons co-opted by the Board are also Hindus. The result

is that Muslims are scandalously represented in the Board. This is specially to be regretted as the Board wields immense powers, moulds the secondary and intermediate education of these provinces, and conducts Intermediate and High School Examinations for thousands of candidates.

Proposals for the Representation of Muslims in the Intermediate Board.

The Muslims embodied their grievances in a memorial submitted to the Governor on August 14, 1924; in the meeting of the Provincial Muhammadan Educational Conference, and in the U. P. Legislative Council. We are strongly of the opinion that our representation in the Intermediate Board as well as in other bodies created by the legislature should be guaranteed in a parliamentary statute. Unless and until this is done, there is no possibility of any satisfactory solution of this difficulty being solved. We propose that the number of Muslims to be elected to the Board should consist of following classes:

Two Muslims to be elected from among principals of the Muslim Intermediate Colleges.

Two Muslims to be elected from among Headmasters of Islamia High Schools in these provinces.

One Muslim to be elected by the British Indian Association.

One Muslim to be elected by the Agra Landholders' Association.

One Muslim to be elected by the Allahabad University.

One Muslim to be elected by the Legislative Council.

One Muslim to be elected by the Upper India Chamber of Commerce, and two Muslims to be nominated by the Government.

If this constitution is adopted, it will guarantee an adequate representation of our community. At the present time the views and opinions of Muslim educationists, Muslim landlords, Muslim industrialists, and Muslim publicists are not adequately represented. The Board has been practically Hinduised, and as it possesses large powers, the majority community has effectively organised itself, and repels all interlopers.

Grievances of Muslims. Lack of Muslims on Committees of the Board. Paucity of Muslim Examiners.

We would like to draw your attention to the thoroughly unsatisfactory manner in which appointments are made to examinerships. As will be quite clear from the list printed in the Appendix to this report, the number of Muslims who are appointed to examine subjects other than Persian and Arabic and Urdu is so absurdly small, that great dissatisfaction exists in the mind of our community. Precisely the same state of affairs is visible in other spheres of the Board's activity. Our representation on the important committees of the Board is most unsatisfactory. We may refer here to the curious procedure adopted by the examination committee which frequently turns down the suggestions made by the various committees of courses. This procedure is so secret, and mysterious, and is so completely opposed to that open dealing and frank and honest discussion of educational problems, that

we cannot but draw your attention to this unusual arrangement. It is asserted that a number of names submitted and recommended by the committees of courses are changed by the examination committee, and those persons who are friends and dependents of the members of the committee are substituted in their place. We would particularly like you to compare the list of persons recommended for examinerships by the various committees of courses for the last four years, with the list of persons actually recommended by the examination committee, and ultimately appointed by the Board. Such lists are printed and are available in the office of the Board. In the examination committee there is only one Muslim out of seven. The next important committee is the Recognition Committee. It recommends the recognition of schools by the Board. On this there is only one Muslim out of seven. On the Finance Committee there is only one Muslim out of seven. In the Curriculum Committee there is only one Muslim out of 16. In the committee for scrutinising applications from private candidates, there is not a single Muslim. In the Results Committee there is one Muslim out of five. All the four representatives of the Board on the Text-Book Committee, are Hindus; while the two representatives of the Board in the Agra University are also Hindus.

Lack of Muslims in Committees of Courses and Studies.

Not only are Muslims unrepresented in committees which deal with most important aspects of the administration of the Board, they are also unrepresented even in bodies which ought to be constituted solely and simply on account of the academic distinction and experience of their members. If it be said that suitable Muslims are not available, our reply is that for every one of these committees Muslims can be found in these provinces who will be equal to, if not, in some cases, superior to those who are its members.

The Committee of Courses and Studies in English consists of seven members. There is no Muslim on it. The committees of Sanskrit and Hindi contain no Muslim member.

In the History Committee of seven, there is only one Muslim.

„ „ Bengali, Marathi and Gujrati committees there is no Muslim.

„ „ Mathematics Committee of seven members there is not a single Muslim.

In the Physics Committee of 5 members there is one Muslim.

„ „ Chemistry Committee of 7, there is not a single Muslim.

„ „ Biology „ „ no Muslim.

„ „ Agriculture „ „ „

„ „ Drawing, Manual Training „ „

„ „ Domestic Science „ „

„ „ Commerce Committee of six, „ one Muslim.

„ „ Economic „ of seven, „ only one Muslim.

„ „ Logic „ „ no Muslim.

„ „ Indian Music „ „ one Muslim.

These details will show at a glance the unjust treatment meted out to the Muslims of these provinces by the Board. Details of these and other matters will be found in the Appendix to this Report.

Need for the Safeguarding of Urdu Language in Secondary Education.

We would like to draw your attention to another aspect of the activities of the Board which is, in our opinion, fraught with grave consequences. The resolution passed by the government of Lord Macdonnell in the year 1898 on the language question created a bitter controversy in these provinces, and gave rise to unpleasant feelings between the two communities. This unfortunate controversy was settled by the government of Sir James Latouche who, among other things, laid down that (1) the Readers to be used in primary schools should be written in the common language spoken by the people, and that (2) in English schools every student reading Urdu should study Hindi, and *vice versa* as second form. These principles were incorporated in the curriculum of Middle and High Schools. The Curriculum Committee of the Intermediate Board, without any reference to the Government, changed its curriculum concerning this important question and removed the second form. The result of this change, as contemplated, was that Urdu which was partially taught in all English secondary schools has now been removed altogether from a large number of schools in these provinces. Muslim boys in Government Schools and Intermediate Colleges, as well as in private schools and colleges recognised by the Board, are intensely dissatisfied with an arrangement which will lead ultimately to the supersession of Urdu. The matter has been complicated by the fact that the vernacular has been recognised as a medium of instruction in even the top forms of these colleges. As the number of Hindu teachers is overwhelming, and as, moreover, they make it a practice to spread the knowledge of Hindi in their class rooms, the result is that in many cases Muslim boys cannot intelligently follow the class lesson, as it is conducted in *Bhasha*, containing numerous Sanskrit words, and to them it is more unintelligible than a lesson in English. Muslim parents are naturally reluctant to send their boys to such institutions. It is essential that the language employed in a lesson should be intelligible to the students of the class.

Vernacular as a Medium of Instruction in Secondary Schools.

We may say that we are not opposed, in principle, to vernacular as a a medium of instruction, but we agree with the views of the Director of Public Instruction, expressed in the report cited above, that the matter is complicated by the existence in practically every school of Hindi and Urdu. We would therefore suggest that with a view to safeguarding our language, it is essential that if vernacular is used as a medium of instruction, it must be a vernacular which is intelligible to Muslim students. The following extract from the Quinquennial Review of the Director of Public Instruction, U.P., published in 1928, will make it clear that this problem has raised many more difficulties than were perceived at the outset. We agree with him that it is advisable to pause yet a while in order to prepare the ground thoroughly before extending the use of the vernacular as the instructional medium to the high section classes.

" In 1916 the vernacular became the sole medium of instruction for classes up to and including the middle stage, of Anglo-Vernacular institutions. At that time the main fear of the objectors to the change was that the standard of English would deteriorate. To quote the quinquennial report for 1917-22, ' Opponents of the change had prophesied a lowering of the standard of attainment in English, but so far as can be made out the English in schools is somewhat better than it was at the beginning of the quinquennium and with the intensification of teaching in the periods allotted to the English language there should be further improvements." Candidates in the high school examination are permitted to answer question-papers in certain subjects in their vernacular, and in some high schools the vernacular is used as the medium of instruction beyond the middle stage. But improvement in English and in other subjects is slow in coming. The principal of one intermediate college writes:—" The vernacular medium was used with due adaptation for teaching the high section subjects. It is too early yet to pronounce upon its success, but there is no gainsaying the fact that, given a command over his native speech on the part of the teacher, the boys will always appreciate a subject better when taught through the vernacular. But it must be confessed with shame that the language the teachers use at present is far from ideal. Since the commencement of this session every effort is made to discourage the use of the ludicrous jargon in which even the schoolmaster expresses his thought." Inspectors in their reports for 1926-27 continue to remark on this feature of Anglo-Vernacular education. One inspector finds that standard in English in class VIII is certainly lower than it was, and it does not appear that the standard in other subjects has improved. Another states that in the opinion of almost all the headmasters in his division the change of medium has impaired the standard of English. A third inspector reports that " boys in class IX or X cannot talk correct English ; when spoken to, they fail to reply because they have not understood." A fourth inspector writes:—" One of the outcries has been for the abolition of English in public examinations with the object of giving opportunities for greater power of expression to the candidate in his own vernacular. But no effort is made to reform the vernaculars. The subordination of English to the mother-tongue would certainly be most desirable, if there was a likelihood of the development of a national language. At present the vernacular used in the class-room consists of a heterogeneous mixture of Urdu, Hindi, Persian, Sanskrit and English technicalities. In subjects other than English the teacher is found to use the curious jargon referred to by the last quoted inspector. Yet the reports received on the teaching of English in vernacular middle schools are not unpromising ; in those schools the teacher, even if he employs the ' direct method,' must on occasions fall back on the vernacular language for explanatory purposes. It would appear, therefore, that there has not been a wholehearted change in the medium of instruction on the part of teachers in Anglo-Vernacular schools. English is the medium in which they themselves were instructed. Being accustomed to think and express their thoughts on any advanced subject in English they find it difficult to teach in the vernacular and are often at a loss to express themselves ; they do not exert themselves to acquire the necessary proficiency, but when in difficulty fall back on the use of English as the easiest way out. So far as teachers

are concerned the difficulty of language is not insurmountable, and hardly sufficient attention has hitherto been paid in training colleges to ensure that the students in training acquire the necessary proficiency. Less use is reported to be made of school libraries than was formerly the case, and this seems not unconnected with the relegation of English to the place of a foreign language. It is necessary to increase the number of good books in the vernacular, both reference books and books for general reading: at present books of a satisfactory standard are few. Here, also effort by the teacher, if exerted, would effect a great improvement ; the teacher should encourage his pupils to read books and aid them in selection and reading. *"The strongest objection to the vernacular as the medium of instruction lies in the fact that there is no single vernacular language universal in this province; the matter is complicated by the co-existence in practically every school of Hindi and Urdu. In view of these difficulties it is advisable to pause yet a while in order to prepare the ground thoroughly before extending the use of the vernacular as the instructional medium to the high section classes."*

Grants-in-aid to Muslim Schools.

That the grants-in-aid of Muslim institutions are totally inadequate will be clear from the following figures for the year 1926-27.

According to the information supplied by the Government to Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, in reply to a question in the Council, the total number of Muslim and non-Muslim teachers in aided institutions recognised by the Board of High Schools and Intermediate Education in the U. P. was :

Muslim.	Non-Muslim.
546	2,204

The proportion of grant for Muslims in the case of High School for boys works out at 9·6 per cent.

(2) Middle School for boys at 21 per cent. Such schools are comparatively few.

(3) Middle School for girls 2·2 per cent.

The bulk of the grant is absorbed by the high school for boys and the Muslim share in it is scandalously small. They actually get only 9·5 per cent of such grants, while they contribute nearly 25 per cent of the land revenue. The grant system is radically unsound, and must be completely overhauled. We have shown above that in modern constitutions, every minority is entitled to a due allocation of grants-in-aid of charitable, educational and religious purposes. We are strongly of the opinion that the same principle should be applied in the United Provinces and the Muslims should be guaranteed 33 per cent of all the grants-in-aid of secondary education, and this amount should be earmarked for Muslim institutions. The present system has worked havoc in our community and has completely stifled educational endeavour and activity. It puts a premium upon wealth, and the Department says, in effect, "The more you have got, the more shall I give." The system is unsound, unscien-

tific, purely mechanical and entirely lacking in that regard for, and careful consideration of, the needs of a comparatively poor community which it ought to be the aim and object of every department to emphasise, encourage, and foster.

Girls' Education. Proposals for its Improvement.

We are greatly impressed with the need for the development of the education of girls, and support all measures which aim at increasing literacy among them, and giving them equal opportunities of intellectual advancement. We believe that upon the proper education of our girls depends the salvation of our motherland. We are in agreement with most of the recommendations of the Girls' Education Committee whose report was published last year, and hope that they will be carried out in spirit and letter and without delay. We are strongly of the opinion that special and vigorous measures are necessary if our girls are to occupy their rightful place in society. We would not like to deprive any girl of any of the facilities for higher education, and welcome all measures which aim at their elevation. We would, however, like to draw your attention to the fact that owing to the strict observance of *purda* among Muslim girls the latter are denied many opportunities which are available to Hindu and Christian ladies. It is consequently necessary that the number of (1) Muslim women teachers should be increased. Unless this is done, Muslim girls will not attend schools taught by Hindu teachers; (2) special Muslim girls' schools should be opened by the Government; (3) a number of scholarships should be offered to Muslim girls to enable them to become teachers; (4) scholarships should be reserved for them in Training Colleges, Normal Schools, and professional colleges and universities. Unless this is done Muslim girls will lag behind their Hindu compeers, and this will react disastrously on the education of our country. The figures cited by us at the end of this report show the ridiculously small representation of Muslims in the teaching and administrative staff of the Education Department. This needs your immediate attention.

That the number of Muslim girl students is small will be clear from the following figures supplied by the Education Department:

(1) Number of Muslim girl students in Primary A-V. and Vernacular Schools ... 12,362.

(2) ,, ,, ,, students in Middle A.-V. and Vernacular Schools ... 157.

(3) ,, ,, ,, High Schools ... 12.

(4) ,, ,, ,, Intermediate Colleges ... 5.

(5) ,, ,, ,, Women teachers in Normal Schools...8.

(6) ,, ,, ,, Women teachers in Model Schools ...45.

These figures reveal a state of affairs, which necessitate vigorous action by the Department.

In some cases it might be necessary to pay the entire cost of the school. Moreover, as there exists a strong prejudice in a few localities

against higher education of girls, it is essential that special measures should be adopted to overcome it. Our community is determined upon giving as good an education to its girls as it is giving to its boys, and we welcome all efforts by the Government in this direction. We are determined on providing all facilities for the advancement of our girls.

Paucity of Muslims in the Education Department ; and other matters.

We have given figures of Muslims in the Education Department at the end of this Report. They reveal a state of affairs, they show an injustice to which our community is exposed, which demand immediate reform.

We would like to draw your attention to the manner in which departmental examinations are held. These are now conducted by the Registrar, assisted by a few clerks. We consider it desirable that these examinations should be conducted under the supervision of the committee on which Muslims are adequately represented. It should have a Muslim educational officer of ripe experience as one of its members. The practical examinations of normal schools and training schools should also be conducted under the supervison of the committee proposed above, and Muslims should have adequate representation on the Board of Examiners.

Factors that have Militated against the Success of the New Scheme of Intermediate Education.

We are ready to acknowledge that Commission heralded a new era in the history of education in India, and that many of their recommendations are salutary. We recognise the soundness of many of their recommendations ; we are convinced that they were based on principles which are universally recognised to be true. We are not opposed, and have never been opposed, to these reforms. On the contrary we have welcomed them on innumerable occasions. All that we contend is that the manner in which they have been carried out in these provinces is thoroughly unsatisfactory. We believe that the recommendations of the Sadler Commission contained in paragraph 25, chapter XXXI have not been carried out. We are convinced that if the Board of Intermediate Education is conducted on the lines in which it has hitherto been conducted, it will arouse—indeed it has already aroused—a volume of opposition, and produce an amount of controversy and even conflict in the country which will frustrate all the efforts of sincere well-wishers of both the communities for compromise, reconciliation, and harmony. As regards the department of Public Instruction, we want it to be understood that our criticism has been directed to the policy of which the Department has been compelled to become, nilly-villy, the instrument. The Director of Public Instruction is bound to carry out the wishes of the Legislature, as education is a transferred subject ; and as the majority in the legislature is a Hindu majority, he cannot but give effect to the policy dictated by this majority. The Department of Education, we insist, must execute the policy ; it cannot initiate. It did so successfully in the past ; but it can do so no longer. The legislature, or in other words, the

Hindu majority in the legislature, is supreme, and that majority, however fluid it may be at other times, and whatever capacity it may exhibit for combining with other parties and communities, when its interests require, is always wide awake and completely organised whenever the question of Muslim education or protection of the interests of minorities, comes up for discussion. And the Director must keep the Hindu majority, and the Hindu Minister, in good humour. He cannot but carry out their policy. The only solution of this difficulty, in our opinion, is the insertion of ample safeguards in the future constitution of India, for the protection of our rights in the services maintained by the department and the local bodies, grants given by the department, and the protection of our language. We recommend that the Intermediate Education Act should be amended in order that Muslims may be represented on the Board and committees of the Board on the lines mentioned above.

The Significance of Sir Henry Sharp's Letter.

We will conclude this list of our requirements by quoting the following extract from the letter of Mr. Sharp, Secretary to the Government of India, in the Education Department. We have already dealt with the part of his letter concerning primary education. The portion dealt with here is concerned with secondary and collegiate education. This will show at a glance the measures advocated by the Government of India for the development of Muslim education in universities, in colleges and secondary schools. While the U. P. Government appointed a committee on primary education to devise ways and means for developing the primary education of our boys nothing was done, or has been done by any government, in the other grades of education. No committee was appointed ; no inquiry instituted, and no special facilities created for the development of secondary and university education among Muslims. In fact not only was there no progress made, but, as we have shown above, the whole of secondary and intermediate education was handed over to a Board which contains an overwhelming majority of Hindus, which has a permanent Hindu majority, and which decides its policy and elects members to committees, mostly on communal considerations. The portion of the letter dealing with secondary and collegiate education is as follows :

" The reasons which have retarded the spread of secondary education among the Muhammadans are the *poverty of the community, the linguistic difficulty, the demand for religious instruction and want of Muhammadan representation on the Governing Bodies of educational institutions.* The first has been to a large extent met by special Government scholarships and by endowments. This is essentially a matter for the local Governments and the community themselves. I am merely to observe that in part of the country where Muhammadans are slow to enter institutions for technical and industrial training (and it has been noticed that very few Muhammadans have been selected for the State Technical Scholarships), it may be found desirable to offer some special facilities by way of stipends or scholarships. As to the second. it is alleged that Muhammadans suffer when they have to study English through the medium of a *prakritic* vernacular with which they are little acquainted. Special schools or classes may go far to

meet this difficulty. The demand for religious instruction can be arranged for in privately-managed hostels attached to Government institutions. It is represented that, in certain parts of the country, the great majority of secondary schools are managed by Hindu bodies, and it was recently observed that, among the 100 ordinary members of the Calcutta Senate, only six were Muhammadans. The establishment of *special Muhammadan schools and colleges* would simplify these matters. But this is an expedient which for financial reasons cannot be adopted generally. And, where it is not feasible, a good deal may be done by *reserving a certain number of vacancies for Muhammadan pupils* in institutions which, by reason of their reputation, draw many applicants for admission and by safeguarding the interests of the community in other ways. A subsidiary difficulty which may sometimes present itself is that of advance from a semi-secular *maktab* to an institution of higher grade. This, however, is a matter of arrangement in the codes of the various provinces. The suggestions which the Government of India think may be of practical utility in the matter of secondary and collegiate education are—

(*i*) The improvement of existing institutions for Muhammadans, such as the Calcutta Madrassah, the Islamia College, Lahore, and Islamia schools.

(*ii*) The establishment of separate Muhammadan institutions in places where this can be done without detriment to efficiency or discipline and without unreasonable expense

(*iii*) When this is not possible (and it is apprehended it will but seldom be possible) the addition to the staff of a school of a teacher or teachers who will be able either to teach classes in English through the medium of Urdu, or to give special help to Muhammadan boys where a knowledge of some other vernacular is desirable either for the study of English or for general reasons.

(*iv*) The maintenance of hostels for Muhammadans under private management with religious teaching.

(*iv*) The maintenance of hostels for Muhammadans under private the committees (where such exist) of Government institutions and to the governing bodies of aided institutions.

(*vi*) The provision of Muhammadan teachers and inspectors."

The Ideal of a University.

The ideal of a University was so clearly and lucidly explained by cardinal Newman that we take the liberty of quoting it here: "When a multitude of young men, keen, open-hearted, sympathetic, and observant as young men are, come together and freely mix with each other, they are sure to learn one from another, even if there be no one to teach them; the conversation of all is a series of lectures to each other, and they gain for themselves new ideas and views, fresh matter of thought, and distinct principles for judging and acting, day by day. An infant has to learn the meaning of the information which its senses convey to it, and this seems to be its employment. It fancies all that the eye presents it to be close to it, till it actually learns the contrary, and thus by practice

does it ascertain the relations and uses of those first elements of knowledge which are necessary for its animal existence." A parallel teaching is necessary for our social being, and it is secured by a large school or a college; and this effect may be fairly called in its own department an enlargement of mind. It is seeing the world on a small field with little trouble; for the pupils or students come from very different places, and with different notions, and there is much to generalise, much to adjust, much to eliminate; there are inter-relations to be defined, and conventional rules to be established, in the process, by which the whole assemblage is moulded together, and gains one tone and one character.

In such an assembly the youthful community will constitute a whole, it will embody a specific idea, it will represent a doctrine, it will administer a code of conduct, and it will furnish principles of thought and action. It will give birth to a living teaching, which in course of time will take the shape of a self-perpetuating tradition, or a *genious loci*, as it is sometimes called, which haunts the home where it has been born, and which inclines and forms, more or less, and one by one, every individual who is successively brought under its shadow. Thus it is that independent of direct instruction on the part of superiors, there is a sort of self-education in the academic institutions of Protestant England; a characteristic tone of thought, a recognised standard of judgment is found in them which, as developed in the individual who is submitted to it, becomes a twofold source of strength to him, both from the distinct stamp it impresses on his mind, and from the bond of union which it creates between him and others,—efforts which are shared by the authorities of the place, for they themselves have been educated in it, and at all times are exposed to the influence of its ethical atmosphere. Here then is a real teaching, whatever be its standards of principles, true or false; and it at least tends towards cultivation of the intellect; it at least recognises that knowledge is something more than a sort of passive reception of scraps and details; it is a something, and it does a something which never will issue from the most strenuous efforts of a set of teachers, with no mutual sympathies, and no inter-communion, of a set of examiners with no opinions which they dare profess, and with no common principles; who are teaching or questioning a set of youths who do not know them, and do not know each other, on a large number of subjects, different in kind, and connected by no wide philosophy, three times a week, or three times a year, or once in three years, in chill lecture-rooms or on a pompous anniversary.

Cardinal Newman's description of Oxford and Cambridge is no less apt:

"I protest to you, Gentlemen, that if I had to choose between a so-called University, which dispensed with residence and tutorial superintendence, and gave its degrees to any person who passed an examination in a wide range of subjects, and a University which had no professors or examinations at all, but merely brought a number of young men together for three or four years, and then sent them away as the University of Oxford is said to have done some sixty years since, if I were asked which

of these two methods was the better discipline of intellect,—mind, I do not say which is *morally* the better, for it is plain that compulsory study must be a good and idleness an intolerable mischief,—but if I must determine which of the two courses was the more successful in training, moulding, enlarging the mind, which sent out men the more fitted for their secular duties, which produced better public men, men of the world, men whose names would descend to posterity, I have no hesitation in giving the preference to that University which did nothing, over that which exacted of its members an acquaintance with every science under the sun. And, paradox as this may seem, still if results be the test of systems, the influence of the public schools and colleges of England, in the course of the last century, at least will bear out one side of the contrast as I have drawn it. What would come, on the other hand, of the ideal systems of education which have fascinated the imagination of this age, could they ever take effect, and whether they would not produce a generation of frivolous, narrowminded, and resourceless, intellectually considered, is a fair subject for debate; but so far is certain, that the universities and scholastic establishments, which did little more than bring together first boys and then youths in large numbers, these institutions with miserable deformities on the side of morals, with a hollow profession of Christianity and a heathen code of ethics,—I say, at least they can boast of a succession of heroes and statesmen, of literary men and philosophers, of men conspicuous for great natural virtues, for habits of business, for knowledge of life, for practical judgment, for cultivated tastes, for accomplishments, who have made England what it is,—able to subdue the earth, able to domineer over Catholics."

In this passage Newman stresses the need for residence. The Indian Universities, however, lack not merely the quality which Newman emphasised, but also other qualities which all English Universities exhibit. We need only refer to the teaching imparted there, as well as to the fact that the majority, and, really the most typical of them, are not affiliating but "unitary." The Sadler Commission therefore stressed these three aspects of a modern University life—its "unitarian"—as opposed to affiliating—character, its teaching, and its residence. It was on these principles that the University system in these provinces was reconstructed.

The Principles which underlay the Recommendations of the Commission.

The Lucknow University was founded mainly on these principles, and the Allahabad University was reorganised on substantially the same lines. These recommendations deal with the general administration of University reorganisation. However, the Commission in Chapter XXXVII, paragraphs 31, 42, 51 and 80; and in Chapter XXXVII, para 84; Chapter XXIX, paragraph 38, Chapter XXXIV, paragraph 118; and Chapter XXXVII, paragraphs 94 and 86 dealt with the representation of Muslims in Bengal; while in Chapter XXXIII, paras 102, 145—147, and 195, 184, 188 and 190, they dealt with the safeguarding of Muslim interests in the University of Dacca; and lastly in Chapter XXXI, paragraphs 25, 27, they

deal with the safeguarding of their interests in the proposed Board of Intermediate and High School Examination. These recommendations formed an integral part of their scheme of University and Intermediate reorganisation. In fact they made it clear that Muslim interests must be safeguarded at every step when institutions based on the principles and ideas which they had outlined are organised. We quote below an extract from the Report of the Commission :

" One of the essential and most efficient remedies for the evils described in the foregoing paragraph is the creation of new universities, wherein the teaching function can be assured of its due predominance. To this end we recommend the organisation of the teaching resources which exist in the city of Calcutta in such a way as to create a real teaching university ; we recommend that the project of a university at Dacca should be carried into effect at the earliest possible moment ; and we also recommend the adoption of a mode of organisation for the mufassal colleges which will encourage the gradual rise of new university centres by the concentration of resources for higher teaching at a few points. But before we turn to these proposals it will be convenient to set forth certain general recommendations affecting all the university organisations alike, Calcutta, Dacca, and the future or ' potential ' universities of Bengal."

The following recommendations were declared by them applicable to all universities, which may be created in Bengal:—

(1) The Governor-General and the Government of India should cease to stand in the special relationship which they occupied in relation to the University of Calcutta. The Imperial Legislative Council should retain responsibility for all legislation affecting the fundamental Acts of universities ; and the Governor-General should assume the office of Visitor of the Universities of Calcutta and Dacca and of any future universities which may in future be created in Bengal performing (with the aid of a special organisation for university work) the functions of visitation, of advice in regard to the co-ordination of effort with the universities of other provinces, of giving encouragement and assistance to research, and of affording help in the recruitment of teachers. They suggested that it would be advantageous if these visitorial functions were similarly exercised over all the universities of British India.

(2) The Governor of Bengal should be Chancellor of the Universities of Calcutta and Dacca, and of any future universities in Bengal, performing functions in many respects different from those now assumed by the Chancellor: these functions are more fully defined in Chapters XXXIII, XXXVII and L.

(3) The Government of Bengal should take the place of the Government of India in all ordinary dealings between the State and the universities in Bengal ; though the functions of Government in this regard should be in many respects different from what they now are, and in particular, should

involve much less detailed interference in academic affairs than is now the case.

(4) The regulations governing the work of the universities should be made less rigid, and should be classified in accordance with the character of their subject-matter. The classification which they recommended was as follows: (a) The Act, made and alterable only by the Imperial Legislative Council ; (b) the Statutes, made in the first instance (as a schedule to the Act) by the Imperial Legislative Council, but subsequently capable of being altered or added to by the Court of the University, subject to the approval of the Government of Bengal ; (c) the Ordinances, made by the Executive Council of the University, subject to ratification by the Court, the Chancellor having the right of veto ; (d) the Regulations, made by appropriate bodies in the University to which such powers are entrusted by Statute or Ordinance.

(5) Honours courses, distinct from the outset from pass courses, should be instituted in the universities in order to make provision for the needs of abler students ; and the pass courses should be arranged in coherent groups of subjects. Facilities should be afforded for change from pass to honours courses and *vice versa.*

(6) The duration of the degree course should be three years after the intermediate stage ; this provision being applied immediately in regard to honours courses, and at an early date in pass courses. In appropriate cases honours graduates should be permitted to proceed to the degree of M.A. one year after taking their degree.

(7) The title of Professor and Reader should be strictly reserved for persons upon whom these titles are conferred by a university, and who are in receipt of a minimum salary, to be defined.

(8) Appointments to professorships and readerships should be made by special selection committees including external experts ; and, in order that there may be in each university a certain number of Western-trained teachers of these ranks, a defined number of professorships and readerships in each university should be appointed on the nomination of selection committees acting in England, but including representatives named by the University.

(9) Small Civil Service Commissions should be appointed in connexion with the Government of India and the Provincial Government. The duties of these Commissions should be (a) to define the stage of educational attainment which should be required in the case of various groups of posts under Government ; (b) to conduct competitive tests among qualified candidates for such vacancies as may be announced, under such conditions as may be defined ; (c) to approve

all appointments made by direct nomination in cases where this method of appointment is held to be desirable.

(10) In view of the necessity for paying greater attention to the health and physical welfare of students, a director of physical training, holding the rank and salary of a professor, should be appointed in each university ; and a Board of Students' Welfare, including medical representatives, should be one of the standing boards or committees of each university. Responsibility for the supervision of the conditions of students' residence should be assigned to the appropriate authorities.

The Proposals of the Commission with Regard to Education of Muslims.

As regards the education of Muslims, the Commission said: " The problem involved in the education of Musalmans has been, and still is, a cause of serious perplexity to the Government of India ; there are obvious dangers inherent in a state whose population is divided between religions so fundamentally different, as are Hinduism and Islam. But in this new movement of the Muslim community towards higher education there lies the presage of an intellectual unity which would lessen, if it might not obliterate, the breaches caused by ancient divisions and by deep differences in cultural tradition. A greater equality in point of culture might strengthen the forces which make for harmony and co-operation between the two main sections of the Bengal population; the whole community would be the stronger by the abatement of those misunderstandings and antagonisms which have a long history behind them, and still affect the inner life of the country; social reform would be rendered less difficult were some of the estrangement modified by the influence of friendships formed at school and college; and a gradual lessening of the power of old divisions would make the people of Bengal more homogeneous for the manifold and arduous tasks which await it.

We have sought to safeguard the Muslim position all along the line. In the constitution which we have proposed for the reorganised University of Calcutta we have provided for the inclusion in the Court of representatives of registered Muslim graduates, as also of representatives of the Muslim community, and we have also suggested that the Chancellor should have power to nominate a certain number of members for a period of five years, of whom ' some might be ' representatives of particular communities not adequately represented. In designing the Executive Council of the reorganised Calcutta University we have provided that out of 17 members three at least must always be Musalmans, while our proposed Academic Council is to include " four representatives with educational experience, two at least of whom should be teachers, to be appointed by the Chancellor after report from the Muslim Advisory Board. The Board of Mufassal Colleges is always to contain at least four Musalmans; the Board of Women's Education is always to have three Muslim representatives nominated by the Muslim Advisory Board; the Board of Students' Welfare is always to have three Muslim representatives; and on every committee constituted for the appointment of university teachers there should be at least one Musalman. We have insisted that the Executive Commission should contain at least one leading representative of the Muslim community. We have also

urged the establishment of a Muslim Advisory Board to advise the University on matters affecting the interests and convictions of Muslim students. We have advocated the establishment of an Islamia College in Calcutta and the creation of chairs of the principal Islamic studies in the Faculty of Arts of the reorganised University of Calcutta. We have also suggested that proficiency in Islamic studies might be recognised by special degrees or diplomas. These two matters are dealt with at length in Chapters XXXIV and XLII respectively."

Their Recommendations Regarding the Dacca University ; and the Intermediate Board.

As regards the University of Dacca, they placed in the forefront of their proposals the establishment of a strong department of Islamic studies and made suggestions which would lead " to the creation of a school of learned men capable of producing important and original studies on Arabic, Philosophy and Science," in addition to the much larger number of Muslim graduates, " who will become teachers in schools, inspectors, and members of Government administrations." While not excluding Musalmans from the other halls of residence of the University, they insisted on the immediate establishment of a Muslim Hall, which " will offer to the Muslim students a full corporate life and will enable the sons of Muslim parents to receive education under those religious influences to which they attach so much importance." They proposed, as in Calcutta, that a Muslim Advisory Board should form an integral part of the Dacca University. As regards the other constituent bodies of the University they suggested that the Court should always contain, among others, (*a*) 30 graduates of the University, of whom 15 should be Muslim graduates elected by the Muslim graduates, and (*b*) 40 members appointed by the Chancellor, of whom not less than 20 should be Musalmans ; while the Executive Council should always include (*i*) four persons appointed by the Chancellor, of whom two should be Musalmans, one being a teacher of the University, and (*ii*) four persons elected by the Court, two of these being elected by the Muslim members of the Court who have registered themselves as Musalmans from among their own number. In the constitution which they proposed for the Academic Council they advocated the inclusion of a number of persons, not exceeding one-tenth of the persons otherwise included in the Council, to be co-opted by the Council from persons belonging to the teaching profession and being members of the staff either of the University of Dacca. or of an intermediate college in the Dacca district, or of the Dacca Madrassah. They also suggested that if the other categories proposed do not include a sufficient number of Musalmans to make up a fourth of the Council, the Council shall be required to fill up the vacancies in the category which they had indicated so as to bring the number of Muslim members as nearly as possible up to the fraction prescribed.

They also suggested that the proposed Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education should include at least three representatives of Muslim opinion and interests. The Board should also form a special committee, upon which the Islamic Department of Dacca University should be strongly represented, to conduct the examination held at the end of the reformed madrassah course and corresponding to the present matriculation, and also

the examination held two years later and corresponding to the intermediate examination in Islamic studies. The linguistic difficulties under which Musalmans in Bengal labour had not escaped their notice, and they trusted that the recommendations which they made in this respect, while securing to the Muslim student a better education, would relieve him of an almost impossible burden." They also referred to the wish of the Musalmans in the matter of candidates' names being written on the answer books shown at university examinations. On general grounds they advocated the adoption, as far as practicable, of the principle of anonymity in large examinations." The Commission added :—

" If our recommendations in the matter of the representation of Musalmans on the various university authorities fall short of what certain leading members of that community have claimed, we can only assure all those who have the interests of the Bengali Musalmans at heart, that our desire is to secure the influence on university affairs of the ablest and most influential representatives of the cultural tradition of Islam, and thus to provide a guarantee, in which the community may confide, that Muslim convictions and needs will find expression upon all proper occasions, and especially at those points in university business at which the consideration of Muslim convictions and needs is pertinent and appropriate."

How far, and in what respects, have their recommendations been carried out in these provinces ?

These extracts show clearly and concisely the type of university which the Commission desired. The question naturally arises, how far, and to what extent, have these recommendations been carried out? Have the new universities justified the hopes and expectations of the Commission? We may state at the outset that the Universities of Lucknow and Allahabad were faced with problems the importance and significance of which can be realised only by those who have had to create an entirely new institution, or develop a new system out of materials which, however useful and even serviceable they might have been when used for the object for which they were originally designed, could not, by any method, and on any principle, be regarded as pliable. There were the difficulties of administration, which are the invariable concomitant, we may even say, the necessary adjuncts, of a new system, constructed on principles which are vague, blurred and hazy, even to those who have been assigned the task of carrying out the plans sketched by the architect. Again, finance plays a large part in the success of any scheme. It played an important, we may even say, a determining part in the development of the new universities. The Commission had recommended the establishment of unitary, teaching and residential universities. Apart altogether from the fact that their scheme involved a departure from the traditional scheme of university administration, the fact that India is a country of large distances, limited resources, and circumscribed, and, in most cases, inelastic revenue seems to have been forgotten by the Commission. It is true that they discussed the financial aspects of their proposals in an admirable chapter of their

report; and it must be acknowledged that they were appointed solely to suggest changes in secondary and university education, and no limit was assigned to them as regards the financial implications of their proposals. It cannot, however, be denied that their conclusions would have undergone a radical change if they had visualised the needs of this province in their totality. Education is, we admit, of supreme importance to every native of these provinces, and we should be the last to depreciate the value, or minimise the significance of university education. Yet there are other needs of the province which are as pressing, as urgent and as important as University education. There is the question of public health, of medical relief, of communications. Before one can receive education, one must be alive and well. We agree that education takes, as it must take, precedence over all these subjects, but we cannot subscribe to the view that the health of our people or the cleanliness of their homes should be neglected. The financial history of this province has made it clear to the students of provincial politics that if the principles of the Commission are developed to their logical conclusion, and our province is studded over with a number of unitary and teaching universities, then we will be bankrupt in a very short period, indeed. This explains the setback, and accounts for the indifference, with which the topic of university administration is discussed nowadays. We think that this indifference is not justified. We believe that the universities have stamped themselves on the conscience of the nation; we feel strongly that they are the chief instruments for the preservation and development of our culture, and the intellectual growth of our people. It will not be denied that on them depends the social growth, and material advancement of our country. They are the nurseries of our statesmen, and have trained a succession of publicists and others whose ability, enterprise and energy will challenge comparison with those of any statesman in Europe.

The New System. Its Merits and Demerits.

We come back to the question which we raised at the outset of our enquiry, and ask, How far have they realised the hopes of their founders? In speaking of the universities, we confine ourselves to the three universities which are practically maintained by Government grants. We feel great diffidence in replying to this question, as we believe it is impossible to give an answer off-hand and say "Yes" or "No." It is necessary that the problem should be analysed carefully, and its constituent elements analysed.

We may say that the new universities are distinctly superior to the old ones in some respects. We think that the quality of the staff has improved; and the old system, whereby persons in the Government service were employed in Government Colleges without any regard for their special qualifications, has died a natural death. Most of the departments are now staffed by persons, who take an interest in the work they teach, and are, in some cases, specialists in their subjects. It is true that the reputation of the majority does not stand very high in the world of scholarship; it is no less true that some of them do not exhibit those qualities of character which distinguished some of the eminent educators of the past.

On the other hand it must be admitted that generally the staff of the new universities has improved in quality, and is better than the staff of most of the old Government colleges in these provinces. Teaching, too, has improved, and students receive better instruction in the varied curricula of the universities than they did before, and more efficient and systematic education is imparted.

Post-graduate teaching is given in most of the subjects, and provision is made in some departments for Research work. It is unnecessary to state that the mere fact that instruction in the new universities is better does not show that students profit by it to the same extent as they did before, nor does it show that the quality of the students has improved. We have adduced reasons to show that owing to the shortening of the period which the student spends in a university the quality of the students has deteriorated.

The organisation of the Academic Council has proved an excellent means for the free, frank and enlightened discussion of academic questions and the university teacher has found a forum, and acquired an experience of the working of the machinery, which lends an additional zest and imparts an added interest, to his work in the class-room. The organisation of the Faculty system, the development of new branches of study, and the growth of an *esprit de corps* among the teachers, have undoubtedly infused vigour, energy, and even enthusiasm into the administration of these universities. These gains are by no means unsubstantial or insignificant, and we are gratified to learn that a Commission presided over by one of the most distinguished educationists in England was responsible for these reforms.

Some Undesirable Results of this System.

There are, however, shadows in the landscape, and it is our painful duty to bring to your notice the shortcomings which these universities exhibit. In doing so, it must be clearly understood that we do not attack the system inaugurated by the Commission. We are in complete sympathy with the aims, and are in entire agreement with the policy, adumbrated by the Commission. Our object is merely to show how this policy has actually been carried out, and to what extent, if any, it falls short of the ideals which the Commission had placed before it.

We believe that if the finances of the province permit, a unitary, teaching and residential university is the best for India; we are of the opinion that if slight modifications are introduced in the composition of the various university bodies constituted by the Allahabad and Lucknow University Acts, the machinery, if well oiled and well cared for, will run smoothly.

We have no desire to scrap, we have no wish to destroy, the foundations. If we make any suggestions, it is solely with a view to removing excrescences which in our opinion obstruct its free course, impede its progress, and create a deadlock.

We may start by saying that the new universities have not yet developed that corporate spirit which the old college, hallowed by traditions, had fostered. The Faculty organisation has cut up the whole university into several parts, each of which seems to be, and, at times, is, independent of the other. The student and teacher of science does not come into frequent contact with the student and teacher of, for instance, law. This is due chiefly to the fact that at Allahabad the teaching of science is concentrated in the Muir Central College, and the teaching of Arts, Law and Commerce in the Senate House. The distance between the two is not very great, it is true, but the work of the students and teachers is so strenuous that they have not the inclination, even if they have the opportunity, of meeting each other. Of course, they meet on the playground, and in their homes, but intellectual contact of different types of intelligence in class rooms, etc., is different from the social intercourse which forbids all discussion of "shop."

This has resulted in a division of interest which sometimes leads to a division of loyalty. Higher loyalty to the university is substituted for the narrower, parochial and rather petty loyalty to the faculty or, which is more frequent, a subject. Consequently certain angularities of character are developed which it is the function of the university to remove. The university is, therefore, cut up into fragments, and a unifying principle is lacking. There must be a common bond, or tie, which will weave the scattered, desperate threads of university life together, and evolve a type, which, while not suppressing personality, will exhibit a uniformity, and a regularity of character, which stamp every university man all over England. Such a quality is lacking, not because it does not exist, but because university life is not unified, and university administration is not co-ordinated. The old colleges supplied this, to a large extent, and developed a corporate spirit, and a common loyalty, which, if kept within proper bounds, produced admirable citizens. The place of the college is supplied by hostels. It will be admitted by all who have had an experience of such hostels that they have not taken, nay, they can never take, the place of the old colleges. At their worst they are places where food and shelter can be obtained at a moderate charge; at their best they provide harmless recreation, interspersed with tutorial instruction by persons whose academic qualifications are admittedly inferior to the qualifications possessed by teachers of Muir Central College, or of the new universities. Such an institution is not, and cannot be, a college.

We may add here that we do not include Agra University in this estimate, as it is too recent to enable us to formulate our conclusions on it.

Too many Bodies; and Danger of Preoccupation with University Politics.

We now deal with another feature of university administration. The Commission recommended the institution of a variety of bodies in each university in order that it might become a genuine exponent of our national needs. They thought that if the universities were properly constituted, they would mirror the needs of our province. We agree

with the aim and the object outlined by the Commission, but we disagree with the manner in which it has been carried out. Our chief objection is that the university bodies are so unwieldy that it is impossible that they should work efficiently. In the Allahabad University, for instance, there were nearly 180 members of the University Court in 1927. In the Academic Council, the number was nearly 70; while the Executive Council, which ought to be a smaller body, contained 23 members. Such unwieldy bodies render all progress impossible. They either lead to interminable discussions, or there is little discussion of important items, in which questions of some very important principles are involved.

Though the University Courts contain some very eminent men, and have distinguished themselves by sound, solid and impartial consideration of academic matters, it cannot be said that the average level of intelligence and status of a member of these Courts is high. We are inclined to think that apart from a large number of teachers, who ought not to be there, and a handful of prominent public men who evince but a languid interest in the proceedings of such bodies, the level of intelligence displayed by the average type of a member of the court is not very high. As will be clear from the Minutes of the meetings of these bodies, which have been published, a large number of members of the court regard it as an excellent training ground for the Legislative Council or Municipal or District Board. A few young and pushing lawyers adopt a procedure which is analogous to the procedure of a legislature. "Cuts" are moved in the demand for grants, questions are generally asked, and full dress debates take place on some subject of public interest. Moreover, parties are organised in the Court, and discussion is held on party lines. We wish to make it clear that we are not opposed to a frank and free discussion of problems of a university administration by persons, whose experience, judgment and knowledge inspire confidence and instil respect. We believe that such a discussion is of the essence of a university life. But we do object to the conversion of the court into a municipal or a district board; we are opposed to the election of persons who regard it as an excellent means of getting cheap publicity, and we are decidedly and determinedly opposed to the formation of parties in the court, on personal, communal, racial or caste lines.

The number of elective bodies in the university necessarily involves a multiplicity of elections to these bodies. This is, to our mind, one of the worst features of the new system, as it involves teachers of the universities in incessant canvassing, it disturbs the harmony of university life, and it creates parties, factions and intrigues which eat into the vitals of our these institutions. This is specially the case in the matter of election to the Executive Council.

We are strongly of the opinion that the number of teachers in the university court and the executive council should be limited, as we think that unless this is done, university life will be seriously affected. We think that the academic councils are too large and their size should be

reduced. We believe that the number of committees of the university should be curtailed. Now that the two universities have been reorganised, and most of the work is done by the Deans of Faculties, the Treasurer, the Registrar and the Proctor, the time has arrived for the abolition of the post of paid Vice-Chancellor in both the universities. We admit that the work done in the first two years of university reorganisation necessitated the employment of experts, who devoted their whole time to the problems of university reconstruction. We think, however, that now an honorary Vice-Chancellor could do this work as efficiently as a paid one. We recommend that the position of the Treasurer in the Allahabad University should be stabilised, and he should be invested with powers which are in strict conformity with the aims and objects of the Act.

Our specific recommendations concerning the number of teachers in the Executive Council, and the Court, and our recommendations regarding the size of the Academic Council will be found in the Note printed in the Appendix to this Report.

Need for Co-ordination of Universities.

We are strongly of the opinion that co-ordination in the work of the new universities of Allahabad and Lucknow should be effected. We would like you to refer to the proceedings of the Co-ordination Committee appointed by the U. P. Government in 1924. Its recommendations, we feel confident, were halting, hesitating and incomplete ; yet even these recommendations have not been carried by either university. The results of this lack of co-ordination are clear to all who have had an experience of university administration. In the first place, it leads to duplication, and consequent frittering away of energies. Again, it is very expensive, and we in the United Provinces are faced with so many problems which require finance as their motive power, that we cannot afford to duplicate our resources, and divide our energies. We think that the Government should appoint a permanent committee which should include the Vice-Chancellors or, other representatives of the universities of Agra, Allahabad and Lucknow. The committee will formulate principles which will guide the Government in deciding on the demands for grants made by any university. It will scrutinise the applications, compare the advantages of the schemes, if any, adumbrated in the application, and send its recommendations to the Government. It will have, moreover, a positive policy. It will explore the fields which offer exceptional opportunities for research, suggest proposals for their organisation and for investigation, and offer constructive suggestions for the planning of programmes, and initiation of policy, in subjects which await investigation.

We are further of the opinion that some sort of co-ordination among the Indian Universities is essential and we would like the Government of India to effect this by methods that would not lead to the limitation of control of the Provincial Council over University education. Unless, this

is done, there is great fear of University degrees in India reaching the level of some American degrees.

We wish to point out that we do not use the word "Co-ordination" in a narrow sense. We would provide facilities for the teaching of the ordinary subjects of the University curriculum up to the M.A. stage, in every university. Beyond that, however, we are inclined to draw a line. We think co-ordination of teaching, equipment, and curriculum is necessary after the M.A. degree. We would, for instance, be reluctant to give a grant for the equipment of laboratories for research in Physics on exactly the same subdivision of this subject to two universities simultaneously, and try to concentrate research work in a particular aspect of this subject in one university and of another aspect in another university. We believe that this explains partly the lack of original contribution to knowledge by some universities in a number of subjects. If our researches had been co-ordinated, if proper amount had been used in proper quarters by qualified men there would have been a striking advance in the investigation of human and physical sciences.

Need of Research. The Universities should also do the work of Academies. Teachers' Part in the Administration.

We are afraid that the insistence on a "teaching, residential, and unitary," university, by all of our public men, has obscured the importance of another factor which seems to us to be as important as teaching. We refer, of course, to the research work conducted by the universities. While teaching is important, research is no less important, and we ought, in all of our efforts, to try to keep the balance between teaching and research even. We regret to say that this balance has not been maintained. We believe if our universities make no provision for research, if investigators are handicapped by lack of resources, and paucity of funds, and cannot carry on their investigation, if they confine themselves to teaching, and neglect original contribution to knowledge, they will degenerate into cram-shops, and fail in one of the essential functions of a university.

Our teachers will stagnate; students will be confined to the merest rudiments, and never gain those large views and that wide horizon, which are the product of a live, bracing, and healthy intellectual environment. We are afraid that the increased work which the cumbrous, complicated and intricate machinery of the new Acts has imposed on the teachers has diverted their energy from their proper sphere of research and teaching to the foreign, though alluring fields of administration, and University politics. These remarks are not meant to be depreciatory of their activities. If we state them at all, it is only with a view to explaining the curious inertia which followed the sudden outburst of educational activity in our province. We do not deny that experience of administration is useful to teachers. We are of opinion that it brings them in contact with the hard realities of life, and presents to them "sun-clear" facts which act as a

tonic on nerves that are either jaded by too wide, or too deep a reading, or are highly strung owing to the monotonous repetition of the same theme, whether in the class room or at home or in the club. What better practical work could a teacher do than help in the administration of his own university ? We think that within limits such work is as useful as teaching; but when this limit is reached, there is a probability, nay a certainty, of the teacher occupying himself with administration, and neglecting his proper work. That this limit has been reached in some cases is beyond doubt. We are of the opinion that every university teacher should show at regular intervals clear progress in his subject, as evidenced by the publication or preparation of an article, or a monograph on his special line of study. We need hardly add that the universities should impose this test, and not the Government.

We may draw your attention to another point which seems to us to merit your attention. The Government of India initiated a policy in these provinces which had proved eminently successful in the Calcutta University. They made special grants to a few local governments including the U. P. Government, for the institution by the University of Allahabad, of Professorships in various subjects. The University professors were to confine themselves to the M.A. teaching, and to organize researches in their particular branches. Their chief function was the organisation of researches. This was, in our opinion, an extremely sound scheme, and the work published by the University Professors of Allahabad and Madras was of a high order. It created a zeal, and it developed an interest, in the various subjects, which profoundly affected the canons and standards of scholarship in India. On the re-organisation of the Allahabad University, the University Professorships founded before 1920 were merged in the ordinary professorships. We think that a multiplication of Research Professorships in these provinces is undesirable; we are of the opinion that all professors should be expected to teach as well as to research. Research ought not to be the prerogative of a particular type of University teacher. We think, however, that one or two Research Professorships may well be instituted by the Government in the universities. We believe there is great scope for the investigation of the economic structure of Indian society; we are convinced that a trained mind is necessary for the evaluation and due assessment of those forces whose nascent activity has aroused the attention of the public. In other countries, and especially in England, learned societies, such as the Royal Society, have maintained, and, at times, improved the form and content of scholarship; they have fostered the pursuit of knowledge, and kept the torch of Truth burning. In our country, those great associations which immortalised our fame, illumined the dark recesses of mind, and lit up, as if with a glow, the mysterious, though all-pervading strands of our racial and national consciousness, have disappeared. Our old universities are a thing of the past. Their names survive. Under these circumstances, we think that the only institution which can take their place, in fact the chief instrument, is the university. It alone is in a position to foster research, to encourage a spirit of enquiry, and inculcate the highest, purest and noblest ideals of knowledge. We are, therefore, of the opinion, that the Government should make special effort

in this line; that it should offer special facilities and give special grants, to the universities for this work. Such an amount is liable to be diverted into other channels, unless it is earmarked for the purpose. The universities in this country supply the place of Academies in Continental Europe.

We may be allowed to quote Mathew Arnold on the function of an Academy: "An institution like the French Academy,—an institution owing its existence to a national bent towards the things of the mind, towards culture, towards clearness, correctness, and propriety in thinking and speaking, and, in its turn, promoting this bent,—sets standards in a number of directions, and creates, in all these directions, a force of educated opinion, checking, rebuking those who fall below these standards, or who set them at naught. Educated opinion exists here and in France; but in France the Academy serves as a sort of centre and rallying-point to it, and gives it a force which it has not got here." We would like our Universities to perform the same functions in India.

The Universities and the U. P. Muslims.

Having discussed the general problems of university administration, we think it is necessary that we should draw your attention to the grievances of our community. The University Acts dealing with the Agra, Allahabad and Lucknow Universities are based on the principle of autonomy. This principle was applied also to local bodies, the Intermediate and High School Board and other institutions. Let us say at once that we do not—indeed we cannot—object to such a principle, provided, of course, our fundamental rights are not disregarded. We believe that universities can realise themselves only if, and when, they are masters of their own household.

We do not want them. we have never desired them, to be a department of the Government. This is a principle of such crucial importance that we believe that there are few persons holding responsible position in any sphere of life who will disagree with it. Another feature of these Acts is the system of election to various bodies, ranging from the executive council to the university court. To this, again, no objection can possibly be entertained, and we do not object to it. It is perfectly just, reasonable and legitimate. What we do object to is the deliberate, systematic manner in which the recommendations of the Sadler Commission—recommendations that were an integral part of the scheme formulated by the Commission—were turned down. We wish to make it clear at the outset that we do not, and cannot, agree with the view that these recommendations were adequate. We believe them to be halting, meagre, insufficient, and incomplete. Yet while the main recommendations of the Commission concerning the universities were embodied in the University Acts for Lucknow and Allahabad, the parts dealing with the protection of Muslim interests, which were fundamental, were completely left out. In the Allahabad University Act provision was made for a Muslim Advisory Board, under section 27 (1) of the Act, and the Provisional Executive

Council of the Allahabad University framed a comparatively liberal Ordinance for powers and duties of the Board. At the Allahabad University Court Meeting held in January 1923, even these provisions were whittled down, at the suggestion of Pandit Iqbal Narain Gurtu. The powers and duties of the Board, framed in accordance with 27(1) of the Act are as follows :

"The Board shall have the right (1) to advice the university on any matter affecting religious convictions or special interests of Muslim students ; and (2) to address any of the university bodies on any matter affecting Muslim interests. The Board shall discharge such other functions as may be assigned to it by the Ordinances."

We would like to draw your attention to the manner in which the recommendations of the Commission regarding these Boards have been deliberately whittled down. In the Universities of Lucknow and Agra, no provision was made for the protection of Muslim interests and no Advisory Boards were established. The consequence is that Muslim interests have been jeopardised, and in the election to the various bodies of these universities, as well as in the appointments, Muslims have little chance of election. We assert that Muslims who are as capable as the persons who have been appointed to the posts created and filled since 1920—23 were available for all these appointments. We declare that in these appointments, as well as in the election to various bodies of the universities Muslim interests and Muslim claims were not given due attention. We are strongly of the opinion that such a process has aroused intense dissatisfaction in the minds of our community, and it is its firm conviction that the Allahabad University has been practically Hinduised while the Lucknow University is practically dominated by Bengali Hindus, owing to the policy of its Bengali Vice-Chancellor.

We have virtually disappeared from most of the departments of teaching of these universities. We have no chance of election to any one of these bodies whatsoever, and it is our bitter experience that such elections are conducted on communal lines, and as the number of Hindu voters is large, and the elctorate is joint, Muslims are crushed.

We give below a summary of the list of chief bodies and departments of teaching in the Universities of Allahabad and Lucknow. The figures relate to the year 1927-28, and show how unfairly our community is treated. These figures were supplied by the Universities themselves. These figures are incomplete, and should be compared with the figures relating to two Universities. See Appendix to this report. They reveal a state of affairs which every person will strongly condemn. They show that the monopoly established by the Hindus in all University bodies, and teaching departments is so effective that no Muslim has any chance of advancement in the Universities of his own provinces. We would strongly urge upon you the necessity of reforming this state of affairs.

Statement showing the Number of Muslim and Non-Muslim Teachers and Students in the Agra University.

Names of Colleges.	Teachers.		Students in the Degree and Post-graduate classes only.		Remarks.
	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	
Agra College, Agra ...	*2	40	8	343	*Take Inter-classes also.
St. John's College, Agra ...	*3	31	36	153	* „ „
Meerut College, Meerut ...	*3	*25	32	239	* „ „
Christ Church College, Cawnpore	*1	10	11	44	* „ „
St. Andrew's College, Gorakhpur	*1	*10	11	47	* „ „
Bareilly College, Bareilly ...	*1	*12	18	61	*12 „ „
D. A.-V. College, Cawnpore ...	...	14	2	146	„ „ „
S. D. College of Commerce, Cawnpore	...	*15	1	179	* „ „

Statement showing the Number of Muslim and Non-Muslim Teachers and Students in the (1) Allahabad University; (2) Lucknow University.

Year.	Teachers.		Year.	Students.		Remarks.
	No. of Muslims.	No. of Non-Muslims.		No. of Muslims.	No. of Non-Muslims.	
1. ALLAHABAD UNIVERSITY.						
1922	6	64	1922-23	111	699	
1923	7	62	1923-24	90	844	
1924	7	61	1924-25	87	877	
1925	10	66	1925-26	107	985	
1926	10	78	1926-27	105	1115	
1927	10	79	1927-28	120	1177	
2. LUCKNOW UNIVERSITY.						
1920-21	*	*	1920-21	164†	524†	‡
1921-22	5	50	1921-22	129	533	‡
1922-23	11	81	1922-23	175	668	‡
1923-24	14	84	1923-24	184	758	
1924-25	15	85	1924-25	304	905	
1925-26	15	86	1925-26	406	953	
1926-27	14	86	1926-27	399	1037	
1927-28	14	90	1927-28	432	1097	

* This information is not available.

† These figures do not include students in the Faculty of Law as this information is not available.

‡ These figures do not include the students in the Faculty of Commerce, as this information is not available.

Significance of these Figures.

These figures show at a glance the scandalous treatment to which our community has been subjected. When Universities resort to such tactics and exhibit such a specimen of communalism how can we expect other bodies which are neither "enlightened," nor "cultured" not to imitate their example ?

Our experience is that Muslims have been treated in a most cavalier fashion by the Hindus; that few Muslims have any chance of election to these bodies, as voters of the majority community preponderate, and that if this process of undiluted election, without any reservation of seats for Muslims goes on, it is certain that even the few Muslims who are now members of these bodies will give way, later on, to the Hindus. Such a state of affairs was not contemplated by the Commission ; such is not the attitude which the wise and courageous policy of the Government of India embodied in Sir Henry Sharp's letter concerning higher and university education exhibits ; such, we are convinced, is not the policy which the British Parliament has formulated. If Muslims are excluded even from such highly educated bodies as the executive council and courts of the universities; if no Muslim has any chance of appointment in a University, or of election by the Allahabad University Constituency to the Legislative Council, there must be something rotten in the state of Denmark.

We give in the Appendix to this Report the resolutions passed by the Muslim Advisory Board of the Allahabad University at various periods. We would like to draw your attention to the second column of this document. From its perusal, it will be perfectly clear that all the important resolutions which were referred to the executive council were shelved.

We may refer here to the question of the appointment of a Professor of Arabic in this University. The Muslim members had been stressing the need for the appointment of a Professor of Arabic since 1924, and the matter has been brought up at several meetings of various bodies of the university for the last four years. Yet in spite of the persistent and unanimous desire of Muslims for the appointment of a Professor of Arabic, in spite of the fact that the question had been threshed out on innumerable occasions, the appointment was not made. We may also draw your attention to the significant fact that since the reorganisation of the Allahabad University in 1922, only one Muslim was appointed to a post in departments other than the department of Urdu, Persian and Arabic till April 1928, when, owing to the persistent agitation, and frequent demand of the Muslims, one Muslim was appointed as a Lecturer in Politics.

We are in entire agreement with the views propounded by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, M.L.C., Chairman of this Committee, in the U.P. Legislative Council, on March 19, 1927, on the effective representation of Muslims in the staff and various bodies of the University. In discussing the position of Muslims in the Universities, he said :—

" I will remind this House that in 1924 the Muslim leaders waited upon His Excellency the Governor in connexion with the representation of Muhammadans in the universities. It is not my desire to traverse the ground that was traversed in their memorial, nor is it my desire to say anything that is likely to rouse communal feeling. My sole object is to place before this house certain facts which, if they are properly considered, will convince the majority of members that there is need for action in this matter. Sir, when the Allahabad University was reorganized in 1921, the basic principle of the Sadler Commission was ignored. By that I mean the principle laid down by the Sadler

Commission in Chapters 49, 33, 32 and 31. I cannot go into the details of each chapter in connexion with this debate. I think it will be sufficient if I mention that the Sadler Commission laid down that in every important body Muhammadans should be given adequate representation. Now, what are the important bodies? In the first place the supreme body is the Court. With regard to the Court the Sadler Commission made it perfectly clear that there must be an adequate number of Muhammadans. Now, Sir, the next important body is the Executive Council. The Executive Council is the body that carries out the policy dictated by the Court. This is the most important body so far as appointments and other matters concerning the administration of the university are concerned. As regards the Executive Council, the Sadler Commission made it perfectly clear that a certain number of Muhammadans should be members of the Executive Council. Then, Sir, we come to the selection committees. The honourable members know that in every university there are various committees for the appointment of university staff. There are appointment committees for each faculty. Let me specify their recommendations. They proposed that in the reorganized University of Calcutta representatives of Muslim graduates and representatives of the Muslim community should be members of the Court. In their scheme for the constitution of the Executive Council they provided that out of 17 members three at least must always be Musalmans, while their proposed Academic Council was to include four representatives with educational experience, to be appointed by the Chancellor, after report from the Muslim Advisory Board. The Board of Mofussil College was always to have four Muslims; the Women's Education Board to have three Muslim representatives, and on every committee constituted for appointment of university teachers there should be at least one Muslim. The Commission also urged the establishment of a Muslim Advisory Board to advise the university in matters affecting the interests and convictions of Muslim students. The Commission admitted that these recommendations fell far short of the demands of the Muslims. Sir, I agree with this. *In my opinion the only solution of this difficulty is the fixation of the percentage of Muslims on each university board, and in the staff of each university. I believe that this is a sound, legitimate and necessary means for reconciling the interests of the two communities.*

"Now these, Sir, were the recommendations of the Sadler Commission; but when the Allahabad University and Lucknow University Acts were passed, nearly all the recommendations regarding the Muslims were turned down. The only thing that the Government did was to make provision for the Muslim Advisory Board in the Allahabad University Act. That was the only important recommendation followed in this connexion. The Muslim Advisory Board was invested with very great, very important powers by the Sadler Commission. What are their functions, what are their powers at the present time? Their powers now are practically *nil*. I can say without any fear of contradiction that the Board has been shorn of those powers which were recommended, which were urged and which were pressed by the Sadler Commission. The result is that the Muslim Advisory Board

can only make representations to the Executive Council. Of course those recommendations have not got any force, they are not binding on any university body. My honourable friend Mr. Abdullah who has personal experience of this Board will, I am sure, confirm my statement. What is the position now? The position in the Executive Council and the various other bodies of the universities in these provinces is that the number of Muhammadans is scandalously small. In the Court, in the Executive Council, in the appointment committees, as a matter of fact in all the bodies of the universities you find very few Muhammadans indeed. Their representation in the teaching staff is also very small and limited; it is practically insignificant with the exception of those departments for which they as Muhammadans are particularly qualified, *viz.*, the departments of Urdu, of Persian and of Arabic. The question arises, therefore, what should be done by the Government?"

In another speech on the same day Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan referred to the fact that these "universities are not yet in a position to claim that the ideals of education have been realised. I admit that, in our universities, many powerful interests are unrepresented, many important communities, such as the Muslim community, are not adequately represented; I confess that many of our dreams have not been realised; I acknowledge that the enthusiasm which marked the inauguration of Sadlerism has diminished."

Again, in his presidential address to the Muhammadan Educational Conference, delivered at Allahabad, in February, 1925, Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan drew pointed attention to the paucity of Muslims in the universities and Intermediate Board and asked for representation in these bodies.

The situation now is that Muslims have little chance of election to nearly all the important bodies of the university, as the electorate is joint, and all important elections are run on communal lines; the appointment committees which recommend candidates for appointment to all the permanent posts are packed with non-Muslims; while the executive councils of the three universities contain a predominant number of Hindus, and the supreme body of the University, the Court, has an overwhelming number of members of non-Muslim in every University. The Appendix to this Report shows this conclusively.

Recommendations for Safeguarding Muslim Interests.

We are strongly of the opinion that in all important bodies of the universities such as the Court, the Executive Council, and committees of appointments, the number of Muslim members should be reserved, and in none of these bodies should their percentage be less than 33. We believe that this is the irreducible minimum. We feel that without this safeguard our cultural existence, intellectual life and economic and social development will be stifled. We are convinced that the needs of our community have been neglected by the University. While we do not object to the autonomy of the universities, we do decidedly and most emphatically object to the failure to reserve our proportion in these bodies.

We now deal with the question of representation on the staff of the universities. We strongly advocate the reservation of 33 per cent of all appointments for Muslims in each department of Teaching of all the three universities. We believe that unless this is done Muslim students will not join these universities. We pay nearly one-quarter of the total amount of revenue of these provinces; we subscribed lavishly for the foundation both of the Lucknow and Allahabad Universities. We have a right based on our social position, intellectual calibre, past tradition, loyal service to Universities, and political stake in this province, to a representation that will satisfy our modest demands. We are strongly of the opinion that this should form part of the fundamental safeguards and should be embodied in a parliamentary statute.

We may refer you to another feature of the present policy which is deserving of your closest attention. We mean the paucity of Muslim teachers and Muslim students in the Roorkee Engineering College. The number of students is so small that unless it is immediately increased, there is a great danger of their disappearing altogether from that institution. The prospect is alarming, as our province will need more and more engineers for the development of our country's resources.

We do approve of the principle of a competitive examination for admission to the college. We propose that 33 per cent of all vacancies should be reserved for Muslims, and this number should be selected from among Muslim candidates. The examination should be the same for all communities. We would also draw your attention to the competitive examination for admission to the Medical College, Lucknow. We propose that 33 per cent of the students who are admitted to the college should be Muslims, and that all the appointments in the Lucknow Medical College and in Roorkee Engineering College should be reserved for Muslims to the extent of 33 per cent. We would apply the same principle to the Agricultural College, Cawnpore, and to other professional colleges in these provinces.

We are strongly of the opinion that the universities should institute chairs of Islamic History, Islamic Philosophy, Islamic Jurisprudence, Arabic, Persian, Urdu, and other subjects, bearing directly on the traditions, history, and jurisprudence of Islam. We advocate the fixation and reservation of 33 per cent seats in all the departments of teaching for our students, as the number of Muslim students in the Science departments is very small, and very few indeed are admitted.

We may now summarise our recommendations.

1. We will not agree to any constitution which does not allot us 33 per cent representation on all university bodies and all departments of teaching of all universities; we advocate the reservation of 33 per cent seats in the Roorkee Engineering College and in Medical and Agricultural Colleges, and representation to the extent of 33 per cent on the staff of all these institutions.

2. We are strongly of the opinion that our representation in such autonomous bodies as universities and Intermediate Board should form a fundamental part of the constitution of India, and no legislative body in India

should be allowed to touch it. Past experience purchased at a heavy cost has shown us that if this question is left to the tender mercies either of a Hinduised legislature, or of Hindu-ridden bodies like the Universities, local bodies, and the Intermediate Board, these promises will be treated as scraps of paper.

We may draw your attention to the fact that we have pressed these demands on various occasions, but have not met with encouraging response. A deputation of our community waited upon His Excellency the Governor in August, 1924. Again, attention was drawn to these grievances by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, M.L.C., in his Presidential Address, delivered at the Provincial Muhammadan Educational Conference held at Allahabad in February, 1925, and a special sub-committee of the Conference, of which Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan was a member, sent a representation to the Government on Primary Education. In February, 1926, so dissatisfied were Muslims with the unsympathetic attitude of the Hindu members of the Legislative Council that all of them walked out of the Chamber in protest. Lastly, the proceedings of the U. P. Legislative Council for the years 1924—28 show conclusively that in spite of the persistent demands of Muslim members of the Council for redress of their grievances, nothing has been done. They are, on the other hand, constantly attacked by the Hindus in the press and in the platform, for "anti-nationalism."

We are compelled to draw your attention to these facts, in the hope that you will redress our grievances and satisfy our legitimate, reasonable and moderate demands.

We may say without any exaggeration that the various attempts made by us for the maintenance of the interests of our community in various grades of education, the questions put by our representatives in the Legislative Council, the discussions that have taken place at different places, together with our representation to the Governor in August, 1924, and the Government in 1925, have been fruitless. We are convinced that the only safe, effective and certain means whereby our interests can be safeguarded is by the insertion of our demands in the new constitution of India. This constitution no legislative or other body in India should be allowed to touch. This will be our Magna Charta, the sheet-anchor of Indian polity, and the balance-wheel of the Indian constitution.

We reproduce in the Appendix to this Report the resolutions passed by the Muhammadan Educational Conference at Budaun, and at Allahabad in 1924, and 1925 respectively. They show how keen, and insistent our community is on realising these aims. We are strongly of the opinion that certain proportion should be fixed with regard to the allotment of grants for Primary, Secondary and University education. This was suggested by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan in the U. P. Legislative Council, in 1925. Unless this is done, primary education will be treated as a step-child. This proportion should not be inclastic, but should be varied from year to year.

Representation of Muslims in the Education Department.

Before we conclude, we should like to deal with another grievance of our community. We regard this as a very serious obstacle to the growth of education among the Muslims of these provinces. We refer to the position of Muslims in the Department of the Director of Public Instruction. Muslim members of the U. P. Legislative Council have frequently drawn the attention of the Government to the paucity of the members of our community both in administrative and the teaching sides of this department. We may refer you to the numerous questions asked in the Council by Muslim leaders; we may also draw your attention to the strong and unanimous representation of the Muslims embodied in the Memorial presented to the Governor of the United Provinces by representative Muslims at Agra. It may also be pointed out that the leading Muslim Educational Associations have passed resolutions on this subject for a number of years. We are compelled to state that little attention has been paid to our representation. It is our duty to inform you that our community is intensely dissatisfied with this state of affairs. It feels—and we feel certain that it has very strong reasons for doing so—that this will react disastrously upon the educational advancement of our community. We have shown above that the percentage of Muslim teachers in primary schools has shrunk to alarming proportions. If this state of " progress " continues, there is a certainty of Muslims being eliminated from all elementary schools, in the near future. The department might plead that it possesses no statutory authority over local bodies in this matter. We should, however, like to know if the department has really made an effective protest to the boards against this harsh treatment. How far and to what extent has it tried to carry out the Government resolution on primary education, quoted in the beginning of our report? Why has not the post of Inspectors of Arabic Madrasses been separated from that of Muhammadan Schools? Was it not one of the fundamental recommendations of Lord Meston's Government, and has it ever tried to carry out these resolutions? We are obliged to say that on most of the points in which Muslim interests are vitally involved, justice has not been done to us, and the community has been subjected to a species of treatment which reminds one irresistibly of the policy of siding with the " big battalions." We will give only one instance to prove our point. When the Muslim members of the U. P. Legislative Council wanted to move a resolution for the advancement of primary education among the Muslims in the Council, they were assured that it was not necessary, as the Hindu Minister had himself decided to consider this question. The resolution was not moved, and a committee was actually appointed. But the terms of reference of this committee were so skilfully framed that a deadlock was inevitable. Indeed, this had been forseen by the Muslim members of the Committee. We need not detail the proceedings of this body, nor need we discuss the patriotic, and ultra " nationalist " views expounded by the Hindu members of the Committee. We would particularly like to draw your attention to the principles propounded by the members of the majority community in the minutes of dissent appended to the report of the Committee. They prove conclusively the need for safeguards for Muslim interest. The solemn promises made by Lord Meston's Government are contemptuously

brushed aside, and a claim is put forward for destroying all special schools for Muslims.

The policy of the Department will be made intelligible from the figures cited below. They show at a glance the injustice to which our community is subjected; they reveal a preponderance of non-Muslims in a way which needs no comment on our part. Never was the Muslim community so inadequately represented in the Education Department as it is at present. The following figures tell their own tale:

(1) Out of 42 officers in the Indian Educational Service, 3 are Muslims. The percentage works out at 7.1 only. This is deplorably low.

(2) Out of 10 Principals in the Indian Educational Service, not one is a Muslim. The percentage of Muslim Professors in this service is only 1 out of 17, which works out at 5.88 per cent.

(3) Out of 2 officers in the Senior Selection Grade, and 6 officers in the Junior Selection Grade in the Indian Education Service, not one is a Muslim.

(4) Out of 108 officers in the Provincial Educational Service only 12 are Muslims. This works out at 9 per cent. This truly shows the measure, depth and volume of inequality exhibited by the Department.

(5) Only one Muslim is Vice-Principal of an Intermediate College. This will prevent many Muslims from being appointed Principals of these colleges. The number of Muslim Professors in the colleges bears the same ratio.

(6) Only one Muslim Lecturer in the Training College, out of 14 members, belongs to this service. Their percentage is therefore 7.1, which is scandalously low.

(7) There are only 5 Muslim Headmasters out of 55, which works out at 9.09. This again is most disappointing. Numerous questions have been asked about this, but the department has done nothing, in spite of the fact, that a number of vacancies has occurred, and a number of capable Mohammadans are available for all these posts.

(8) Again out of 9 Assistant Masters in Provincial Educational Service only one is a Muslim, while the number of Muslim teachers in schools in Provincial Educational Service is only 6 out of 64; this works out at 9.37 per cent.

(9) The percentage of Muslim Principals and Professors both in the Indian Educational Service and Provincial Educational Service is so low that prompt steps are necessary to preserve the balance.

(10) Again the low percentage of Muslim Headmasters greatly handicaps Muslim education in the Province, as Muslim boys naturally prefer the schools which contain a sufficient number of Headmasters and Muslim teachers.

(11) The number of Muslim Deputy Inspectors is only 6 out of 47; this works out at 12.76 per cent.

(12) The number of Sub-Deputy Inspectors of Schools is 66 out of 169, which works out at 23.91; this too is not satisfactory. The percentage should be raised to 33.

(13) The percentage of Muslim Headmasters of Anglo-Vernacular Schools is also very low. There are only 5 Muslim Headmasters out of 41, this works out at 12.19 per cent. It is very low indeed.

(14) Again the number of Drawing Masters in these schools is very small, as they are only 4 out of 38, or 10.5 per cent.

(15) The percentage of Assistant Masters in these schools is low, too, as there are 139 Muslim Assistant Masters out of 798, or 17.4 per cent.

(16) We are strongly of the opinion that in Vernacular Normal Schools the number of Muslim Headmasters should be increased. At the present time there are 8 Headmasters of these schools, and not one is a Muslim.

(17) Again, there are only 3 Muslim Assistant Masters in Normal Schools, out of 35, and the percentage works out at 8.57.

(18) Even if we combine the number of Head Masters with that of Assistant Masters we find that there are only 3 Muslims out of 43, which means only 6.92 per cent. We are strongly of the opinion that the staff of all the Normal Schools should be overhauled, and 33 per cent. Muslims should be appointed.

(19) Muslim teachers in Model Schools number only 13 out of 63, which works at 20.63 per cent; this should be raised to 33 per cent.

Office Establishment.

(20) In the office of the Director of Public Instruction there are only 11 Muslims out of 59. This works out at 18.64 per cent. We strongly recommend that this percentage should be raised to 33 as our experience is that the clerks in various offices exercise great influence.

(21) Again, in the offices of the Inspectors of Schools there are only 5 Muslims out of 50. This works out at 10 per cent. This is scandalously low.

(22) In the office of the Chief Inspectress of Girls' Schools, there are 8 clerks of whom not one is a Muslim. This should be rectified without delay.

(23) Again, there are six clerks in the office of the Inspector of European Schools and not one is a Muslim.

(24) There are 5 clerks in the office of the Assistant Inspector of Kumayun Division, Almora, and not one is a Muslim.

(25) Out of the total number of 152 clerks in offices of the D. P. I. Inspectors and others given in the table below there are only 21 Muslim clerks.

(26) We attach great importance to girls' education. We are of the opinion that there should be sufficient number of Muslim Lady teachers in Girls' Schools. It is unfortunate that out of 8 Inspectresses and one Assistant Inspectress of Girls' School there is not a single Muslim. All the 22 clerks in the offices of the Inspection staff are non-Muslim. Again, the two clerks in the Girls' schools are non-Muslim. Moreover, there is no Muslim Principal or Head Mistress in Girls' schools, while there are only 8 Assistant Mistresses out of 35, which works out at 22.8 per cent. This is astonishingly low and reveals a sad state of affairs. It accounts for the backwardness of education among Muslim girls.

(27) The Training Colleges are in a hopeless position. Even in the Provincial Educational Service there is only one Muslim Lecturer out of 14, that is to say 7.1 per cent. This shows a pitiable state of affairs.

(28) There is one Inspector of Arabic and Persian Madrasses in the Provincial Educational Service. This office is combined with that of the Inspector of Muhammadan Schools at present. We strongly recommend that the two offices should be separated, and an Inspector of Muhammadan Schools should be appointed.

Muslims in the Educational Department.

Names	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	Total.	Percentage of Muslims.
Indian Educational Service.				
1. Inspectors of Schools	2	9	11	18·18
2. Principals of Colleges	...	10	10	...
3. Professors	1	16	17	5·88
4. Headmasters	...	1	1	...
	3	36	39	7·69
5. Deputy Director of Public Instruction ...	...	1	1	...
6. Assistant Director of Public Instruction ...	...	1	1	...
7. Sec., Int. Board	...	1	1	...
Total ...	...	3	3	...
Grand Total ...	3	39	42	7·1
Provincial Educational Service.				
A-1. Assistant Inspectors of Schools ...	2	8	10	20
B-2. Principals of Colleges	1	2	3	33
3. Vice-Principals of (Inter and Training Colleges)	1	7	8	12·5
4. Professors	1	8	9	11·09
5. Lecturers of Training Colleges... ...	1	13	14	7·1
Total of B ...	4	30	34	11·76
C-6. Headmasters	5	50	55	9·09
7. Assistant Masters	1	8	9	11·09
Total of C ...	6	58	64	9·37
Grand Total of A, B and C ...	12	96	108	9
1. Principals of Colleges (both in I.E.S. and P.C.S.)	1	12	13	7·69
2. Professors (both in I.E.S. and P.E.S.) ...	2	24	26	7·69
3. Headmasters (both in I.E S. and P.C.S.) ...	5	51	56	8·9
1. Inspector of Arabic, Madrasses and Muhammadan Schools	1	...	1	100
2. Inspector of Sanskrit Pathshalas	...	1	1	...

	Names.	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	Total.	Percentage of Muslims.
	Other Officers.				
Inspection officers	1. Deputy Inspectors of Schools ...	6	41	47	12·76
	2. Sub-Deputy Inspectors of Schools ...	60	128	188	31·9
	Total	66	169	235	23·1
Anglo-Vernacular Schools	1. Headmasters	5	36	41	121·9
	2. Assistant Masters	139	659	798	17·4
	3. Drawing Masters	4	34	28	10·5
	4. Drill Masters	15	40	55	27·27
	5. Manual Training Instructors ...	5	6	11	45·45
	6. Commerce	2	22	24	8·33
	Total	170	797	967	19·6
	7. Arabic, Persian and Urdu Teachers	120	18	138	86·9
	8. Sanskrit and Hindi Teachers	...	160	160	...
	Total	120	178	298	40·3
	Grand Total ...	290	975	1,265	22·9
	9. Clerks and Librarians	5	58	63	7·9
(A) Vernacular Normal Schools	1. Headmasters	...	8	8	...
	2. Assistant Masters	3	32	35	8·57
	3. Drawing Masters	...	8	8	...
	4 Drill Masters	1	7	8	12·5
	5. Nature-study Teachers	...	1	1	...
	Total	9	114	123	7·3
	6. Urdu Teachers	6	2	8	75
	7. Hindi Teachers	...	8	8	...
	Total	6	10	16	33·5
	Grand Total ...	15	124	139	10·7
	8. Clerks	...	8	8	8
(B) Model Schools	1. Head Teachers	2	6	8	25
	2. Assistant Masters	13	50	63	20·63
	Total ...	15	56	71	21·1
	Grand Total ..	30	180	210	14·28

Names.		Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	Total.	Percentage of Muslims.
Other Officers—(contd.).					
For Girls only — Inspection staff	1. Inspectresses	...	8	8	...
	2. Assistant Inspectresses ...	...	1	1	...
	Total	...	9	9	...
	3. Clerks	...	22	22	...
For Girls only — Teaching staff	4. Lady Principal	...	1	1	...
	5. Head Mistresses... ...	...	3	3	...
	6. Assistant Mistresses ...	8	27	35	22·8
	Total	8	31	39	20·5
For Girls only	7. Clerks	...	2	2	...
Training College	1. Lecturers in Training Colleges ...	...	5	5	...
	2. Clerks and Librarians	1	5	6	16·66
Allahabad University Laboratory Assistant and Workshop ...		2	4	6	33
Sanskrit College, Benares Establishment.					
1. Professors and Assistant Professors ...		...	12	12	...
2. Assistant Librarian		...	1	1	...
3. Anglo-Sanskrit Department Assistant Professors and English Teachers ...		...	2	2	...
1. Deputy Inspectors of Muhammadan Schools		9	...	9	100
2. Clerks in the Office of Inspector, Arabic and Persian Madrasses, Muhammadan Schools		3	...	3	100
Oriental Department, Mirzapur ...		2	2	4	50
Reformatory School, Chunar		3	9	12	25
Office Establishment.					
1. Office of the Director of Public Instruction, U. P.		11	48	59	18·64
2. Offices of the Inspectors of Schools ...		5	45	50	10
3. Office of the Secretary, Board of High School and Intermediate Education		3	9	12	25
4. Office of the Registrar, Departmental Examinations, U. P.		2	6	8	25
5. Office of the Chief Inspectress of Girls' Schools, U. P.		...	8	8	...

Names.	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	Total.	Percentage of Muslims.
Office Establishment—(contd.).				
6. Office establishment of Anglo-Sanskrit Department, Benares	...	3	3	...
7. Office of the Superintendent, Sanskrit Studies, Benares	...	1	1	...
8. Office of the Inspector of European Schools, Nainital	...	6	6	...
9. Office of the Assistant Inspector of Kumayun Division, Almora	...	5	5	...
Total ...	21	131	152	13·8

These figures reveal a state of affairs which needs your immediate attention. We are of the opinion that one of the chief reasons for educational backwardness of our community is the paucity of Muslim officers in the Education Department. We cannot lay the blame for this state of affairs entirely on the Education Department, as it must carry out the policy dictated to it by the Hindu Minister who is ultimately responsible to the Council, which of course means to the majority party in the Council, *viz.*, the Hindus. This is really the result of the working of the present constitution, which makes no provision for fundamental safeguards for the education of minorities. It is supreme in transferred subjects, and the Director is consequently helpless. We are, however, compelled to state that the Muslim community is dissatisfied with the indifference shown by the department. We believe that a good deal could have been done. The number and percentage of Muslim teachers ought to have been increased, and regard should have been paid to desires, the wishes, and the sentiments of our community to which expression has been given in the Legislative Council, Muslim Educational Conferences and the Muslim Press.

Summary.

We may conclude by drawing your attention to the absolute need for safeguards in education. We are strongly of the opinion that no constitution, which does not give us—

(1) a minimum of 33 per cent of representation in the teaching staff and various bodies of the Universities, the Intermediate Board, and every grade of the Education Department, will be acceptable to us;

(2) again it must be laid down in a parliamentary statute that 33 per cent of all grants-in-aid of education should be devoted to Muslim education;

(3) Urdu language should be safeguarded in all schools, whether primary or secondary, and other educational institutions;

(4) Muslims should be effectively represented in the teaching staff of all educational institutions maintained by Local Bodies. The amount of representation should be in proportion to their representation on each body. Precisely the same formula applies, with regard to the allocation of grants-in-aid by Local Bodies.

We regard these to be fundamental, and we would oppose any scheme which does not guarantee us these safeguards. Nobody in India, whether it is a Legislature or a Local Body, should be allowed to touch them.

We have made other recommendations with regard to Elementary, Secondary, and University Education in various parts of this Report, which should be carried out without delay. They should be placed on a statutory basis, and their working should not be left to the whims and fancies either of the local Legislature, of the Education Department, or of the Local Bodies

APPENDIX

REPRESENTATIVE SYSTEM

Note on separate electorate and the system of proportional representation.

We have admitted in our report that the system of communal representation is a child of necessity. It is not an ideal system, and we look forward to the day when the need for it will not be felt by our community. It ought to be the aim of every Indian to work for the end in view. We cannot, however, abandon it at the present time, as we are convinced that if it is abolished now, it will place our community in a position from which it will never recover. This is due to our experience of the working of the system of general electorate in those constituencies in which such an electorate has been established. In almost every case, the Hindus, who command much greater voting strength, vote solidly either for their caste men, or for their coreligionists, and Muslim candidates have no chance. The Muslims are firmly of the opinion that its abolition at the present juncture, or at any time, without their consent, will be disastrous to the peace, and quiet of this country. They believe that it is the sheet anchor of their politics, and they are resolved upon maintaining it at the present time. We do not exaggerate when we say that if at the present time this vital safeguard is taken away, and Muslims are deprived of a right which has been solemnly embodied in a parliamentary statute, the country will be thrown into the vortex of a strife which will be fatal to the peace of the province.

The basic principles of communal representation and the system of proportional representation are essentially the same. The latter, as well as the former, aims at giving all sections of the population a chance of electing their own representatives. The examples cited in the section dealing with the working of safeguards shows conclusively that in Tasmania and Germany the number of seats won at election were in proportion to the votes cast by each party. We give below further examples of the working of the system in the Irish Free State election, held in June, 1927, and in the elections to the Glasgow Education authority, held in March, 1928. We also give information concerning various countries which have adopted the system of proportional representation. The system ensures the representation of every party, and is in no way different from the system of separate electorate. The only difference is one of method. In the latter the electoral roll for general constituencies is divided into Muslim and non-Muslim constituencies. Organised political parties in European countries achieve the same end by disciplining their adherents into voting for the party ticket. If the electorate in India had been literate, *i.e.*, political parties had been organised not only among the Hindus, but also among the Muslims, and if constituencies had been arranged in such a way as to enable the system of proportional representation to work without impediment, the chances of the application of the latter would have been great. Here, on the other hand the masses are illiterate; and Muslims have no political organisation worth the name. As Ostrogorski has shown in his classical work entitled, *The Organisation of Political Parties*, the English and American political parties were not built in a day. They are the work of a succession of able men who laboured long and hard before they could evolve a strong organization. We hope the time will come when a suitable system of proportional representation will be applied in India. The system of joint electorate with a fixed reservation of seats for Muslims is a negation of democracy, as it deprives the community of the right of electing

its own representatives. It is repugnant to the principle of minority protection, and Muslims can never reconcile themselves to it. We give below details of elections to the Irish Free State, and a list of the countries which have adopted the system of proportional representation.

The general results of the elections, whether in the Irish Free State or in Scotland for the education authorities, show with equal force how complete and fair is the representation of the various parties under this system. The figures for the Irish Free State (June, 1927), and for Glasgow (March, 1928), were :

IRISH FREE STATE ELECTION, JUNE, 1927.

(All seats contested.)

Party.	Votes.	Seats won.	Seats in proportion to votes.
Government	314,684	46	42
Fianna Fail	299,626	44	40
Labour	143,987	22	19
Independents	139,679	14	19
Farmers	109,114	11	14
National League	84,048	8	11
Sinn Fein and others ..	56,218	7	7

GLASGOW EDUCATION AUTHORITY, MARCH 1928.

(All seats contested.)

Party.	votes.	Seats won.	Seats in proportion to votes.
Moderate	146,784	30	29·5
Catholic	52,551	11	10·5
Labour	23,751	4	4·8
Communist	1,137	0	0·2

In the Irish Free State, each of the largest parties received slightly more than its strictly proportionate share. This is in accord with the experience in other elections held under the system of proportional representation in constituencies of small or moderate size. There has been no suppression of any considerable body of opinion ; on the other hand, small groups have not been given an exaggerated importance. A number of works recently published give detailed information on the various forms of proportional representation in operation in different countries. We cannot mention them here. We should, however, like to draw your attention to the work and publications of the Proportional Representation Society.

Countries where the System of Proportional Representation has been applied.

A list of the more important applications* of the system of proportional representation is given below. The great advances made during the last two decades testify to the universal appeal of the proportional principle.

Country.	Representative Assembly.	Date of Adoption.
GREAT BRITAIN		
Great Britain . .	University members of the House of Commons	1918
England . . .	National Assembly of the Church of England:	
	(1) House of Laity	1919
	(2) House of Clergy (consisting of the Lower Houses of Convocation of Canterbury and York)	1921
	Representatives of Insured Persons on Insurance Committees under the National Health Insurance Act	1911
Scotland . . .	*Education Authorities*—one for each county and county burgh—total 37 Authorities	1918
NORTHERN IRELAND	Both Houses of Parliament	1920
IRISH FREE STATE	Both Houses of Parliament	1923
	Local government elections	1923
BRITISH DOMINIONS		
COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA		
Tasmania . . .	House of Assembly	1896 (partial) 1907 (complete)
UNION OF S. AFRICA	The Senate	1909
All Four Provinces .	Executive Committees of Provincial Councils	
Cape of Good Hope .	Municipal Councils (optional	1912
SOUTH-WEST AFRICA	Executive Committee of Legislative Assembly	1926

*NOTE.—In English speaking countries, the system of proportional representation uniformly adopted is that of the single transferable vote—a system which gives the elector complete freedom of choice in his support of candidates.

NEW ZEALAND . .	(1) Legislative Council (not yet put in operation)	1914
	(2) Municipal Councils (optional)	
DOMINION OF Canada		
Alberta . . .	(1) Municipal Councils (optional)	1916
	(2) Representatives of large cities in Provincial	

Country.	Representative Assembly.	Date of Adoption.
	Legislature	1924
British Columbia .	Municipal Councils (optional)	1917
Saskatchewan . .	Municipal Councils (optional)	1920
Manitoba . . .	(1) Representatives of Winnipeg in Provincial Legislature (2) City Council of Winnipeg	1920
INDIA		
	Committees on Public Accounts and Finance Committees of the Assembly and of each Provincial Legislature	1919
MALTA	(1) The Senate (part)	1921
	(2) The House of Assembly	
UNITED STATES	A number of cities, using their large powers of self government, have adopted the system of provincial representation. These cities include Cleveland, Ohio, with a population of about 800,000, the fifth city of the United States, and Cincinnati (400,000)	1915 onwards
CONTINENT OF EUROPE		
Denmark . . .	(1) Landsting (Upper House of Parliament)	1855 (partial) 1915 (complete)
	(2) Local government elections	1908
	(3) Folketing (Lower House of Parliament)	1915
Switzerland . .	(1) Majority of Cantonal Councils	1891 onwards
	(2) Local government elections in majority of Cantons	1891 onwards
	(3) Conseil national (Lower House of Federal Parliament)	1918
Belgium . . .	(1) Local government elections	1895
	(2) Chamber of Deputies and Senate	1899
	(3) Provincial Councils	1921
	(1) Local government elections	1896 (optional 1919 (general)
Norway . . .	(2) Storthing (Parliament)	1919
	The Diet Single Chamber)	1906
	(1) Corporation of Free City of Hamburg . .	1906
	(2) Diet of Wurttemberg	1906
Finland . . .	(3) Local elections in Bavaria	1908
Germany . .	(4) National Constituent Assembly . . .	1918
	(5) Reichstag	1919
	(6) State legislatures	
	(7) Local Government elections . . .	
Sweden . .	(1) Both Houses of the Riksdag . . .	1907
	(2) Provincial Councils	
	(3) Local Government elections. . .	

Country.	Representative Assembly.	Date of Adoption.
Iceland	(1) Althing (part)	1915
Holland.	(1) Second Chamber (Lower House) of States. General	1917
	(2) Provincial Councils	
	(3) Local Government elections	
	(4) First Chamber (Upper House) of States-General	1923
Austria.	(1) National Constituent Assembly	1918
	(2) Both Houses of Parliament	1920
	(3) Provincial Diets	
	(4) Local Government elections	
Poland	(1) National Constituent Assembly	1919
	(2) Both Houses of Parliament	1921
Luxemburg	(1) Chamber of Deputies	1919
	(2) Local Government elections (optional in areas with less than 3,000 inhabitants)	
Jugo-Slavia	(1) National Constituent Assembly	1920
	(2) National Assembly (Single Chamber)	1921
Czecho-Slovakia	(1) National Assembly	1920
	(2) Senate	
Esthonia	(1) National Assembly (Single Chamber)	1920
	(2) Local Government elections	1922
Latvia	National Assembly (Single Chamber)	
Lithuania	National Assembly (Single Chamber)	1922
Greece	Chamber of Deputies	1926
ASIA		
Japan	House of Representatives	1925

NOTE.—Japan uses the single non-transferable vote system in multi-member constituences; this system secures representation for large minorities, and in general gives results reasonably fair to all considerable parties.

Numerous examples show conclusively that R. R. ensures representation of minorities, and that representatives are elected by the minorities themselves. Now, this is precisely the principle that underlies the system of separate electorate. It guarantees to minorities a fixed number of seats, and ensures the election of representatives of the latter. If separate electorate is undemocratic, so is the system of proportional representation. If the abolition of the former is desirable, the abolition of the latter is no less desirable, and the champions of the majority system of voting ought to try to change the constitutions of all the countries enumerated above, before they attack the system of separate electorate.

Note on the Minorities clauses signed by various powers for the protection of minorities.

The significance of minorities clauses of Peace Treaties signed by various powers at the Peace Conference as Versailles in 1919, will be clear from the fact that most of the European countries have signed clauses for the protection of minorities, and incorporated them in their constitutions. Our report on the working of safeguards makes it perfectly clear that these provisions have been given effect to, and if a power violates them the minorities in such countries have the right to address the League of Nations, and demand strict and impartial execution of these clauses. Miss L. P. Mair's brilliant and suggestive work traces the methods adopted by the powers for the enforcement of these clauses.

The basic principle of all these Treaties is essentially the same.

We give below a list of countries which have signed the clauses for the protection of minorities. We do not think it necessary to repeat them, as they are based on the same principles. Reference is made only to those Articles which contain Minority clauses :

		Reference to Sections of the Treaty dealing with the rights of minorities.
Albania ..	Declaration made before the League of Nations on October 20, 1921.	Article 1 to 7
Austria ..		
Bulgaria ..	Treaty between Allied Powers and Bulgaria, signed on November 27, 1919.	Part III, Section IV, Articles 49—57.
Czechoslovakia	Treaty between Allied Powers and Czechoslovakia, signed on September 10, 1919.	Chapter I, Articles 1 —9. Chapter II, Articles 10—14.
Esthonia ..	Extract from the Minutes of the Twelfth Meeting of the 26th Session of the Council on September 17, 1912.	Resolutions I to IV, and the statement of M. Pusta, representative of Esthonia.
Finland (Aaland Islands)	Guarantees given to the population. Adopted by the Council of the League of Nations, on June 27, 1921.	
Germany ...	Polish-German Convention relating to Upper Silesia. Concluded at Geneva on May 15, 1922.	Part III. Dealing with the protection of minorities.
Greece ..	Treaty with Greece. Signed at Sevres on August 10, 1920.	Chapter I, Articles 1 —16.
	This Treaty came into force as from August 30, 1924.	
Hungary ..	Treaty signed at Trianon on June 4, 1920.	Part III, Section VI, Protection of Minorities, Articles 54—60.

		Reference to Sections of the Treaty dealing with the rights of minorities.
Latvia ..	Declaration of July 7th, 1923.	..
Lithuania ...	Declaration of May 12, 1922.	..
Memel ..	Convention signed at Paris on May 8, 1924.	Article II.
Poland ..	Treaty signed at Versailles on June, 28, 1919.	Article 93; Chapter I, Articles 1—12.
Roumania ...	Treaty signed on September 10, 1919.	Articles 60, and 47; Chapter I, Articles 1—12.
Jugoslavia ...	Treaty signed on September 10, 1919.	Articles 51 and 44, Chapter I, Articles 1—11.
Turkey ..	Treaty signed at Lausanne on July 24, 1923.	Part I, Section III, Articles 37—45. Quoted on pages 173—7.

The rights conceded by Turkey to non-Muslim minorities are precisely the same as those granted by other powers to their minorities. The portions of the Treaty of Lausanne dealing with the rights of minorities will be found in our Report on safeguards.

Polish-Danzig Treaty of November 9, 1920 Chapter V, Articles 33 and 39.

Convention between Greece and Bulgaria respecting reciprocal emigration. Signed on November 27, 1919.	Articles 1—16.
Convention concerning the exchange of Greek and Turkish populations. Signed at Lausanne, January 30, 1923.	Articles 1—19.

From the above it will be clear that fourteen Europen powers have guaranteed the protection of religious, linguistic and racial minorities in their territories and that these powers include Turkey, Albania, Jugo-Slavia, Greece and Bulgaria. The provisions in the treaties made with these powers are exactly the same as those quoted above.

It must be distinctly understood that all the powers which signed these treaties have embodied these provisions in their constitutions. They are " fundamental " laws, and can be changed only by the League of Nations.

APPENDIX

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

APPENDIX A.

U. P. District Boards.

Government reply to a Council question by Hafiz Hidayat Husain Sahib, in June, 1926.

Name of District Board.	In 1923.													In 1925-26.										
	Elected members.						Nominated members.						Grand total of both elected and nominated members.	Elected members.						Nominated members.						Grand total of both elected and nominated members.
	Hindu.	Muslim.	Indian Christian.	Depressed classes.	Others.	Total.	Hindu.	Muslim.	Indian Christian.	Depressed classes.	Others.	Total.		Hindu.	Muslim.	Indian Christian.	Depressed classes.	Others.	Total.	Hindu.	Muslim.	Indian Christian.	Depressed classes.	Others.	Total.	
1. Dehra Dun	11	4	...	...	..	15	1	...	...	1	...	2	17	12	4	...	...	...	16	1	...	...	...	1	2	18
2. Saharanpur	16	7	...	...	...	23	...	...	1	1	...	2	25	20	9	...	...	...	29	...	1	1	...	...	2	31
3. Muzaffarnagar	22	9	...	...	...	31	..	1	1	...	...	2	33	19	8	...	...	..	27	...	...	...	1	...	1	28
4. Meerut	28	12	...	...	...	40	...	1	...	...	1	2	42	28	12	...	...	...	40	1	1	...	....	...	2	42
5. Bulandshahr	24	10	...	...	...	34	1	...	..	1	...	2	36	25	11	...	...	...	36	1	...	...	1	...	2	38
6. Aligarh	20	7	...	...	...	27	...	1	...	1	...	2	29	24	7	...	...	...	31	...	1	...	1	...	2	33
7. Muttra	19	6	...	...	...	25	1	...	...	1	...	2	27	15	5	...	...	...	20	1	...	...	1	...	2	22
8. Agra	21	7	...	...	...	28	...	...	...	1	1	2	30	21	7	...	...	...	28	1	...	...	1	...	2	30
9. Mainpuri	23	3	...	...	...	26	1	1	..	1	...	3	29	22	4	...	..	...	26	2	...	...	...	...	2	28
10. Etah	19	6	...	.	...	25	1	...	...	1	...	2	27	21	7	...	...	...	28	1	...	...	1	...	2	30
11. Bareilly	20	9	...	...	...	29	...	1	...	1	...	2	31	21	9	...	...	...	30	..	1	...	1	...	2	32
12. Bijnor	16	8	...	...	...	24	1	...	...	1	...	2	26	16	8	...	...	..	24	...	1	...	1	...	2	26
13. Budaun	23	8	...	...	...	31	...	1	...	1	...	2	33	25	8	..	...	...	33	1	...	...	...	...	1	34
14. Moradabad	25	12	...	...	...	37	2	...	....	...	...	2	39	25	12	...	...	...	37	1	1	...	...	...	2	39

Name of District Board.	In 1923.												In 1925-26.											
	Elected members.						Nominated members.					Grand total of both elected and nominated members.	Elected members.						Nominated members.					Grand total of both elected and nominated members.
	Hindu.	Muslim.	Indian Christian.	Depressed classes.	Others.	Total.	Hindu.	Muslim.	Indian Christian.	Depressed classes.	Others.	Total.	Hindu.	Muslim.	Indian Christian.	Depressed classes.	Others.	Total.	Hindu.	Muslim.	Indian Christian.	Depressed classes.	Others.	Total.	
15. Shahjahanpur ...	18	6	...	...	...	24	...	1	...	1	...	2	26	18	6	...	..	...	24	...	1	...	1	...	2	26
16. Pilibhit	12	5	...	...	...	17	...	1	...	1	...	2	19	12	5	...	...	...	17	...	...	1	1	...	2	19
17. Farrukhabad	28	9	...	...	..	37	...	1	...	1	...	2	39	21	7	...	...	...	28	...	1	...	1	...	2	30
18. Etawah	20	3	...	...	...	23	2	...	...	...	...	2	25	22	4	...	...	...	26	1	...	...	1	...	2	28
19. Cawnpore	27	9	...	...	...	36	...	1	...	1	...	2	38	24	8	...	...	...	32	...	1	...	1	...	2	34
20. Fatehpur	15	5	...	...	...	20	...	1	...	1	...	2	22	15	5	...	...	...	20	...	1	...	1	...	2	22
21. Allahabad	29	10	...	...	...	39	1	...	...	1	...	2	41	30	10	...	...	...	40	1	...	...	1	...	2	42
22. Gorakhpur	30	10	...	...	...	40	1	...	..	1	...	2	42	30	10	...	...	...	40	1	...	...	1	...	2	42
23. Basti...	28	12	..	...	...	40	1	...	1	...	...	2	42	28	12	...	...	...	40	2	...	...	...	...	2	42
24. Azamgarh	28	9	...	...	...	37	...	1	...	1	...	2	39	30	10	...	...	...	40	...	1	1	...	...	2	42
25. Benares	20	7	...	...	...	27	...	1	...	...	1	2	29	19	6	...	...	...	25	...	1	...	...	1	2	27
26. Mirzapur	16	5	1	1	...	23	1	1	...	...	..	2	25	20	4	1	...	...	25	..	1	...	...	..	2	27
27. Jaunpur	28	10	....	...	...	38	...	1	...	1	...	2	40	27	9	...	...	...	36	1	...	...	1	...	2	38
28. Ghazipur	18	6	...	...	...	24	...	1	...	1	...	2	26	20	7	...	...	...	27	...	1	...	1	...	2	29
29. Ballia...	18	6	...	...	...	24	1	...	...	1	...	2	26	21	7	...	...	..	28	1	...	1	...	...	2	30
30. Jhansi	22	4	...	...	...	26	...	...	1	1	...	2	28	23	4	...	...	...	27	1	...	...	1	...	2	29
31. Jalaun	16	3	...	..	...	19	1	...	...	1	...	2	21	16	3	...	...	...	19	1	...	...	1	...	2	21
32. Hamirpur	18	6	...	...	...	24	...	1	...	1	...	2	26	15	5	...	...	...	20	...	...	1	1	...	2	22
33. Banda	23	8	...	...	...	31	1	...	...	1	...	2	33	18	6	...	...	...	24	...	1	..	1	...	2	26

34.	Almora	...	...	19	2	1	...	...	22	1	...	...	1	...	2	24	19	2	1	...	...	22	1	...	...	1	...	2	24
35.	Naini Tal	...	...	21	9	...	...	...	30	...	...	...	1	1	2	32	20	5	...	...	...	25	2	...	...	...	...	2	27
36.	Garhwal	...	...	21	2	...	...	...	23	1	...	1	...	...	2	25	21	2	...	...	...	23	1	...	1	...	...	2	25
37.	Lucknow	...	...	14	5	...	...	...	19	1	1	...	...	...	2	21	14	5	...	...	...	19	...	1	1	...	...	2	21
38.	Unao ...	...	...	22	7	...	...	...	29	1	...	...	1	...	2	31	21	7	...	...	...	28	1	...	...	1	...	2	30
39.	Rae Bareli	...	...	23	8	...	...	...	31	...	...	...	1	1	2	33	21	8	...	...	3	32	2	...	...	...	...	2	34
40.	Sitapur	...	..	25	8	...	...	...	33	...	1	...	1	...	2	35	26	9	...	...	1	36	...	...	1	1	...	2	38
41.	Hardoi	...	...	24	8	...	..	...	32	...	1	...	1	...	2	34	24	8	...	...	...	32	1	...	...	1	...	2	34
42.	Kheri...	...	...	15	5	...	...	...	20	...	1	...	1	...	2	22	24	8	...	...	...	32	...	1	...	1	...	2	34
43.	Fyzabad	...	...	28	9	...	...	...	37	1	...	1	...	...	2	39	27	9	...	...	...	36	...	1	1	...	...	2	38
44.	Gonda	...	...	20	8	...	...	...	28	1	...	...	1	...	2	30	28	12	...	...	...	40	1	...	...	1	...	2	42
45.	Bahraich	...	...	20	9	...	...	...	29	2	...	...	...	..	2	31	25	11	...	...	...	36	1	...	...	1	...	2	38
46.	Sultanpur	..	...	24	8	..	...	...	32	1	...	1	...	...	2	34	24	8	...	...	...	32	1	...	...	1	...	2	34
47.	Partabgarh	...	...	21	7	...	...	...	28	1	...	...	1	...	2	30	21	7	...	...	...	28	1	...	...	1	...	2	30
48.	Bara Banki	...	...	17	8	...	...	...	25	...	1	1	...	...	2	27	24	11	...	1	...	36	1	1	...	...	...	2	38

APPENDIX B.

MUNICIPAL BOARDS.

Statement containing the information called for in Council questions for March 28, 1928, by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan.

Serial No.	Names of Municipal Boards.	Number of members.		Chairman.		Number of nominated members.		Total number of nominated members.	Number of Muslim senior vice-chairman.	Number of Muslim junior vice-chairman.
		Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.			
1	Gorakhpur	6	10	...	1	1	1	2	...	...
2	Azamgarh	3	6	...	1	1	1 (Christian)	2	1	...
3	Pilibhit	4	5	...	1	...	2	2	1	...
4	Bisalpur	3	5	1	...	...	2	2	...	...
5	Bijnor	5	4	1	...	1	1	2	...	1
6	Chandpur	6	3	...	1	1	1	2	1	...
7	Dhampur	5	6	...	1	1	1	2	1	1
8	Nagina	6	3	1	...	...	2	2	...	...
9	Najibabad	6	4	1	...	1	1	2	1	...
10	Shahjahanpur	8	6	1	...	1	1	2	...	...
11	Tilhar	6	5	1	...	1	1 (Christian)	2	1	...

12	Budaun	6	4	1	...	1	...	1	...	1	
13	Sahaswan	5	5	1 (Offi.)	...	1	1	2	1	...	
14	Ujhani	2	4	..	1	...	1	1	...	...	
15	Bareilly	9	10	...	1	...	3	3	...	...	
16	Fyzabad	5	13	...	1	...	2	2	...	1	
17	Tanda	7	5	...	1	1	1	2	1	1	
18	Gonda	5	7	...	1	1	1	2	1	...	
19	Balrampur	5	7	...	1 (Christian)	1	1	2	1	...	
20	Bahraich	8	6	1	...	1	1	2	1	...	
21	Sultanpur	4	7	...	1	...	2	2	1	...	
22	Bela (Partabgarh)	3	8	...	1	...	2	2	1	...	
23	Nawabganj (B. Banki) ...	5	7	1	...	1	1	2	...	1	
24	Benares	8	14	...	1	1	1	2	1	...	
25	Mirzapur	3	12	...	1	...	2	2	1	...	
26	Jaunpur	5	8	...	1	1	1	2	..	...	
27	Ghazipur ...	5	9	...	1	...	2	2	1	...	
28	Ballia	2	8	...	1	...	2	2	1	...	
29	Lucknow	11*	18	...	1	1	6	7	...	*All elected Muslim members have resigned their seats.	

Serial No.	Names of Municipal Boards.	Number of members.		Chairman.		Number of nominated members.		Total number of nominated members.	Number of Muslim senior vice-chairman.	Number of Muslim junior vice-chairman.
		Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.			
30	Unao	4	6	...	1	1	1	2	1	...
31	Rae Bareli	5	8	...	1	1	1	2	...	...
32	Sitapur	3	6	...	1	1	1	2	1	...
33	Khairabad	6	6	1	...	...	2	2	...	...
34	Hardoi	4	7	...	1	1	1	2	...	...
35	Sandila	5	5		1	...	1	1	1	1
36	Shahabad	5	6	1	...	1	1	2	...	1
37	Lakhimpur	3	5	...	1	...	2	2	1	...
38	Moradabad	9	6	1	...	1	1	2	...	1
39	Chandausi	3	7	...	1	1	1	2	...	1
40	Sambhal	8	5	1		1	1	2	...	1
41	Amroha	7	7	...	1	...	2	2	1	1
42	Naini Tal	2	10	...	1 (Offi.)	1	3	4	...	Is a European.
43	Kashipur	4	8	...	1	...	2	2	1	...

44	Almora	2	9	..	1	1	1	2	...	...
45	Farrukhabad	5	11	...	1	...	2*	2	...	*One is a Christian.
46	Kanauj	4	6	...	1 (Offi.)†	1	1	2	...	†IsaChristian
47	Etawah	6	9	...	1	1	1	2	1	...
48	Cawnpore	10	26	...	1	...	7	7	1	3 nominated by U. Chamber of Commerce
49	Fatehpur	5	6	1	...	1	1	2	...	...
50	Allahabad	12	25	...	1	1	6	7	1	...
51	Jhansi	4	12	...	1	1	2	3	...	...
52	Lalitpur	2	8	...	1	1	1	2	...	1
53	Mau	1	7	...	1	.	2	2	...	...
54	Banda	5	9	...	1	1	1	2	1	...
55	Orai	2	4	...	1	...	1 (Tehsildar)	1	1	1
56	Kunch	2	5	...	1	1 (Offi.)	..	1	1	...
57	Kalpi	2	4	...	1	...	2 one (Offi.)	2	1	...
58	Dehra Dun	4	8	...	1	..	1	1	...	1
59	Mussoorie	2	11	...	1	...	2	2	...	...
60	Saharanpur	7	6		1	...	3	3	...	1
61	Deoband	5	3	1	...	2	...	2	...	...
62	Hardwar	2	10	...	1	...	3	3	...	...

Serial No.	Names of Municipal Boards.	Number of members.		Chairman.		Number of nominated members.		Total number of nominated members.	Number of Muslim senior vice-chairman.	Number of Muslim junior vice-chairman.
		Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.			
63	Rurki	3	6	...	1	...	2	2	...	...
64	Muzaffarnagar	5	8	...	1	1	...	1	1	...
65	Kairana	5	3	1	...	1	1	2	1	...
66	Meerut	7	8	1	...	1	1	2	...	...
67	Hapur	4	7	...	1	1	1	2	...	1
68	Baraut	2	4	...	1	...	1	1	...	1
69	Ghaziabad	3	6	...	1	1	1	2	...	...
70	Khurja	4	6	...	1	1	1	2	1	...
71	Bulandshahr	3	4	...	1	...	1	1	1	1
72	Sikandrabad	3	6	...	1	1	1	2	1	...
73	Aligarh	7	10	...	1	2	1	3	1	...
74	Hathras	3	11	...	1	1	1	2	...	...
75	Sikandra Rao	5	6	1	...	...	2	2	...	...
76	Atrauli	5	8	...	1	1	1	2	...	...

77	Muttra	3	10	...	1	...	2	2	...	1
78	Brindaban	...	12	...	1	...	2	2	...	...
79	Agra	6	13	...	1	...	3	3	...	1
80	Firozabad	4	6	...	1	...	2	2	...	..
81	Mainpuri	2	8	...	1	...	2	2	...	.
82	Etah	3	5	...	1	1	1	2	...	1
83	Soron	2	5	. .	1	1	...	1	...	...
84	Kasganj	3	8	...	1	...	2	2	...	...
85	Jalesar	2	4	...	1	...	1 (Offi.)	1	...	...

APPENDIX C.

NOTIFIED AREAS.

Statement containing the information called for in Council question for March 1928 asked by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan.

Serial No.	Name of Notified Area.	Number of members.		Chairman.		Number of nominated members		Total number of nominated members.	Remarks.
		Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.		
1	Notified areas in the Azamgarh District.	...	2 ...	1 ...	1 ...	4 ...	2 ...	6 ...	
2	Bilsi	...	2 ...	1 (Offi.) ...	...	...	...	...	
3	Aonla	1 ...	3 ...	...	1 ..	1 ...	Nil	1 ...	
4	Colonelganj	1 ...	4 ...	...	1 ...	...	1 ...	1 ...	
5	Nawabganj	1 ...	4 ...	...	1 ...	...	1 ...	1 ...	
6	Utraula	2 ...	1 ...	1 ...	...	1 ...	...	1 ...	
7	Bargain Bazar	1 ...	4 * ..	...	1 (European)	1 ...	3 ... (Europeans)	4 ...	* Includes 3 European members.
8	Nanpara	3 ...	2 ...	...	1 ...	..	1 ...	1 ...	
9	Bhinga	2 ...	3 ...	...	1 ...	1 ...	...	1 ...	
10	Rudauli	3 ...	1 ...	1 ...	...	...	...	...	
11	Gorakhpur	1 ...	4 ...	...	1 ...	...	...	...	

12	Deoria			...		5		...		...		1		...		...		1		...	1		...	
13	Gaura Barhaj	1		...		4		...		...		1		..		...			...			...		
14	Moghal Sarai	2		...		6		...	1				...		1		...	2		...	3		...	
15	Chunar	1		...		4		...		...		1		...	1		...		...		1		...	
16	Do. Settlement... ...			...		5		...		...		1		...		...		1		...	1		...	
17	Ahraura	1		...		3		...		...		1		...		...			...			...		
18	Shahganj	2		...		3		...	1		...		..			...		1		...	1		...	
19	Badshahpur	1		...		4		...		..		1		...	1		...		...		1		...	
20	Rasra	1		...		4		...		...		1		...	1		...		...		1		...	
21	Sandi	3		...		2		...	1		...		...		1		...		...		1		...	
22	Pihani	3		..		2		...	1		...		...			...		1		..	1		...	
23	Madhoganj	1		...		4		...		...		1		...	1		...		...		1		...	
24	Bilgram	2		...		3		...		...		1		...	1		...		...		1		...	
25	Muhamdi	1		...		3		...	1		...		...			...		1		...	1		...	
26	Hasanpur	4		...			...		1		...		...		1		...		...		1		..	
27	Ramnagar	1		...		3		...		...		1		...		...		1		...	1		...	
28	Haldwani	2		...		3		...		...		1				...		2		...	2		...	
29	Bhawali			...		6		...		...		1		...		...		2		...	2		...	
30	Bhim Tal			...		7		...		...		1		...		...			...			...		
31	Kaimganj	3		...		3		...	1		...		...			...		1		...	1		...	

NOTIFIED AREAS.—(*contd.*)

Serial No.	Name of Notified Area.	Number of members.		Chairman.		Number of nominated members.		Total number of nominated members.	REMARKS.
		Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.		
32	Auraiya	1 ..	5 ...	...	1	1	...	1	
33	Bindki	1 ...	7 ...	...	1	1	1	2	
34	Jhansi	1 ...	5 ...	...	1 (European)	...	7*	7	* Includes 6 Europeans.
35	Jalaun	1 ...	5 ...	...	1 ...	...	1	1	
36	Karvi	...	5 ...	...	1	1 (Offi.)	1	2	
37	Mahoba...	...	4 ...	...	1	1	...	1	
38	Rath	1 ...	3 ...	...	1	1	...	1	
39	Rajpur	1 ...	3 ...	...	1	1	3	4	
40	Rikhikesh	...	4 ...	...	1	...	1	1	
41	Kandhla	2 ...	2 ...	...	1	1	1	2	
42	Sardhana	1 ...	5 ...	...	1	...	1	1	
43	Pilkhua	...	5 ...	...	1	...	1	1	
44	Mowana	3 ...	3 ...	...	1	...	1	1	

45	Kasi	1	4	1 (Offi.)	...	1	...	1
46	Fatehpur Sikri	2	2	...	1	...	1	1
47	Manipuri Civil Station ...	2	2	1 (Offi.)	...	2 (Offi.)	2 (Offi.)	4 (Offi.)
48	Shikohabad	1	3	...	1	...	1 (Offi.)	1
49	Marehra	2	1	1	...	...	1	1
50	Ganj Dundwara	2	2	1 (Offi.)	...	1	...	1

APPENDIX D.

Statement showing the population of municipalities by religion and the number of elected members on each board in 1915.
Supplied by the Government in answer to a Conncil question by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, in March, 1928.

Number.	Name of municipality.	*Population within municipal limits according to census of* 1911.				*Elected members on municipal boards in* 1915.				Percentage of Muhammadans to total population.	Number of Muhammadan members in strict proportion to the population.	*Number of Muhammadan members according to accepted scheme.*		Total number of elected members according to accepted scheme.
		Hindus.	Muhammadans.	Others.	Total.	Hindus.	Muhammadans.	Others.	Total.			Exact number.	Number by compounding fractions.	
1	Dehra	19,851	8,983	1,467	30,301	5	2	...	*7	29·64	2·07	2·69	3	*8
2	Mussoorie	3,557	1,443	1,552	6,552	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3	Saharanpur	27,033	34,626	1,191	62,850	5	6	1	12	55·09	6·61	6·61	7	12
4	Hardwar	21,029	7,612	41	28,682	11	1	...	12	26·54	3·18	4·62	5	13
5	Deoband	7,299	11,302	13	18,614	5	3	...	8	60·72	4·86	4·80	5	8
6	Rurki	8,145	5,090	615	13,850	7	2	...	9	36·75	3·31	3·46	3	9
7	Muzaffarnagar ...	13,825	9,919	67	23,811	7	2	...	9	41·66	3·75	3·75	4	10
8	Kandhla	4,087	4,590	14	8,691	5	3	...	8	52·81	4·22	4·22	5	9
9	Kairana	6,778	9,515	...	16,293	6	2	...	8	58·40	4·67	4·67	5	8
10	Meerut	38,870	36,661	820	76,351	13	2	...	15	48·02	7·20	7·20	7	15
11	Ghaziabad	7,386	3,344	574	11,304	6	3	...	9	29·58	2·66	3·46	3	9
12	Hapur	10,944	8,002	196	19,142	6	3	...	9	41·80	3·76	3·76	4	10
13	Bulandshahr ...	10,255	8,768	360	19,383	3	3	...	6	45·24	2·71	2·71	3	7
14	Khurja	15,125	12,045	217	27,387	5	4	...	9	43·98	3·96	3·96	4	10
15	Sikandrabad ...	11,240	7,193	513	18,946	5	1	...	6	37·97	2·28	2 31	2	6
16	Koil (Aligarh) ...	35,874	28,279	672	64,825	5	6	1	12	43·62	5·23	5·23	5	12

17	Hathras	31,925	5,381	548	37,854	12	...	...	12	14·22	1·71	2·22	2	12
18	Atrauli	8,838	6,811	81	15,730	4	5	...	9	43·30	3·90	3·90	4	10
19	Sikandra Rao ...	4,885	4,949	275	10,109	5	3	...	8	48·96	3·92	3·92	4	9
20	Muttra	42,755	10,839	738	54,332	12	...	...	12	19·95	2·39	3·11	3	12
21	Brindaban	17,387	770	286	18,443	9	...	...	9	4·18	·38	·49	...	9
22	Agra	1,07,076	54,194	2,665	1,63,935	11	5	...	16	33·06	5 29	6·16	6	16
23	Firozabad	8,325	4,991	255	13,571	7	2	...	9	36·78	3·31	3·46	3	9
24	Mainpuri	12,269	3,708	177	16,154	7	1	...	8	22·95	1·84	2·39	2	8
25	Etah	4,279	2,771	245	7,295	6	2	...	8	37·98	3·04	3·08	3	8
26	Soron	9,308	1,783	433	11,524	5	1	...	6	15·47	·93	1·20	1	6
27	Kasganj	9,887	5,921	621	16,429	7	1	..	8	36·04	2 88	3 08	3	8
28	Jalesar	7,630	5,414	239	13,283	5	1	...	6	40·76	2·45	2·44	2	6
29	Bareilly	57,580	58,470	1,471	117,521	13	5	...	18	49·75	8·96	8 96	9	19
30	Bijnor	8,086	9,153	200	17,439	8	1	..	9	52·49	4·72	4·72	5	9
31	Chandpur	3,457	8,320	55	11,832	4	5	...	9	70·32	6·33	5·54	6	9
32	Dhampur	4,204	3,331	13	7,548	6	3	...	9	44·13	3·97	3·96	4	10
33	Nagina	6,144	13,421	60	19,625	5	4	...	9	68·39	6·16	5·54	6	9
34	Najibabad	7,919	10,448	93	18,460	4	5	...	9	56 60	5·09	5·09	6	10
35	Budaun	14,944	22,714	572	38,230	4	5	...	9	59·41	5·35	5·35	6	10
36	Ujhani	5,349	2.851	74	8,274	4	2	...	6	34·46	2·07	2 31	2	6
37	Sahaswan	7,764	10 043	202	18.009	2	7	...	9	55·77	5·02	5·02	6	10
38	Moradabad	31,537	48,053	1,578	81,168	6	7	...	13	59 20	7·70	7·70	8	13
39	Chandausi	15,185	6,901	169	22,255	7	2	...	9	31·01	2·79	3·46	3	9
40	Amroha	11,478	30,812	120	42,410	4	6	...	10	72 65	7·26	6·15	7	11
41	Sambhal	14,547	30.224	505	45,276	6	4	...	10	66 76	6·68	6 15	7	11

*These figures do not include the six seats reserved for Europeans.

Statement showing the population of municipalities by religion and the number of elected members on each board in 1915, *etc.*—(contd.).

Number.	Name of municipality.	*Population within municipal limits according to census of* 1911.				*Elected members on municipal boards in* 1915.				Percentage of Muhammadans to total population.	Number of Muhammadan members in strict proportion to the population.	*Number of Muhamadan members according to accepted scheme.*		Total number of elected members according to accepted scheme.
		Hindus.	Muhammadans.	Others.	Total.	Hindus.	Muhammadans.	Others.	Total.			Exact number.	Number by compounding fractions.	
42	Shahjahanpur ...	31,533	39,772	473	71,778	4	8	...	12	55·41	6·65	6·65	7	12
43	Tilhar	8,505	9,740	201	18,446	4	4	...	8	52·80	4·22	4·22	5	9
44	Pilibhit	17,211	14,076	267	31,554	6	3	...	9	44·61	4·01	4·01	4	9
45	Bisalpur	6,375	3,579	132	10,086	...	...	...	7	35·48	2·48	2·69	3	8
46	Fatehgarh *cum*-Farrukhabad.	38,932	17,161	480	56,573	10	2	...	12	30 33	3·64	4·62	5	13
47	Etawah	30,838	14,393	119	45,350	7	3	...	10	31·74	3·17	3·85	4	11
48	Cawnpore	112,357	41,834	2,849	157,040	16	4	1	21	26·64	5·59	8·09	8	21
49	Fatehpur	8,698	8,233	8	16,939	5	3	...	8	48·60	3·89	3·89	4	9
50	Allahabad	106,729	47,934	5,038	159,701	17	...	4	21	30·01	6·30	8·09	8	21
51	Jhansi	43,909	12,736	1.591	58,236	...	...	...	13	21·87	2·84	3·70	4	14
52	Mau	11,601	1,289	37	12,927	6	...	...	6	9 97	·60	·78	1	7
53	Lalitpur	10,517	1,778	154	12,449	...	...	...	...	14·28	...	...	...	...
54	Orai	6,508	2,585	58	9,151	6	...	...	6	28·25	1·69	2·31	2	6
55	Kalpi	7,349	3,215	4	10,568	4	2	...	6	30·42	1 83	2·31	2	6
56	Kunch	12,886	3,566	28	16,480	5	1	...	6	21·64	1·30	1·69	2	7
57	Banda	15,281	5,694	86	21,061	8	4	...	12	27·04	3·24	4·92	5	13

58	Benares	1,43,468	55,407	993	199,868	17	4	...	21	27·72	5·82	8·13	8	21
59	Mirzapur	25,139	6,985	208	32,332	7	3	2	12	21·60	2·59	3·36	3	12
60	Jaunpur	17,296	13,130	47	30,473	3	9	...	12	43·09	5·17	5·17	5	12
61	Ghazipur	15,121	6,883	161	22,165	8	4	...	12	31·05	3·73	4·62	5	13
62	Ballia	13,986	2,673	25	16,684	5	4	...	9	16·02	1·44	1·87	2	10
63	Gorakhpur	31,061	17,001	296	48,358	7	8	...	15	35·16	5·27	5·77	6	16
64	Azamgarh	6,806	3,952	76	10,834	5	5	...	10	36·48	3·65	3·85	4	11
65	Naini Tal	7,134	1,142	1,303	9,579	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
66	Kashipur	7,231	5,485	57	12,773	9	...	...	9	42·94	3·86	3·86	4	10
67	Almora	6,688	808	249	7,745	9	...	...	9	10·43	0·24	1·22	1	9
68	Lucknow	136,223	99,117	4,676	240,016	16	5	3	*21	41·30	8·67	8·67	9	*22
69	Unao	7,024	4,707	78	11,802	7	2	...	9	39·86	3·59	3·60	4	10
70	Rae Bareli	10,005	7,196	128	17,329	5	4	...	9	41·53	3·74	3·74	4	10
71	Sitapur	13,134	8,076	368	21,578	8	1	...	9	37·43	3·37	3·46	3	9
72	Khairabad	5,253	7,511	5	12,769	7	2	...	9	58·82	5·29	5·29	6	10
73	Hardoi	9,807	3,752	296	13,855	6	3	...	9	27·08	2·44	3·46	3	9
74	Shahabad	9,956	9,528	61	19,545	4	5	...	9	48·75	4·39	4·38	4	9
75	Sandlla	7,201	8,017	23	15,241	4	5	...	9	52·60	4·73	4·73	5	9
76	Lakhimpur	8,037	3,309	85	11,431	7	1	...	8	28·95	2·32	3·08	3	8
77	Fyzabad	34,705	12,516	298	47,519	14	...	...	14	26·34	3·69	5·39	5	14
78	Tanda	8,404	10,954	20	19,378	4	6	...	10	56·53	5·65	5·65	6	10
79	Gonda	7,219	5,156	192	12,567	6	3	...	9	41·03	3·69	3·69	4	10

*The Lucknow figures exclude the three seats specially reserved for Europeans.

Statement showing the population of municipalities by religion and the number of elected members on each board in 1915, *etc.*—(concld.).

Number.	Name of municipality.	*Population within municipal limits according to census of* 1911.				*Elected members on municipal boards in* 1915.				Percentage of Muhammadans to total population.	Number of Muhammadan members in strict proportion to the population.	*Number of Muhammadan members according to accepted scheme.*		Total number of elected members according to accepted scheme.
		Hindus.	Muhammadans.	Others.	Total.	Hindus.	Muhammadans.	Others.	Total.			Exact number.	Number by compounding fractions.	
80	Balrampur	8,146	5,763	28	13,937	6	3	...	9	41·35	3·72	3·72	4	10
81	Bahraich	12,438	14,397	72	26,907	6	4	...	10	53·50	5·35	5·35	6	11
82	Sultanpur	5,861	3,547	111	9,519	7	3	...	10	37·26	3·73	3·85	4	11
83	Bela (Partabgarh) ...	4,144	2,124	32	6,300	6	3	...	9	33·71	3·03	3·46	3	9
84	Nawabgauj (Bara Banki.)	8,030	5,986	111	14,127	8	1	...	9	42·37	3·81	3·81	4	10
			† 11,20,193		† 29,07,387					38·53				

† These totals exclude figures for Naini Tal and Mussoorie.

Government statement showing the number of Muslim, and Hindu Chairmen of District Boards, Education and Public Works Committees, called for in Council question by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, in March 1928.

District.	Chairman of the Education Committee.		Chairman of the Public Works Committee.		Remarks.
	Muslim.	Hindu.	Muslim.	Hindu.	
Dehra Dun	M (Maktab)	H (Education)	No such Committee.		
Saharanpur ...	No such Committees have been formed.				
Muzaffarnagar ...					
Meerut	...	H	M (Roads)	H (P. W. D.)	
Bulandshahr	...	H	...	H	
Aligarh	...	H	...	H	
Muttra	There are no such Committees.				
Agra	...	H		H	
Mainpuri	...	H		H	
Etah	...	H		H	
Bareilly	No such Committees have been formed.				
Bijnor	...	H			
Budaun	No such Committees have been formed.				

Government statement showing number of Muslim and Hindu Chairmen of District Boards, etc.—(contd.).

District.		Chairman of the Education Committee.		Chairman of the Public Works Committee.		Remarks.
		Muslim.	Hindu.	Muslim.	Hindu.	
Moradabad ...	...	...	H	...	H	
Shahjahanpur	...	...	H	M	...	
Pilibhit ...	...	*	*	No such Committee		* Chairman is neither Hindu nor Muhammadan, but one is elected when the Commitee meets.
Farrukhabad...	...	...	H	M	...	
Etawah ...	...	...	H	M	...	
Cawnpore ...	...	...	H	...	H	
Fatehpur ...	...	...	H	...	H	
Allahabad ...	...	...	H	...	H	
Jhansi, Jalaun, Hamirpur, Banda	Bundelkhand	No such Committees in any of the District Boards of this Division.				
Benares ...	...	...	H	...	H	
Mirzapur ...	...	...	H	...	H	
Jaunpur ...	...	M	...	...	H	

Ghazipur	M ...	... H
Ballia	No such Committee in this Board.	
Gorakhpur	M (Sadr) H (Deoria)	M (Sadr) H (Deoria)
Basti	... H	... H
Azamgarh	... H	... H
Naini Tal	... H	... H
Almora	... H	... H
Garhwal	M ...	No separate Chairman.
Lucknow	... Christian	M ...
Unao	No chairman—Each Committee elects its own chairman at each meeting.	
Rae Bareli	... H	... H
Sitapur	M ...	... H
Hardoi	... H	M ...
Kheri	... H	... H
Fyzabad	... H	... H
Gonda	... H	... H
Bahraich	There are no such Committees.	
Sultanpur		
Partabgarh	... H	... H
Bara Banki	... H	M ...
	6 29	9 25

APPENDIX F.

Answer to a Council question by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan in March, 1928.

Particulars regarding District Boards.

	District.	Number of Muslim members.	Number of non-Muslim members.	Number of Chairmen.		Number of nominated members.	Number of nominated Muslim members.	Number of nominated non-Muslim members.	Remarks.
				Muslim.	Non-Muslim.				
Meerut	Dehra Dun	4	14	...	Non-Muslim	2	...	2	
	Saharanpur	10	21	...	do.	2	1	1	
	Muzaffarnagar	9	20	...	do.	2	1	1	
	Meerut	13	29	...	do.	2	1	1	
	Bulandshahr	11	27	...	do.	2	...	2	
	Total ...	47	111						
Agra	Aligarh	9	25	Muslim	...	2	1	1	
	Muttra	5	17	...	Non-Muslim	2	...	2	
	Agra	7	23	...	do.	2	...	2	
	Mainpuri	4	25	...	do.	2	...	2	
	Etah	7	23	...	do.	2	...	2	
	Total ...	32	113						

Rohilkhand	Bareilly ...	...	...	10	22	...	Non-Muslim	2	1	1
	Bijnor ...	...	...	9	17	...	do.	2	1	1
	Budaan ...	...		8	26	...	do.	2	...	2
	Moradabad	...	...	13	26	...	do.	2	1	1
	Shahjahanpur	...	...	7	19	...	do.	2	1	1
	Pilibhit ...	...	...	5	14	...	do.	2	...	2
		Total	...	52	124					
Allahabad	Farrukhabad	...	...	8	22	...	Non-Muslim	2	1	1
	Etawah ...	...	..	4	24	...	do.	2	...	2
	Cawnpore	...	...	8	25	...	do.	2	1	1
	Fatehpur	...	...	6	16	...	do.	2	1	1
	Allahabad	...	...	10	32	...	do.	2	...	2
		Total	...	36	119					
Jhansi	Jhansi ...	...	...	4	25	...	Non-Muslim	2	...	2
	Jalaun ...	...	...	3	18	...	do.	2	...	2
	Hamirpur	...	..	5	17	...	do.	2	...	2
	Banda ...	...	...	7	19	...	*	...	...	...
		Total	...	19	79	...				

* This board has now been superseded and another board has

	District.	Number of Muslim members.	Number of non-Muslim members.	Number of Chairmen.		Number of nominated members.	Number of nominated Muslim members.	Number of nominated non-Muslim members.	Remarks.
				Muslim.	Non-Muslim.				
Benares	Benares	7	19	...	Non-Muslim	2	1	1	come in its place. It is not known whether the chairman now is Muslim or non-Muslim.
	Mirzapur	5	23	...	do.	2	1	1	
	Jaunpur	9	29	...	do.	2	...	2	
	Ghazipur	8	22	...	do.	2	1	1	
	Ballia	8	22	...	do.	2	...	2	
	Total ...	37	115						
Gorakhpur	Gorakhpur	10	32	...	Non-Muslim	2	...	2	
	Basti	12	30	...	do.	2	...	2	
	Azamgarh	11	31	...	do.	2	1	1	
	Total ...	33	93						
Kumaun	Naini Tal	9	23	...	Non-Muslim	2	...	2	
	Almora	2	22	...	do.	2	...	2	
	Garhwal...	2	23	...	do.	2	...	2	
	Total ...	13	68						

	Total, Agra								
Lucknow	Lucknow	...	...	6	15	...	Non-Muslim	2	1	1
	Unao ...	...	...	8	22	...	do.	2	...	2
	Rae Bareli	...	...	8	26	...	do.	2	...	2
	Sitapur ...	...	...	9	29	...	do.	2	...	2
	Hardoi ..	...	...	8	26	.	Not known	2	...	2
	Kheri ...	...	...	9	25	...	Non-Muslim	2	1	1
	Total	...	...	48	143					
Fyzabad	Fyzabad	...	...	10	28	...	Non-Muslim	2	1	1
	Gonda ...	...	...	12	30	...	do.	2	...	2
	Bahraich	...		11	27	...	do.	2	...	2
	Sultanpur	...	...	8	26	..	do.	2	...	2
	Partabgarh	...	...	7	23	...	do.	2	...	2
	Bara Banki	...	...	12	26	...	do.	2	1	1
	Total	...	...	60	160					
	Total, Oudh	...	...							
	Grand Total	...	...	377	1125	1	45	94	19	75

APPENDIX G.

List showing the number of Muslim and non-Muslim Executive Officers and Secretaries in each District Board, in answer to a Council question by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan in March 1928.

Serial No.	Name of District Board.	No. of Executive Officers.	No. of Secretaries.	
			Muslim.	Non-Muslim.
1	Dehra Dun	Nil	...	1
2	Saharanpur	...	...	1
3	Muzaffarnagar	...	...	1
4	Meerut	...	...	1
5	Bulandshahr	...	...	1
6	Aligarh	...	...	1
7	Muttra	...	...	1
8	Agra	...	...	1
9	Mainpuri	...	...	...
10	Etah	...	...	1
11	Bareilly	...	1	...
12	Bijnor	...	...	1
13	Budaun	...	...	...
14	Moradabad	...	...	1
15	Shahjahanpur	...	...	1
16	Pilibhit	...	...	1
17	Farrukhabad	...	...	1
18	Etawah	...	...	1
19	Cawnpore	...	1	...
20	Fatehpur	...	...	1
21	Allahabad	...	...	1
22	Jhansi	...	...	1
23	Jalaun	...	...	1
24	Hamirpur	...	...	1
25	Banda	...	...	1
26	Benares	...	...	1

Serial No.	Name of District Board.	Name of Executive Officers.	No. of Secretaries.	
			Muslim.	Non-Muslim.
27	Mirzapur	...	...	1
28	Jaunpur	...	...	1
29	Ghazipur	...	...	1
30	Ballia	...	...	1
31	Gorakhpur	...	...	1
32	Basti	Nil	...	1
33	Azamgarh	...	...	1
34	Naini Tal	...	...	1
35	Almora	...	...	1
36	Garhwal	...	...	1
37	Lucknow	...	1	...
38	Unao	...	...	1
39	Rae Bareli	...	...	1
40	Sitapur	...	...	1
41	Hardoi	...	...	1
42	Kheri	...	...	1
43	Fyzabad	...	...	1
44	Gonda	...	...	1
45	Bahraich	...	...	1
46	Sultanpur	...	...	1
47	Partabgarh	...	...	1
48	Bara Banki	...	1	...

APPENDIX H.

Statement showing the information called for in Council question regarding the making of Hindi, in Hindi script, compulsory in the proceedings of District Boards, by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, in March, 1928.

Names of District Boards which have passed resolutions making the use of Hindi in Hindi script compulsory in the proceedings of these bodies.	Number of Muslim members present at the time these resolutions were passed by each of these bodies.	The text of all such resolutions.	Minute of dissent, if any, by the Muslim members of such bodies.	Action taken on these resolutions by the		Total number of boards which have enforced the resolution making Hindi compulsory in the proceedings of the board.	Remarks.
				Commissioner of the division.	Board itself.		
Saharanpur ...	4	Resolved that Hindi language was proper.	Maulvi Fazlur Rahman Sahib, Q. Mohammad Makdum Hasan and Shaikh Mohammad Inamul Haq said, " there should be no change in the present language of the office, that this was a disputed matter and that it was not proper to put it before the board at this time.	No action.	No action.		
Muzaffarnagar ...	7	Resolved that all the orders be issued in Hindi to Hindus and in Urdu to Muslims.	Rao Abdul Hamid Khan Sahib said, "The board does not agree with the spirit of the resolution and thinks it necessary that as long as this demand is not repeatedly made by the public of the district the board does not approve such a motion only at the instigation of some members who are affected under the general influence and atmosphere of the province. Also many of the employees of the board have not been appointed taking such a view in mind and	No action.	No action.	* Four	* The district boards of Banda and Hamirpur adopted the practice without passing any resolution.

			hence considers this motion impracticable."			
Almora ...	1	Resolved that the work of the board be carried out in Hindi from January 1, 1926.	...	Directed that all correspondence meant for him or submitted through him should be in English.	No action.	
Garhwal ...	Nil	Resolved that office work be carried out in Hindi and correspondence with Government in English.	...	Agreed to the resolution of the board.	Enforced the resolution.	
Naini Tal ...	2	Resolved that the work and proceedings of the board should be carried out in Hindi but English translation of the proceedings should be kept.	...	Ordered that only English translation of the proceedings be forwarded to him.	Enforced the resolution.	
Rae Bareli ...	Nil	Resolved that all proceedings should be in Hindi.	...	No action.	No action.	

Statement containing the information asked for in unstarred Council question No. 11 for March 28, 1928, asked by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, regarding the number of municipal boards which have passed resolutions making the use of Hindi, in Hindi script, compulsory in the proceedings of these boards.

Name of Municipal Board.	Text of Resolutions.	Action taken on these resolutions by the		Total number of boards which have enforced the resolution.
		Commissioner of the division.	Board itself.	
Kahipur ? ...	The board passed a resolution that the proceedings book should be kept in Hindi script.	No action ...	Enforced the resolution (English translation of the proceedings is also kept).	Two.
Azamgarh ...	The board approved the resolution of the Nagri Pracharini Sabha that all papers issued to the Muslim public should be invariably written in the Persian character and those issued to the Hindu public in the Devanagri character.	No action ...	Not reported. Enquiry is being made again.	
Etawah ...	The board passed a resolution that all municipal work should be done in Hindi instead of in Urdu.	Asked the board to reconsider their resolution.	No action. (The resolution was cancelled.)	
Allahabad ...	The board resolved that (1) the proceedings of the board be carried on either in English or in Hindustani; (2) the agenda be written in English, Hindi and Urdu, (3) the resolutions be written either in English or in Hindi or Urdu according to the choice of the chairman, and (4) the minutes be recorded in English, Urdu and Hindi.	No action ...	A translation of the minutes of the boards meetings published in English is published in Hindi also. Option has been given to conduct proceedings either in English or Hindustani.	

APPENDIX I.

Town Area.

Areas.

Statement showing the information called for in unstarred questions Nos. 6 and 7 for March 28, 1928, asked by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan.

Serial No.	Name of Town Area.	Number of members.		Chairman.		Number of nominated members.		Total number of nominated members.
		Muslim.	Non-Muslim.	Muslim.	Non-Muslim.	Muslim.	Non-Muslim.	
1	All the town areas in the Azamgarh District (10)	10	30	No Chairman or Vice-Chairman.		4	6	10
2	Bilsanda	1	4			...	1	1
3	Jahanabad	2	3			1	...	1
4	Puranpur	1	4			...	...	...
5	Neoria...	4	1	Ditto.		...	1	1
6	Mandawar	3	1			...	1	1
7	Jhalu	2	2			...	1	1
8	Haldour	1	3			...	1	1
9	Nihtour	3	1			...	1	1
10	Seohara	2	2			...	1	1

Serial No.	Name of Town Area.	Number of members.		Chairman.		Number of nominated members.		Total number of nominated members.
		Muslim.	Non-Muslim.	Muslim.	Non-Muslim.	Muslim.	Non-Muslim.	
11	Sherkot	3	1	No Chairman or Vice-Chairman.		...	1	1
12	Afzalgarh	3	1			...	1	1
13	Kiratpur	4	...			...	1	1
14	Basti ... %	1	4	A non-official ...		1	... Nil	1
15	Menhdawal	1	3	Sub-Divisional Magistrates		...	1	1
16	Uska Bazar	1	3					
17	Pawayan	...	6	...	...	...	1	1
18	Katra	3	3	...	...	1	...	1
19	Khudaganj	...	5	...	...	...	1	1
20	Jalalabad	2	4	...	...	1	...	1
21	Bisauli	1	4	...	...	1	...	1
22	Mundia	...	4	...	...	...	...	...
23	Islamnagar	2	3	...	...	...	...	...
24	Dataganj	2	3	...	...	...	1	1
25	Alapur	2	3	...	...	...	...	...
26	Kakrala	4	1	...	...	...	...	...

27	Ushet	3	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
28	Gunnaur	5	...	..	...	1	...	1			
29	Faridpur	1	4	...	..	...	1	1			
30	Fatehganj East	1	3	...	..	...	1	1			
31	Sirauli	3	1	...	...	..	1	1			
32	Sheopuri	1	3	...	...	...	1	1			
33	Nawabganj	1	4	...	...	1	...	1			
34	Senthal	3	1	...	...	1	...	1			
35	Richha...	3	1	...	...	1	...	1			
36	Shishgarh	3	1	...	...	1	...	1			
37	Shahi	2	2	...	...	1	...	1			
38	Akbarpur	3	3	...	...	1	. .	1			
39	Jalalpur	3	3	...	...	...	1	1			
40	Nagpur	1	3	...	...	...	...	...			
41	Goshainganj	2	4	...	...	...	1	1			
42	Bhadarsa	2	3	...	...	...	...	...			
43	Katra	..	5	(Sub-Divisional officers is town magistrate.)		...	1	1			
44	Khargapur	1	4	...	...	...	1	1			
45	Katra Medniganj	2	3	..	...	...	1	1			
46	Manikpur	4	1	...	...	...	1	1			

Serial No.	Name of Town Area.	Number of members.		Chairman.		Number of nominated members.		Total number of nominated members.
		Muslim.	Non-Muslim.	Muslim.	Non-Muslim.	Muslim.	Non-Muslim.	
47	Partabgarh	2	3	...	...	...	...	...
48	Bara Banki	3	2					
49	Satrikh	3	2					
50	Zaidpur	4	2					
51	Dewa	4	1	There are no chairmen and no nominated members.				
52	Tikaitnagar	1	4					
53	Daryabad	2	3					
54	Ramnagar	...	5					
55	Fatehpur	2	4					
56	Pipraich	1	3	...	1			
57	Siswa	2	3	...	1			
58	Nautanwa	...	5	...	1	...	1	1
59	Gola	1	3	1	...			
60	Barhalganj	2	3	1	...			
61	Lar	3	3	1	...	1	...	1
62	Rampur	2	3		1			
63	Captainganj	1	3	...	1			

64	Rudarpur	...	...	...	5	...	1			
65	Padrauna	...	...	1	5	...	1	1	...	1
66	Sheopur	...	...	...	5	...	1 (Offi.)	...	1	1
67	Gangapur	...	...	2	3	...	1 (Offi.)	1	...	1
68	Kachhwa	...	...	2	3	1	...	...	...	...
69	Gharawal	...	...	1	4	...	1	...	...	...
70	Machhlishahr	...	...	3	2	Tahsildar of the tahsil is the Town Magistrate.		...	1	1
71	Mariahu	...	...	3	2	Tahsildar of each tahsil is the Town Magistrate.		1	...	1
72	Kerakat	...	...	1	4			1	...	1
73	Zafrabad	...	...	3	2	Tahsildar of the tahsil is the Town Magistrate.		1	...	1
74	Zamania	...	...	3	2	Town Magistrates are Chairmen of these town areas and one of them is Muslim.		...	1	1
75	Saidpur	...	...	...	5			...	1	1
76	Muhamadabad	..	..	2	3			...	1	1
77	Bahadurganj	...	...	2	3			...	1	1
78	Sahatwar	...	...	...	5			...	1	1
79	Maniar	...	...	...	5	...	...	...	1	1
80	Haoti	...	...	1	4	...	...	1	...	1
81	Sikandarpur	...	...	2	3	...	...	...	1	1
82	Bansdih	...	...	1	4	...	...		...	1

Serial No.	Name of Town Areas.	Number of members.		Chairman.		Number of nominated members.		Total number of nominated members.
		Muslim.	Non-Muslim.	Muslim.	Non-Muslim.	Muslim.	Non-Muslim.	
83	Baragaon	1	4	...	...	...	1	1
84	Amethi							
85	Kakori							
86	Malihabad	14	9	3	1	4	...	4
87	Goshainganj							
88	Bangarmall							
89	Bhagwantanagar							
90	Purwa	8	16	Nil				
91	Safipur							
92	Maurawan							
93	Dalman	2	2	...	...	1	...	1
94	Biswan	2	3	...	...	...	...	...
95	Laharpur	3	2	...	...	...	...	...
96	Misrikh	...	5	...	...	...	1	1
97	Nimsar	...	4	...	...	...	...	

98	Mallawan	...	5	...	1	...	...	...	
99	Beniganj	2	3	...	1	...		...	
100	Pali Khas	2	3	...	1	...	...	...	
101	Gola Gokarannath... ...	1	5	...	1	...	1	1	
102	Kheri	3	3	1	...	...	1	1	
103	Oel	...	5	...	1	...	2	2	
104	Bilari	3	2	...	1	...	1	1	
105	Dhanaura	...	5	1	...	...	...	...	
106	Kandarki	1	3	...	1	1	...	1	
107	Bachhraon	4	1	1	...	...	...	...	
108	Kanth	...	5	...	1	...	...	...	
109	Pipalsana	5	...	...	1	...	...	...	
110	Bahjoi	2	3	1	...	...	...	...	
111	Thakurdwara	1	3	...	1	1	...	1	
112	Sirsi	4	1	1	...	...	...	...	
113	Jaspur Union	3	2	...	1	...	1	1	
114	Srinagar	...	5	...	...	...	1	1	
115	Shanshabad	3	4	1	...	...	1	1	
116	Chhibraman	2	3	1	...	...	...	...	
117	Talgram	2	3	...	1	...	...	...	
118	Tirwa	1	6	1	...	1	...	1	

Serial No.	Name of Town Areas.	Number of members.		Chairman.		Number of nominated members.		Total number of nominated members.
		Muslim.	Non-Muslim.	Muslim.	Non-Muslim.	Muslim.	Non-Muslim.	
119	Thuthia	2	4	1	...	...	1	1
120	Kamalganj	1	5	...	1	1	1	2
121	Jaswantnagar	2	3	...	...	...	...	...
122	Ekdil	1	3	...	...	...	...	...
123	Bharthana	1	3	...	...	...	...	...
124	Lakhna	...	5	...	...	...	1	1
125	Phaphund	3	3	...	...	...	...	...
126	Bilhaur	2	3	...	...	1	...	1
127	Bithur	1	4	...	...	1	...	1
128	Jhinjhak	1	4	...	...	1	...	1
129	Khaga...	1	4	...	...	1	1	2
130	Kishanpur	1	3	...	...	1	3	4
131—140	Allahabad District town areas	21	31	5 (Sarpanches)	5	3	2	5
141	Barwar Sagar	...	4	Tahsildar for the time being is the Town Magistrate.			1	1
142	Chirgaon	...	5	...	"	...	...	...
143	Ranipur	...	5	...	"	...	...	

144	Gursarai	...	4	...	,,	...	1	1
145	Talbehat	...	4	...	,,	...	1	1
146	Mahroni	...	5	...	,,	...	...	...
147	Moth	...	5	...	,,	...	...	...
148	Madhogarh	...	4	...	,,	1	1	1
149	Attarra	...	4	...	,,	1	...	1
150	Naraini	...	4	...	,,	1	...	1
151	Rajapur	...	4	...	,,	...	...	...
152	Sitapur	...	5	...	,,	...	...	...
153	Hamirpur	1	5	...	,,	...	...	...
154	Sumerpur	1	4	...	,,	...	1	1
155	Maudaha	3	2	...	...	...	...	...
156	Ambehta ...	3	2	...	1	1	...	1
157	Gangoh	4	3	...	1	1	...	1
158	Titroun	2	3	...	1	...	1	1
159	Sarsawa	2	3	...	1	...	1	1
160	Rampur	2	4	1	...	1	...	1
161	Nanauta	2	3	1	...	...	1	1
162	Nakur	2	4	1	...	1	...	1
163	Chilkana Sultanpur Union ...	2	4	1	...	...	1	1

Serial No.	Name of Town Areas.	Number of members.		Chairman.		Number of nominated members.		Total number of nominated members.
		Muslim.	Non-Muslim.	Muslim.	Non-Muslim.	Muslim.	Non-Muslim	
164	Manglour	4	3	...	1	...	1	1
165	Jhabrera	1	3	1	...	...	1	1
166	Charthawal	2	3	...	...	...	...	...
167	Purkazi	4	1	...	...	...	...	...
168	Shamli	1	4	...	1	...	1	1
169	Jalalabad	3	2	1	...	...	...	...
170	Thana Bhawan	3	2	1	...	...	...	...
171	Jhinjhana	3	2	...	...	...	...	...
172	Khatauli	2	3	...	1	...	1	1
173	Jansath	3	2	...	1	...	...	...
174	Miranpur	2	3	...	1	...	...	...
175	Budhana	2	3	...	...	...	...	...
176	Shahpur	3	2	1	...	...	...	...
177	Kanker Khera	1	1	...	...	...	1	1
178	Buxar Khera	1	1	...	...	...	...	...
179	Abdullapur	3	2	...	...	...	...	...

180	Muradnagar	3	1	...	...	...	1	1
181	Dasna	2	2	...	...	1	...	1
182	Faridnagar	2	2	...	...	1	...	1
183	Farrukhnagar	...	4	...	...	...	1	1
184	Loni	2	2	...	...	...	1	1
185	Chhaprouli	1	4	...	...	...	...	...
186	Khekra	...	6	...	...	...	1	1
187	Amin Nagar Sarai ...	1	3	...	...	...	...	...
188	Garhmuktesar	1	3	...	...	...	1	1
189	Lawar	3	2	...	...	...	...	...
190	Parichatgarh	...	4	...	...	1	..	1
191	Phalanda	2	2	...	..	...	1	1
192	Baghpat	2	3	...	...	...	...	...
193	Aurangabad	1	3	...	...	1	...	1
194	Gulaothi	4	...	...	...	...	1	1
195	Siana	1	3	...	...	1	...	1
196	Shikarpur	3	3	...	...	1	...	1
197	Chhatari	1	3	...	...	1	...	1
198	Rahupura	1	3	...	...	...	1	1
199	Pahasu	2	2	...	...	...	1	1

Serial No.	Name of Town Areas.	Number of members.		Chairman.		Number of nominated members.		Total number of nominated members.
		Muslim.	Non-Muslim.	Muslim.	Non-Muslim.	Muslim.	Non-Muslim.	
200	Jewar	1	3	...	...	...	1	1
201	Bilaspur	1	3	...	...	1	...	1
202	Kakor	1	3	...	...	1	...	1
203	Dankaur	...	4	...	...	...	1	1
204	Dadri	...	4	...	..	...	1	1
205	Jahangirabad .:. ..	2	4	...	...	1	...	1
206	Jalali	4	2	...	...	...	1	1
207	Harduaganj	...	5	...	...	...	1	1
208	Sasni	...	5	...	...	...	1	1
209	Murasan	1	4	...	...	...	1	1
210	Mendu	2	3	...	...	...	...	...
211	Khair	1	4	...	...	...	...	...
212	Tappal	2	3	...	...	...	...	...
213	Beswan	1	4	...	...	...	1	1
214	Chharra	3	2	...	...	. .	1	1
215	Bijaigarh	...	5	...	...	...	1	1.

216	Pilkhua	...	...	3	2	...	...	...	1	1
217	Purdinagar	...	...	1	4	...	...	1	...	1
218	Kachaura	...	...	...	5	...	...	...	1	1
219	Koriaganj	...	...	2	3	...	...	...	1	1
220	Hasain	...	...	...	5	...	...	...	1	1
221	Mahaban	...	...	2	4	...	...	...	1	1
222	Raya	...	...	1	4	...	...	...	1	1
223	Baldeo	...	..	...	5	...	...	...	1	1
224	Gokul	...	...	...	5	...	...	...	1	1
225	Gobardhan	...	...	...	5	...	...	...	1	1
226	Sonkh	...	...	1	4	...	...	...	1	1
227	Farah	...	...	1	4	...	...	...	1	1
228	Radhakund	...	..	...	5	...	...	...	1	1
229	Sadabad	...	...	2	4	...	...	1	...	1
230	Sahpan	...	...	1	5	...	...	1	...	1
131	Chhata	...	...	...	5	...	...	...	1	1
232	Shergarh	...	..	2	3	...	...	1	...	1
233	Itmadpur	...	...	1	5	..	...	1	...	1
234	Tundla	...	...	1	5	...	...	1	...	1
235	Achhnera	...	...	2	3	...	...	...	1	1
236	Fatehabad	...	...	2	3	...	...	1	...	1

Serial No.	Name of Town Area.	Number of members.		Chairman.		Number of nominated members.		Total number of nominated members.
		Muslim.	Non-Muslim.	Muslim.	Non-Muslim.	Muslim.	Non-Muslim.	
237	Shamshabad	2	3	...	...	1	...	1
238	Jagner	...	5	...	...	...	1	1
239	Bah	2	4	...	...	...	1	1
240	Pinahat	1	4	...	...	...	1	1
241	Kuraoli	1	4	...	...	1	...	1
242	Karhal	2	3	...	...	1	...	1
243	Sirsaganj	1	5	...	...	...	1	1
244	Jasrana	1	4	...	...	1	...	1
245	Bewar	1	4	...	...	...	1	1
246	Bhongaon	2	4	...	..	1	...	1
247	Pharha	1	4	...	...	...	1	1
248	Awagarh	1	4	...	..	1	...	1
249	Nidhauli	1	4	...	...	...	1	1
250	Sakit	2	3	...	...	1	...	1
251	Patiali	1	4	...	...	...	1	1
252	Rampur	...	5	...	...	...	1	1

| | | |

APPENDIX J.

Statement showing the number of Muslim and non-Muslim voters at the last election and the number of Muslim and non-Muslim members and nominated members.

Name of District Board.	No. of Muslim voters at the last election.	No. of non-Muslim voters at the last election.	No. of Muslim members including nominated members.	No. of non-Muslim members including nominated members.	Remarks.
PROVINCE OF AGRA.					
Dehra Dun	577	2,823	4	14	
Saharanpur	10,422	24,551	9	22	
Muzaffarnagar	8,855	23,183	9	20	
Meerut	8,794	47,931	13	29	
Bulandshahr	5,830	44,503	11	27	
Aligarh	3,118	44,273	9	25	
Muttra	997	24,910	5	17	
Agra	819	26,964	7	23	
Mainpuri	480	24,520	4	25	
Etah	1,433	21,299	7	23	
Bareilly	3,895	19,908	10	22	
Bijnor	5,461	23,601	9	17	

Budaun	2,872	19,683	8	26	
Moradabad	14,180	35,172	13	26	
Shahjahanpur	4,617	1,460	7	19	
Pilibhit	8,482	1,393	5	14	
Farrukhabad	748	9,485	8	22	
Etawah	252	13,017	4	24	
Cawnpore	368	15,485	9	25	
Fatehpur	1,978	15,180	6	16	
Allahabad	3,455	20,347	11	31	
Banda	423	8,984	7	19	
Hamirpur	591	13,679	5	17	
Jhansi	87	7,287	4	25	
Jalaun	431	14,132	3	18	
Benares	542	13,147	6	21	
Mirzapur	181	7,231	5	23	
Jaunpur	1,327	18,058	9	29	
Ghazipur	729	10,916	8	22	
Ballia	493	10,321	7	23	
Gorakhpur	940	19,379	10	32	
Basti	5,074	22,814	12	30	

Name of District Board.	No. of Muslim voters at the last election.	No. of non-Muslim voters at the last election.	No. of Muslim members including nominated members.	No. of non-Muslim members including nominated members.	Remarks.
Azamgarh	3,085	15,371	11	31	
Naini Tal	493	12,511	10	22	
Almora	340	135,983	2	22	
Garhwal	188	68,403	2	23	
Lucknow	1,555	15,628	6	15	
Unao	1,095	17,758	7	23	
Rae Bareli	1,246	19,832	8	26	
Sitapur	3,991	43,539	9	29	
Hardoi	2,215	27,710	8	26	
Kheri	1,813	19,906	9	25	
Fyzabad	1,225	14,450	10	28	
Gonda	4,716	28,893	12	30	
Bahraich	2,698	16,751	11	27	
Sultanpur	2,088	15,441	8	26	
Partabgarh	1,524	12,696	7	23	
Bara Banki	2,993	31,251	12	26	

Number of Electors for Election of Members for the U. P. Legislative Council Election of 1926.

Information regarding number of voters at Council elections in answer to Council question by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, on March 28, 1927. in the United Provinces Legislative Council.

Name of constituency.	Total number of voters on the electoral roll.	Total number of votes polled.	Percentage of votes polled to total number of electors.
Non-Muhammadan, Urban.			
Agra City	9,578	4,691	48·9
Cawnpore ,, ...	23,424	11,754	50
Allahabad ,, ...	11,026	4,995	45·3
Lucknow ,, ...	21,729	9,153	42·1
Benares ,, ...	10,968	4,315	39·3
Bareilly ,, ...	6,403	3,230	50·4
Meerut-*cum*-Aligarh	8,661	Uncontested election.	
Moradabad-*cum*-Shahjahanpur	7,478	3,172	42·4
Non-Muhammadan, Rural.			
Dehra Dun district	6,705	4,221	62·9
Saharanpur ,, ...	31,635	13,888	43·8
Muzaffarnagar ,, ...	32,911	17,366	52·7
Meerut ,, (North)	28,903	8,742	30·2
Meerut ,, (South)	25,488	11,857	46·5
Bulandshahr ,, (East)	26,452	13,134	49·6
Bulandshahr ,, (West)	22,877	10,162	64·4
Aligarh ,, (East)	23,942	13,594	56·8
Aligarh ,, (West)	24,396	11,129	45·6
Muttra ,, ...	29,676	10,161	34·2
Agra ,, ...	29,934	16,967	56·6
Mainpuri ,, ...	26,271	Uncontested election.	
Etah ,, ...	25,419	16,189	63·6
Bareilly ,, ...	22,270	16,657	74·7
Bijnor ,, ...	28,738	14,960	52
Budaun ,, ...	23,650	12,254	51·8
Moradabad ,, ...	36,002	23,614	65·5
Shahjahanpur ,, ...	15,080	8,004	53
Pilibhit ,, ...	10,295	7,562	73·4

Name of constituency.					Total number of voters on the electoral roll.	Total number of votes polled.	Percentage of votes polled to total number of electors.
Non-Muhammadan, Rural—(contd.)							
Jhansi	district	...	...	...	15,382	7 344	47·7
Jalaun	,,	...	...	...	17,547	9,327	53·4
Hamirpur	,,	...	...	...	14,858	5,715	38·4
Banda	,,	...	...	...	12,377	6,126	49·4
Farrukhabad	,,	...	...	...	24,252	17,037	70·2
Etawah	,,	...	...	...	29,257	14,288	48·8
Cawnpore	,,	...	...	...	27,868	14,013	50
Fatehpur	,,	...	...	...	18,051	Uncontested election.	
Allahabad	,,	...	...	...	22,724	11,627	51·1
Benares	,,	...	...	...	12,416	8,791	70·7
Mirzapur	,,	...	...	...	10,913	7,367	67·5
Jaunpur	,,	...	...	...	20,787	14,982	72·3
Ghazipur	,,	...	...	...	12,893	5,707	44·2
Ballia	,,	...	...	...	14,067	8,509	60·5
Gorakhpur	,,	(West)	...	...	11,749	7,362	62·6
Gorakhpur	,,	(East)	...	...	12,379	Uncontested election.	
Basti	,,	...	...	...	22,874	Ditto.	
Azamgarh	,,	...	...	...	18,491	9,113	49·2
Naini Tal	,,	...	...	...	15,677	6,744	43
Almora	,,	...	...	...	114,112	14,425	12·6
Garhwal	,,	...	...	...	46,038	14,039	30·4
Lucknow	,,	...	...	...	17,768	9,406	52·9
Unao	,,	...	...	...	20,269	12,412	61·2
Rae Bareli	,,	...	..	...	20,482	13,745	67·1
Sitapur	,,	...	...	...	43,213	18,463	42·7
Hardoi	,,	...	...	...	30,843	18,195	58·9
Kheri	,,	...	...	...	19,317	7,210	37·3
Fyzabad	,,	...	...	...	19,310	Uncontested election.	
Gonda	,,	...	...	...	29,245	13,844	47·3
Bahraich	,,	...	...	...	25,837	16,424	63·5
Sultanpur	,,	...	...	...	17,369	12,847	73·9

Name of constituency.	Total number of voters on the electoral roll.	Total number of votes polled.	Percentage of votes polled to total number of electors.
Muhammadan, Rural—(contd.).			
Partabgarh „	14,047	7,875	56
Bara Banki „	37,431	29,359	78·4
Muhammadan, Urban.			
Allahabad-*cum*-Benares	9,861	4,901	49·7
Lucknow-*cum*-Cawnpore	20,781	6,946	33·4
Agra and Meerut-*cum*-Aligarh	10,142	5,393	53
Bareilly and Shahjahanpur-*cum*-Moradabad ...	10,872	4,480	41·2
Muhammadan, Rural.			
Dehra Dun district	6,707	4,512	67·2
Saharanpur „	10,624	6,345	59·7
Meerut „	10,755	7,694	71·5
Muzaffarnagar „	11,918	8,462	71
Bijnor „	17,426	7,726	67·6
Bulandshahr „	9,051	6,410	70·8
Aligarh, Muttra and Agra districts	9,051	Uncontested election.	
Etawah, Cawnpore and Fatehpur districts ...	4,996	Ditto	
Jhansi division	5,358	3,278	61·17
Allahabad, Jaunpur and Mirzapur districts ...	7,131	Uncontested election.	
Benares, Ghazipur, Ballia and Azamgarh districts...	7,889	4,516	57·2
Gorakhpur district	2,285	Uncontested election.	
Basti „	5,148	3,872	75·1
Moradabad „ ... (North) ...	8,413	5,921	70·3
Moradabad „ ... (South) ...	9,276	6,026	66
Budaun „	4,873	Uncontested election.	
Shahjahanpur „	2,043	1,468	71·8
Bareilly „	5,247	4,256	81·1
Mainpuri, Etah and Farrukhabad districts ...	3,514	Uncontested election.	
Kumaun division-*cum*-Pilibhit	5,205	3,137	60·2
Gonda and Bahraich districts	11,643	6,085	52·2
Kheri and Sitapur districts	4,249	Uncontested election.	
Hardoi, Lucknow and Unao districts ...	6,798	4,666	68·6

Name of constitueney.	Total number of voters on the electoral roll.	Total number of votes polled.	Percentage of votes polled to total number of electors.
Muhammadan, Rural—(contd.)			
Fyzabad and Bara Banki districts	7,832	2,655	33·9
Sultanpur, Partabgarh and Rae Bareli districts ...	7,684	5,306	69
European.			
United Provinces, European	4,682	667	14·2
Landholders.			
Agra Landholders (North)	380	Uncontested election.	
Agra „ (South)	336	195	58·0
Taluqdars	373	199	53·0
Chambers of Commerce.			
Upper India Chamber of Commerce	67	Uncontested election.	
United Provinces Chamber of Commerce ...	103	Ditto.	
University.			
Allahabad University	4,141	2,972	71·7

APPENDIX C.

(See page 903 supra.)

Statement referred to in answer to Council question by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, on March 28, 1927.

Nature and name of constituency.	Number of females on electoral roll.	Number of female votes polled.
Non-Muhammadan, Urban.		
Agra city	78	3
Cawnpore city	932	66
Allahabad city	435	...
Lucknow city	252	30
Benares city	344	110
Bareilly city	359	59
Meerut-*cum*-Aligarh	294	Uncontested election.
Non-Muhammadan, Rural.		
Moradabad-*cum*-Shahjahanpur	263	5
Dehra Dun district	79	31
Saharanpur district	842	2
Muzaffarnagar district	778	21
Meerut district (North)	655	5
Meerut district (South)	474	17
Bulandshahr district (East)	1,633	46
Bulandshahr district (West)	563	44
Aligarh district (East)	446	77
Aligarh district (West)	518	68
Muttra district	583	18
Agra district	574	46
Mainpuri district	805	Uncontested election.
Etah district	611	87
Bareilly district	620	35
Bijnor district	838	44
Budaun district	617	47
Moradabad district	360	40

Nature and name of constituency.	Number of females on electoral roll.	Number of female votes polled.
Non-Muhammadan Rural—(contd.).		
Shahjahanpur district	504	59
Pilibhit district	329	53
Jhansi district	624	52
Jalaun district	936	122
Hamirpur district	989	96
Banda district	490	62
Farrukhabad district	435	51
Etawah district	861	26
Cawnpore district	1,238	3
Fatehpur district...	938	Uncontested election.
Allahabad district...	1,174	Nil.
Benares district	325	19
Mirzapur district	529	111
Jaunpur district	511	118
Ghazipur district	297	2
Ballia district	313	29
Gorakhpur district (West)	350	29
Gorakhpur district (East)	259	Uncontested election.
Basti district	705	Ditto.
Azamgarh district	663	8
Naini Tal district	975	35
Almora district	3,289	7
Garhwal district	1,238	1
Lucknow district	485	86
Unao district	755	43
Rae Bareli district	1,000	319
Sitapur district	1,307	119
Hardoi district	903	96
Kheri district	340	32
Fyzabad district	806	Uncontested election.
Gonda district	1,050	99

Nature and name of constituency.	Number of females on electoral roll.	Number of female votes polled.
Non-Muhammadan, Rural—(contd.).		
Bahraich district	1,202	515
Sultanpur district	696	296
Partabgarh district	535	120
Bara Banki district	1,818	431
Muhammadan, Urban.		
Allahabad-*cum*-Benares	307	24
Lucknow-*cum*-Cawnpore	890	83
Agra and Meerut-*cum*-Aligarh	300	88
Bareilly and Shahjahanpur-*cum*-Moradabad	418	18
Muhammadan, Rural.		
Dehra Dun district	52	4
Saharanpur district	256	...
Meerut district	228	5
Muzaffarnagar district	399	2
Bijnor district	166	10
Bulandshahr district	324	20
Aligarh, Muttra and Agra districts	135	Uncontested election.
Etawah, Cawnpore and Fatehpur districts	351	Uncontested election.
Jhansi division	195	24
Allahabad, Jaunpur and Mirzapur districts	471	Uncontested election
Benares, Ghazipur, Ballia and Azamgarh districts	299	17
Gorakhpur district	69	Uncontested election.
Basti district	137	31
North Moradabad district	136	8
South Moradabad district	176	12
Budaun district	266	Uncontested election.
Shahjahanpur district	79	
Bareilly district	145	
Mainpuri, Etah and Farrukhabad districts	87	Uncontested election.

Nature and name of constituency.	Number of females on electoral roll.	Number of female votes polled.
Muhammadan, Rural—(concld.).		
Kumaun division-*cum*-Pilibhit	127	9
Gonda and Bahraich districts...	361	60
Kheri and Sitapur districts	120	Uncontested election.
Hardoi, Lucknow and Unao districts	329	38
Fyzabad and Bara Banki districts	421	15
Sultanpur, Partabgarh and Rae Bareli districts	318	83
United Provinces, European	553	74
Agra landholders (North)	37	Uncontested election.
Agra landholders (South)	34	...
Taluqdars	59	...
Upper India Chamber of Commerce	...	Uncontested election.
United Provinces Chamber of Commerce	...	Uncontested election.
Allahabad University	9	5

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

Statement of information called for in the U. P. Legislative Council question for March 28, 1928, asked by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan regarding the Contracts given by the District Boards to Muslims and Non-Muslims during the last three years.

	District.	Total number of contracts above Rs. 250.	Total amount of all such contracts.	No. of contractors to whom such contracts were given.		Total amount of contracts given to	
				Non-Muslims.	Muslims.	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.
			Rs. a. p.			Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Meerut	Dehra Dun ...	27	25,434 0 0	15	12	4,740 0 0	20,694 0 0
	Saharanpur ...	130	1,35,395 0 0	23	18	55,881 0 0	79,514 0 0
	Muzaffarnagar ...	140	1,94,382 0 0	106	34	42,096 0 0	1,52,286 0 0
	Meerut	273	4,66,064 0 0	188	82	1,19,327 0 0	3,44,325 0 0
	Bulandshahr	224	3,22,706 0 0	178	46	45,298 0 0	2,77,408 0 0
Agra	Aligarh	280	3,90,511 0 0	236	44	38,501 0 0	3,52,010 0 0
	Muttra	109	2,57,369 0 0	86	23	47,725 0 0	2,09,644 0 0
	Agra	252	3,45,494 0 0	195	57	99,398 0 0	2,46,096 0 0
	Mainpuri	166	3,46,972 0 0	145	21	46,821 0 0	3,00,151 0 0
	Etah	264	1,94,225 0 0	206	58	29,838 0 0	1,64,387 0 0

	District	Total number of contracts above Rs. 250.	Total amount of all such contracts.	No. of contractors to whom such contracts were given.		Total amount of contracts given to	
				Non-Muslims.	Muslims.	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.
			Rs. a. p.			Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Rohilkhand	Bareilly	83	93,470 13 0	35	48	58,749 6 0	34,721 7 0
	Bijnor	195	2,43,240 0 0	28	60	1,71,495 0 0	71,745 0 0
	Budaun	156	4,02,189 0 0	45	111	1,78,327 0 0	2,23,862 0 0
	Moradabad	222	3,82,743 0 0	111	111	1,89,793 0 0	1,93,950 0 0
	Shahjahanpur ...	212	1,42,530 2 4	129	12	41,177 11 4	1,01,352 7 0
	Pilibhit	52	79,765 5 2	35	17	29,741 8 0	50,023 13 2
Allahabad	Farrukhabad	211	2,66,733 0 0	58	13	34,267 0 0	2,32,466 0 0
	Etawah	149	1,96,832 0 0	128	21	39,553 0 0	1,57,279 0 0
	Cawnpore	93	1,03,612 0 0	78	15	18,430 0 0	85,182 0 0
	Fatehpur	246	3,11,858 0 0	188	48	37,624 0 0	2,64,373 0 0
	Allahabad	181	2,34,640 0 0	82	102	1,09,838 0 0	1,24,802 0 0
	Jhansi	240	1,98,087 0 0	109	20	33,513 0 0	1,64,574 0 0

Jhansi	Jalaun	101	1,23,929 0 0	27	4	9,377 0 0	1,14,552 0 0
	Hamirpur	111	1,18,774 0 0	33	7	18,319 0 0	1,00,455 0 0
	Banda	207	1,79,509 0 0	161	46	27,611 0 0	1,51,898 0 0
Benares	Benares	126	1,83,569 0 0	113	4	4,583 0 0	1,78,986 0 0
	Mirzapur	227	2,69,670 0 0	203	24	20,917 0 0	2,48,753 0 0
	Jaunpur	205	2,24,726 0 0	188	17	16,163 0 0	2,08,563 0 0
	Ghazipur	261	2,60,156 0 0	230	31	39,107 0 0	2,21,049 0 0
	Ballia	103	94,700 0 0	53	5	2,129 0 0	92,571 0 0
Gorakhpur	Gorakhpur	499	5,86,223 0 0	217	43	97,392 0 0	4,88,831 0 0
	Basti						
	Azamgarh						
Kumaun	Naini Tal	83	1,49,826 0 0	73	10	14,264 0 0	1,35,562 0 0
	Almora	121	1,56,291 0 0	54	1	675 0 0	1,55,616 0 0
	Garhwal	204	3,57,370 0 0	123	1	651 0 0	3,56,719 0 0
	Lucknow	158	2,18,106 0 0	43	9	28,463 0 0	1,89,643 0 0
	Unao	283	2,73,852 0 0	139	144	1,12,086 0 0	1,59,766 0 0

	District.	Total number of contracts above Rs. 250.	Total number of all such contracts.	No. of contractors to whom such contracts were given.		Total amount of contracts given to	
				Non-Muslims.	Muslims.	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.
			Rs. a. p.			Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Lucknow	Rae Bareli	93	1,34,475 0 0	67	26	46,230 0 0	88,245 0 0
	Sitapur	163	2,88,923 0 0	143	20	40,659 0 0	2,48,264 0 0
	Hardoi	221	3,20,937 0 0	76	18	38,428 0 0	2,82,509 0 0
	Kheri	187	2,34,352 0 0	176	11	9,762 0 0	2,24,590 0 0
Fyzabad	Fyzabad	219	1,49,287 0 0	55	37	46,997 0 0	1,02,290 0 0
	Gonda	168	3,32,209 0 0	99	69	1,38,575 0 0	1,93,634 0 0
	Bahraich	294	3,77,926 0 0	56	41	1,16,630 0 0	2,61,296 0 0
	Sultanpur	238	1,90,571 5 0	180	58	45,857 6 0	1,44,713 15 0
	Partabgarh	132	1,12,856 0 0	105	27	28,668 0 0	84,188 0 0
	Bara Banki	234	2,52,436 0 0	43	28	62,960 0 0	1,89,476 0 0
	Basti	241	2,83,975 0 0	127	27	70,718 0 0	2,13,257 0 0
	Azamgarh	388	2,02,454 0 0	58	5	22,087 0 0	1,80,367 0 0

(96)

Number of Muslim and Hindu Landowners in the United Provinces.

In answer to a question asked by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, M. L. C., in the U. P. Legislative Council, the Government replied as follows on February 23, 1926, showing the total number of Hindu, Muslim, and Christian landholders in the United Provinces and the total amount of land revenue payable by the proprietors of each of the three religions.

District.	Hindus.		Muslims.		Christians.	
	Number.	Revenue.	Number.	Revenue.	Number.	Revenue.
PROVINCE OF AGRA.		Rs.		Rs.		Rs.
Dehra Dun	6,346	1,24,480	151	5,498	52	8,091
Saharanpur	47,328	12,69,303	4,581	4,43,353	26	16,183
Muzaffarnagar	59,326	13,50,217	28,316	5,65,157	8	607
Meerut	148,679	23,96,882	42,172	5,23,214	150	53,517
Bulandshahr	27,326	16,29,189	11,286	91,00,76	23	35,757
Total, Meerut division	289,005	67,70,071	86,506	24,47,298	259	1,14,155
Aligarh	40,705	19,47,081	4,791	4,31,481	11	338
Muttra	59,694	15,01,887	1,372	1,15,296	2	11
Agra	43,760	16,60,376	1,989	98,649	5	187
Mainpuri	37,468	13,21,107	1,329	35,109	1	1
Etah	26,560	11,67,418	8,819	1,86,980	67	4,222
Total, Agra division	208,187	75,97,869	18,300	8,67,515	86	4,759
Bareilly	16,939	9,82,261	9,153	5,32,636	21	2,853

District.	Hindus.		Muslims.		Christians.	
	Number.	Revenue.	Number.	Revenue.	Number.	Revenue.
		Rs.		Rs.		Rs.
Bijnor	19,737	11,45,900	24,141	2,59,234	88	62,013
Budaun	27,101	8,73,229	16,778	3,25,716	8	2,918
Moradabad	43,850	12,40,230	55,303	6,04,159	10	819
Shahjahanpur	39,339	8,69,073	10,059	3,32,105	10	830
Pilibhit	3,367	5,47,972	2,149	2,19,697	6	266
Total, Rohilkhand division	150,333	56,58,665	1,17,583	22,73,547	143	69,699
Farrukhabad	32,400	10,85,453	9,765	1,75,275	5	364
Etawah	31,186	14,15,700	666	32,496	...	...
Cawnpore	31,814	18,20,678	2,184	84,574	15	511
Fatehpur	10,609	11,16,780	3,944	3,48,640	1	Annas 8
Allahabad	6,663	19,96,101	3,777	6,57,957	11	10,179
Total, Allahabad division	112,672	74,34,712	20,336	12,98,942	32	11,054-8
Jhansi	32,816	5,88,310	274	6,168	9	3,224
Jalaun	24,179	8,75,823	1,074	21,376	...	...
Hamirpur	3,820	9,23,146	1,798	43,976	1	1,240
Banda	26,113	7,71,346	2,154	81,869	1	15
Total, Jhansi division	86,928	31,58,625	5,300	1,53,389	11	4,479
Benares	10,759	9,13,356	358	47,456	...	...

Mirzapur					6,597	6,97, 051	265	32,411	1	81
Jaunpur					28,260	10,58,160	3,691	3,17,485	...	...
Ghazipur					33,046	9,61,632	5,820	1,82,638	1	25
Ballia					81,232	6,43,521	2,726	37,808	1	3
	Total, Benares division				159,894	42,73,720	12,860	6,17,798	3	109
Gorakhpur					2,62,047	33,25,578	3,233	2,41,902	26	70,460
Basti					2,01,370	26,01,377	22,180	2,58,257	15	70,169
Azamgarh					91,907	16,21,274	23,630	5,19,794	11	13,217
	Total, Gorakhpur division				555,324	75,48,229	49,043	10,19,953	52	1,53,846
Naini Tal					17,166	1,23,150	92	14,810	28	729
Almora					98,581	2,53,961	217	446	49	718
Garhwal					56,928	1,55,067	121	56	49	734
	Total, Kumaun division				172,675	5,32,178	430	15,312	126	2,181
	Total, Province of Agra				1,735,018	4,29,74,069	310,358	86,93,754	712	3,60,282-8
	OUDH.									
Lucknow					5,309	6,53,908	2,159	3,57,883	5	63
Unao					52,826	13,56,095	4,762	2,28,377	3	51
Rae Bareli					4,224	13,85,532	1,573	1,70,217	1	744
Sitapur					7,237	13,23,800	1,063	3,50,254	..	...
Hardoi					33,248	14,11,936	4,851	2,22,185	15	3,763
Kheri					5,710	8,28,610	947	1,70,453	55	14,990
	Total, Lucknow division				108,554	69,59,881	15,355	14,99,369	79	19,611

District.	Hindus.		Muslims.		Christians.	
	Number.	Revenue.	Number.	Revenue.	Number.	Revenue.
		Rs.		Rs.		Rs.
Fyzabad	9,309	11,04,146	2,011	3,31,010	2	242
Gonda	16,048	16,62,325	3,901	2,51,449	3	2,432
Bahraich	835	9,62,393	258	3,39,338	...	...
Sultanpur	31,521	12,26,611	3,499	2,55,191	1	239
Partabgarh	8,990	12,60,470	1,453	56,341	1	1
Bara Banki	17,394	12,02,173	6,074	10,23,896	...	...
Total, Fyzabad division	84,097	7,41,818	17,196	22,57,225	7	2,914
Total, OUDH	192,651	1,43,77,999	32,551	37,56,594	86	22,525
TOTAL, UNITED PROVINCES ...	1, 927, 669	5,73,52,068	342,909	1,24,50,348	798	3,82,807-8

Note on the information supplied by the local bodies.

The information contained in the statements furnished by the district and municipal boards as regards the number of Muslim and non-Muslim employees should be properly analysed, before it is accepted as perfectly correct.

In the first place, only the total amount of pay drawn by Muslims and non-Muslims in each department of every local body is given. It is not mentioned what offices they hold. We are justified in saying that they occupy very low position in most of the departments of all local bodies, and the amount of pay drawn by all Muslim employees in one department of a local body is not a true indication of the point and influence exercised by such Muslims in that department.

Our experience of local bodies has convinced us that the number of persons holding responsible positions in local bodies is so small that these figures probably contain a very large amount of menial servants and holders of low posts who are Muslims. Indeed, the probability is converted into a certainty when we analyse the figures for each board, and compare them with those supplied to the Government by these bodies, and published in this memorandum. We are of the opinion that this is applicable to the figures of Muslim and non-Muslim employees printed here. Hence they must be used with a great deal of caution. Even as they are stated by the local bodies themselves, they reveal a state of affairs which cannot be too strongly condemned.

The same remarks apply to the figures of contracts given by local bodies to Muslim and non-Muslim contractors. It must be stated at the outset that these figures cover three years. A list containing particulars of the contracts given in each year would have been instructive. For it would have shown that the amount of contracts given to Muslims has steadily declined during the last two years. Indeed, the information at our disposal leads us to suppose that there has been an alarming change in the policy of local bodies in this matter, during the last year or so. This is due of course to a variety of influences to which Hindu society has been subject during the last two years.

The figures, as they stand, are, however, a sufficient condemnation of a policy which aims at monopolising contracts in favour of a particular community or caste.

Statement showing the number of Muslim and non-Muslim voters at the last election, and the number of Muslim and non-Muslim members (elected) in each of the Municipal Boards in United Provinces, asked by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, M.L.C., in the United Provinces, Legislative Council in March, 1928.

	Name of Municipality.	Number of voters.		Number of elected members.	
		Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.
1	Aligarh	3,109	3,889	5	8
2	Hathras	414	2,672	2	10
3	Sikandra Rao ..	213	261	4	5
4	Atrauli	160	312	4	6
5	Muttra	821	2,856	3	10
6	Brindaban ...	37	1,241	...	9
7	Agra	2,984	8,631	6	10
8	Firozabad ...	901	1,581	4	6
9	Mainpuri ...	135	435	2	6
10	Etah	227	812	3	5
11	Kasganj ...	93	1,687	3	5 (1 by special electorate).
12	Soron	77	656	1	5
13	Jalesar	230	456	2	4
14	Farrukhabad ...	1,054	3,764	5	9
15	Kanauj	727	1,059	3	5
16	Etawah	1,040	3,244	5	8
17	Cawnpore ...	4,014	8,589	10	17+2 Marwaris.
18	Fatehpur ...	495	637	4	5
19	Allahabad .	1,650	5,633	11	19
20	Naini Tal ..	189	748	1	7
21	Kashipur ...	205	69	4	6
22	Almora	60	571	1	8
23	Dehra	2,221	4,307	4	7+5 Europeans.
24	Mussoorie ...	195	707	2	12
25	Saharanpur ...	4,326	2,826	7	6
26	Roorkee ...	266	729	3	6
27	Deoband ...	524	344	5	3
28	Hardwar ...	416	2,487	2	10
29	Muzaffarnagar ...	1,442	2,532	5	8
30	Kairana	450	457	5	3
31	Meerut	2,844	4,195	7	8
32	Hapur ..	1,229	1,585	4	7
33	Ghaziabad ...	532	1,037	3	6
34	Baraut	271	1,041	2	4
35	Bulandshahr ...	662	991	3	4
36	Khurja	898	1,200	4	6
37	Sikandrabad ...	108	461	3	6
38	Jhansi	1,332	3,473	4	11
39	Lalitpur ...	84	345	2	8
40	Mau ...	142	881	1	7
41	Orai ...	156	587	2	4
42	Kalpi ...	91	498	2	4
43	Kunch ...	176	824	2	5
44	Banda ...	134	418	5	9
45	Nagina ...	650	342	6	3
46	Lucknow ...	16,515	29,167	11	16+2 Europeans.
47	Unao ...	139	376	4	6
48	Rae Bareli ...	969	1,136	4	6
49	Sitapur ...	759	1,811	3	6
50	Khairabad ...	180	281	6	4

	Name of Municipality.	Number of voters.		Number of elected members.	
		Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.
51	Hardoi ...	285	1,133	3	6
52	Sandila ...	280	350	5	4
53	Shahabad ...	328	308	4	5
54	Lakhimpur ...	356	1,010	3	5
55	Fyzabad ...	1,224	3,236	5	11
56	Tanda ...	583	423	6	4
57	Gonda ...	472	1,015	4	6
58	Balrampur ...	1,033	1,421	4	6
59	Bahraich ...	969	691	7	5
60	Sultanpur ...	235	673	4	7
61	Partabgarh ...	254	581	3	6
62	Bara Banki ...	128	740	4	6
63	Benares ...	4,746	15,011	8	14
64	Mirzapur... ...	400	3,633	3	10
65	Jaunpur	1,408	1,770	5	8
66	Ghazipur ...	887	1,986	5	9
67	Ballia	178	1,059	2	8
68	Bijnor	1,249	1,363	5	4
69	Chandpur ...	152	227	6	3
70	Dhampur ...	560	293	5	6
71	Najibabad ...	393	537	6	4
72	Shahjahanpur ...	2,579	2,101	7	5
73	Tilhar	550	724	5	4
74	Moradabad ...	7 482	5,220	8	5
75	Amroha	1,644	700	7	4
76	Chandausi ...	625	1,347	3	6
77	Sambhal ...	1,489	960	7	4
78	Pilibhit	2,127	1,945	4	5
79	Bisalpur	662	178	3	5
80	Bareilly	5,141	6,267	9	10
81	Budaun	808	768	6	4
82	Sahaswan ...	543	486	6	4
83	Ujhani	129	351	2	4
84	Gorakhpur ...	1,890	3,721	6	10
85	Azamgarh ...	202	607	3	6

APPENDIX

SERVICES

APPENDIX A.

EUROPEANS AND INDIANS IN THE U. P. SERVICES.

That the Government have not taken adequate steps to meet the claims of Indians, and that the recommendations of the Lee Commission have not been carried out will be clear from the following statement. It is based on the information supplied by the Government to the U. P. Legislative Council, on June 20, 1927.

	Percentage of—																					
	Indian Civil Service.		Indian (Imperial) Police Service.		Indian Educational Service, Men's branch.		Indian Educational Service, Women's branch.		Indian Veterinary Service.		Indian Agricultural Service.		Indian Medical Service.		Indian Medical Service, officers in Jail department.		Indian Forest Service.		Indian Service of Engineers, P.W.D., B.&R.		Indian Service of Engineers, P.W.D.,I.B.	
	Europeans.	Indians.	Europeans.	Indians.	Europeans.	Indians.	Europeans.	Indians.	Europeans.	Indians.	Europeans.	Indians.	Europeans.	Indians.	Europeans.	Indians.	Europeans.	Indians.	Europeans.	Indians.	Europeans.	Indians.
On Jan. 1, 1921	91·8	8·2	98·0	2·0	91·2	8·8	100	...	100	...	82	18	100	...	100	...	97·4	2·6	73	27	66	34
„ 1922	91·2	8·8	93·7	6·3	72·8	27·2	100	...	100	..	67	33	100	...	100	...	97·5	2·5	73	27	66	34
„ 1923	87·8	12·2	93·7	6·3	66·7	33·3	100	...	67	33	58	42	96	4	100	...	97·3	2·7	72	28	66	34
„ 1924	86·1	13·9	91·7	8·3	64·1	35·9	100	...	67	33	33	67	96	4	100	...	87·5	12·5	70	30	65	35
„ 1925	84·6	15·4	89·7	10·3	58·8	41·2	100	....	67	33	33	67	96	4	100	...	80·0	20·0	72·5	27·5	61	39
„ 1926	81·7	18·3	85·7	14·3	60·6	40·0	100	...	67	33	33	67	96	4	80	20	76·9	23·1	71	29	55	45
„ 1927	78·5	21·5	84·5	15·5	58·6	41·4	100	...	67	33	31	69	96	4	60	40	76·3	23·7	72	28	56	44

APPENDIX B.

List of Muslim and non-Muslim Gazetted officers in the United Provinces, in 1928, compiled for the U. P. Musilm Committee by Khan Bahadur Abdussami Sahib, Retired Collector of Fatehpur.

Note.—This list is based on the Civil List, and other documents.

Name of Department.	Pay.	Total strength.	Details.				Percentage.				Column of Remarks.
			Christians.	Hindus.	Muslims.	Parsis.	Christians.	Hindus.	Muslims.	Parsis.	
	Rs.										
Civil Secretariat — Assistant Secretary (Executive Department).	900—1,100	1	1	...	...	...	100	...	...	...	
Civil Secretariat — Superintendent	450—650	20	12	7	1	...	60	35	5	...	
Civil Secretariat — Special posts	450—650	2	...	1	1	...	...	50	50	...	
Civil Secretariat — Chief Inspector (Offices) ...	1,200—1,500	1	1	...	...	...	100	...	...	...	
Civil Secretariat — Assistant Chief Inspector ...	400—500	1	...	1	...	...	...	100	...	...	
Indian Civil Service	600—2,550	183	143	30	7	3	78	17	4	1	
Members of U. P. C. S. holding I. C. S. post.	1,650—2,250	14	2	8	4	...	14	57	29	...	
U. P. C. S. Executive Branch.											
(*a*) Superior executive posts ...	1,850—2,250	7	2	2	3	..	29	29	42	...	Included in entries on page 70. Percentage 1919 1928
(*b*) Selection grade of Deputy Collector...	1,000—1,200	12	1	6	5	...	8	50	42	...	

(*c*) Ordinary Deputy Collector ...	250—850	373	29	194	150	...	8	52	40	...	Hindu ...	56	51
(*d*) Temporary Deputy Collectors ...	250—0	5	...	4	1	...	...	80	20	...	Muslims ...	38	42
(*e*) Tahsildars	170—360	239	3	128	108	...	1	54	45	...	Christians...	6	7
Department of Agriculture — Indian Agricultural Service ...	550—2,250	10	6	4	...	...	60	40	...	...			
Department of Agriculture — U. P. Agricultural Service ...	250—750	26	...	20	6	...	...	77	23	...			
Department of Agriculture — Engineering Branch	250—1,200	7	2	2	3	...	29	29	42	...			
Department of Agriculture — Gardening Branch	700—1,200	6	6	...	...	...	100	...	...	...			
Department of Agriculture — Agricultural College, Cawnpore ...	Included in U. P. Agricultural Service.												
Department of Land Records ...	260—1,850	8	...	6	2	...	...	75	25	...			
Department of Civil Veterinary ...	275—1,250	6	3	...	3	...	50	...	50	...			
Department of Co-operative Societies ...	700—2,050	10	...	6	3	1	...	60	30	10			
Department of Forest Imperial Service ...	1,950—2,750	5	5	...	...	...	100	...	...	...			
Deputy and Assistant Conservators ...	475—1,650 + allowance 150—300	32	23	8	1	...	72	25	3	...			
United Provinces Forest Service ...	250—850	31	17	19	5	...	23	61	16	...			
		63	30	27	6								
Department of Excise	340—2,300	9	3	3	3	...	34	33	33	...			
Department of Salt	550—850	3	2	...	1	...	66	...	34	...			
Department of Opium (Agent) ...	2,500—3,000	1	1	...	...	...	100	...	...	...			
Superintendent...	520—660	1	1	...	...	...	100	...	...	...			

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Name of Departmet	Pay.	Total strength.	Details.				Percentage.				Column of Remarks.
			Christians.	Hindus.	Muslims.	Parsis.	Christians.	Hindus.	Muslims.	Parsis.	
	Rs.										
Managing Director, Opium Factory ...	1,500—1,750	1	1	...	...	...	100	...	...	...	
District Opium Officers and Assistant Opium Officers.	560—1,400	26	24	...	2	...	92	...	8	...	
Department of Income-tax.											
Commissioner	3,250	1	1	...	...	..	100	...	...	...	
Assistant Commissioners... ...	1,000—1,500	3	...	2	1	...	..	67	33	...	
Income-tax Officer	350—900	41	3	24	14	...	7	59	34	...	
Assistant Income-tax Officer ...	250—350	4	...	3	1	...	...	75	25	...	3posts vacant.
Department of Post and Telegraph Office											
Postmaster General	1,950	1	...	1	...	...	...	100	...	...	
Deputy Postmaster General ...	1,280	1	...	1	...	...	...	100	...	...	
Assistant Postmaster General ...	660—775	3	...	1	2	...	...	33	67	...	
Deputy Postmaster General, Telegraph	1,040—1,100	2	2	...	...	...	100	...	...	...	
Superintendents, Telegraph ...	630—660	2	1	1	...	...	50	50	...	...	

Superintendents, Post Office... ...	300—750	17	5	5	7	...	29	29	42	...
Postmasters	350—650	6	3	2	1	...	50	33	17	...
		32	11	11	10					
Superintendents and Deputy Superintendents, Telegraph Traffic.	350—650	8	6	2	...	...	75	25	...	...
Railway Mail Service—Deputy P. M. G. and Superintendents.	750—1,415	6	1	5	...	...	16	84	...	...
Telegraph Engineering	495—2,150	18	16	2	...	...	12	88	...	...
Department of Survey of India.										
Directors and Superintendents ..	650—2,350	15	10	3	2	...	67	20	13	...
Department of Audit and Accounts.										
Director, Assistant Director and Audit Officers.	535—2,350	10	...	9	1	.	...	90	10	...
Currency Office, Cawnpore	750—815	2	...	2	...	...	...	100	...	...
Central Pay and Accounts Office, Allahabad.	700	1	...	1	...	...	...	100	...	...
Account Officers, United Provinces ...	325—1,560	17	5	12	...	...	29	71	...	...
Examiner of Local Fund Accounts ...	640—1,260	2	1	...	1	...	50	...	50	...
Agents of the Imperial Bank ...	...	20	12	8	...	...	60	40	...	...
		52	18	32	2					
Judicial Department.										
Judges, High Court, Allahabad ...	4,000—5,000	12	7	2	2	1	58	17	17	8
Staff of High Court	150—1,500	9	5	3	1	...	56	33	11	...

Name of Department.	Pay.	Total strength.	Details.				Percentage.				Column of Remarks.
			Christians.	Hindus.	Muslims.	Parsis.	Christians.	Hindus.	Muslims.	Parsis.	
	Rs.										
Judges, Chief Court, Oudh	3,500—4,000	5	2	1	2	...	40	20	40	...	
Staff of Chief Court, Oudh	300—1,000	5	1	4	...	...	20	80	...	...	
District and Sessions Judges ...	1,750—2,150	7	...	7	...	...	...	100	...	...	
Sessions and Subordinate Judges, Agra	950	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	Vacant.
Subordinate Judges, selection grade, Agra	1,000—1,200	3	...	2	1	...	...	67	33	...	
Subordinate Judges	250—850	34	...	29	5	...	...	85	15	...	
Offig. Subordinate Judges	850	32	...	22	9	1	...	69	28	3	
		69		53	15						
Munsiffs	300—646	73	1	55	17	...	2	75	23	...	
Offig. Munsiffs	250	23	...	15	8	...	...	65	35	...	
Sessions and Subordinate Judge, Oudh ...	950	1	...	1	...	...	...	100	...	...	
Subordinate Judges, selection grade ...	1,000—1,200	2	...	...	2	...	...	...	100	..	
Subordinate Judges „ „ ...	760—850	18	...	14	4	...	...	78	22	...	
Offig. Subordinate Judges „ „ ...	640—750	9	...	4	5	...	...	45	55	...	

Munsiffs, Oudh	250—720	31	...	24	7	...	...	78	22	...
Offig. Munsiffs	250	6	...	4	2	...	...	67	33	...
Department of Jail.										
Inspector-General, Prisons	2,500	1	1	...	...	...	100	...	...	...
Superintendent, Central Prisons ...	901—1,650	7	5	...	2	...	71	...	29	...
Jailors	325—400	4	2	2	...	...	50	50	...	...
Department of Registration.										
Inspector-General of Registration ...	1,850	1	...	1	...	...	...	100	...	...
Personal Assistant to „ ...	770	1	...	1	...	...	...	100	...	...
Inspectors of Registration	380—450	2	...	1	1	...	...	50	50	...
Department of Police.										
Inspector-General	2,750	1	1	...	...	...	100	...	...	...
Deputy Inspector-General	1,950—2,150	5	5	...	...	...	100	...	...	...
Police Superintendents	850—1,450	58	49	5	4	...	85	8	7	...
Assistant Superintendents, Police ...	350—1,000	41	32	6	3	...	77	16	7	...
Deputy Superintendent, Police (Selection grade).	800	3	...	...	3	...	...	...	100	...
Deputy Superintendent Do. (Time scale)	250—650	30	3	12	15	...	10	40	50	...
Deputy Superintendent (Temporary) ...	200—480	29	7	10	12	...	25	34	41	...
		62	10	22	30					

Name of Department.	Pay.	Total strength.	Details.				Percentage.				Column of Remarks.
			Christians.	Hindus.	Muslims.	Parsis.	Christians.	Hindus.	Muslims.	Parsis.	
	Rs.										
Industries Department.											
Staff	300—2,250	31	12	16	3	...	38	52	10	...	
Divisional Superintendents	200—450	6	...	4	2	...	...	67	33	...	
Medical Department.											
Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals ...	2,750	1	1	...	...	...	100	...	...	...	
Superintendent of Medical Aid to Women.	1,100	1	1	...	...	...	100	...	...	...	
Civil Surgeons and Supernumerary Civil Surgeons.	1,600—2,916	18	18	...	...	...	100	...	...	...	
King George's Medical College, Lucknow.	350—2,350	13	3	9	1	...	23	69	8	...	
Medical College, Agra	100—1,800	10	...	7	3	...	...	70	30	...	
Women's Medical School, Agra ...	200—1,300	6	5	1	...	...	84	16	...	...	
Dufferin Hospitals	600—650	4	3	1	...	...	75	25	.	...	
Military Hospitals (Roorkee and Ranikhet)	...	2	2	...	...	...	100	...	...	...	Held by Military Medical Officers.
Senior Assistant Surgeons	400—1,050	16	16	...	...	...	100	...	...	...	

Civil Surgeons, Members of U. P. Medical Service.	900—1,075	14	...	13	1	...	...	93	7	...
Offig. Civil Surgeons	675—1,115	14	...	13	1	...	...	93	7	...
Members of Provincial Medical Service ...	250—500	85	...	76	9	...	...	89	11	...
Do. temporarily employed ...	250	9	...	5	4	...	...	55	45	...
Department of Public Health.										
Director of Public Health	2,100—2,400	1	1		...	...	100	...	...	...
Asstt. Director „ „	950—1,750	6	4	2	...	...	67	...	...	...
Other Officers	250—1,000	8	2	4	2	...	25	50	25	...
First Class A	500—900	13	2	10	...	1	15	77	...	8
„ „ B	350—800	41	2	35	4	...	50	85	10	...
Second Class	200—400	36	1	31	4	...	3	86	11	...
Superintending Enginee	1,750—2,150	1	1	...	...	...	100	...	...	...
Water Works Engineer and Mechanical Adviser.	2,150	1	1	...	...	...	100	...	...	...
Executive and Assistant Executive Engineers.	1,175—1,375	4	4	...	...	...	100	...	...	...
Covenanted Establishment	1,025—1,123	2	...	2	...	...	...	100	...	...
Permanent Establishment, Assistant Engineers.	510—670	6	...	5	1	...	...	83	17	...
Temporary Establishment, Assistant Engineers.	390—535	5	...	4	1	...	...	80	20	...

Name of Department.	Pay.	Total strength.	Details.				Percentage				Column of Remarks.
			Christians.	Hindus.	Muslims.	Parsis.	Christians.	Hindus.	Muslims.	Parsis.	
	Rs.										
Public Works Department.											
Secretariat	530—3,123	11	8	3	...	...	73	27	...	...	
Indian Service of Engineers ...	2,750—3,000	1	1	...	...	...	100	...	...	...	
Superintending Engineers	1,750—2,150	9	7	2	...	...	78	22	...	...	
Executive Engineers	775—1,325	17	12	4	1	...	71	23	6	...	
Assistant Executive Engineers ...	575—775	2	...	2	...	...	...	100	...	...	
Assistant Engineers (Buildings and Roads).	250—750	37	12	23	2	...	32	62	6	...	
Temporary Engineers	430	1	...	1	...	...	...	100	...	...	
Students under training	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	100	...	...	
Consulting Architect	1,075	1	1	...	...	...	100	...	...	...	
Electric Inspector	1,275	1	1	...	...	...	100	...	...	...	
Irrigation Department.											
Secretariat	570—3,250	10	7	3	...	...	70	30	...	...	
Superintending Engineers	1,750—2,150	6	5	1	...	...	83	17	...	...	

Executive Engineers	825—1,375	39	23	11	5	...	59	28	13	...
Assistant Executive Engineers ...	525—825	22	8	14	...	...	36	34	...	...
Students under training	200 (Allowance)	3	...	3	...	...	...	100	...	...
Assistant Engineers	250—750	54	10	37	7	...	19	68	13	...
Students (United Provinces Engineering Service under training.	150 (Subsistence allowance)	10	...	10	...	...	...	100	..	...
Mechanical Temporary Establishment ...	125—750	6	5	1	...	...	83	17	...	...
Temporary Engineers	250—270	5	...	5	...	...	...	100	...	...
Deputy Magistrates	250—500	17	1	6	10	...	6	35	39	...
Railway Branch.										
Government Inspector of Railways (under Government of India).	1,300—1,950	2	2	...	...	...	100	...	...	...
E. I. R. Engineering Department ...	550—1,275	36	15	19	2	...	42	52	6	...
Special Works	310	1	1	...	...	...	100	...	...	...
Mechanical Branch	425—2,000	6	5	1	...	...	83	17	...	...
Electrical Branch	300—1,375	4	3	1	...	...	75	25	...	...
Operating Branch	250—1,375	35	29	4	2	...	...	83	11	6
Account Department	535—750	4	3	1	...	...	75	25	...	...
Stores Department	775	1	1	...	...	...	100	...	...	...

Name of Department.	Pay.	Total strength.	Details.				Percentage.				Column of Remarks.
			Christians.	Hindus.	Muslims.	Parsis.	Christians.	Hindus.	Muslims.	Parsis.	
	Rs.										
Medical Department	500—1,035	3	1	2	...	...	33	67	...	...	
Watch and Ward	700—850	2	2	...	...	...	100	...	...	...	
N. W. R. (Delhi Division)	575—2,150	27	15	10	2	...	56	37	7	...	
B. B. C. I. Railway—Engineering and Trafic (Fatehgarh Division).	...	3	1	2	...	...	33	67	...	...	
Officers of India Finance Department attached to Company's railways.	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	100	...	
Miscellaneous.											
Miscellaneous appointments ...	250—1,950	16	9	6	1	...	56	3	6	...	
Figures taken from the Classified List and Distribution Return of Establishment, Irrigation branch, December 13th, 1927.											
Sub-Engineers	360—540	3	1	1	1	...	33	33	34	...	
Supervisor	215—340	1	...	1	...	...	...	100	...	...	
Overseers	110—200	5	...	5	...	..	...	100	...	...	

Upper Subordinate, Temporary ...	80—140	12	1	10	1	...	8	84	8	...
Sub-Engineering	80—227	180	1	157	22	...	1	87	12	...
Ziladars	90—150	72	...	39	33	...	...	54	46	...
Sub-Overseers	45—110	99	...	67	32	...	...	68	32	...
Office of Inspector-General of Police.										
Superintendent, Assistant Superintendent and Head Clerks.	140—480	11	1	10	...	...	9	91	...	...
Assistant Clerks and Stenographers ...	40—140	43	...	31	12	...	...	72	28	...
Criminal Investigation Department.										
Translators, Stenotypists and Photographers.	20—150	10	1	8	1	...	10	80	10	...
Clerks	40—150	19	...	10	9	...	...	53	47	...
Government Railway, Police.										
Head Clerks and Accountants ...	120—175	8	...	8	...	...	...	100	...	...
Clerks and apprentices	20—100	39	...	36	3	...	...	92	8	...
Moharrirs (Vernacular office) ...	22—45	23	...	10	13	...	...	43	57	...
District Police Officers, United Provinces.										
Head Clerks and Accountants ...	80—150	92	...	75	17	...	...	82	18	...
Assistant Accountants, Record-keepers and Daftries.	12—65	317	...	179	138	...	...	56	44	...

Name of Department.	Pay.	Total strength.	Details.				Percentage.				Column of Remarks.
			Christians.	Hindus.	Muslims.	Parsis.	Christians.	Hindus.	Muslims.	Parsis.	
	Rs.										
Agriculture Department.											
Subordinate Agricultural Service ...	...	140	...	111	29	...	...	79	21	...	
Clerical Establishment	...	120	...	80	40	...	...	67	33	...	
Cawnpore Agricultural College.											
Students	...	128	..	89	39	...	...	70	30	..	
Staff	...	51	...	44	7	...	...	85	14	...	
Bulandshahr Agricultural School.											
Students	...	73	...	46	27	...	...	63	37	...	
Staff	...	5	...	4	1	...	...	80	20	...	
Ingram Training School, Ghaziabad ...	...	81	...	81	...	...	...	100	...	...	
Honorary Munsiff's Office.											
Clerks	...	65	...	44	21	...	...	68	32	...	
Servants	...	23	...	11	12	...	...	48	52	...	
Thompson Civil Engineering College, Roorkee.											

Staff	...	61	...	56	5	...	...	92	8	...		
Students	...	201	...	179	22	...	...	89	11	...		
Advisory Council.	...	14	5	6	3	...	36	43	21	...		
College Staff	...	27	9	16	2	...	34	59	7	...		
Examiners (48 papers)	...	22	10	10	2	...	45	46	...	...	Superintendent, Head Clerk, Assistant Accountant, Curator, Book Department, are all Hindus.	
Civil Engineering Class	..	26	...	26	...	...	...	100	...	...		
Overseer Class, Second Year ...	...	39	...	38	1	...	...	97	3	...		
Draftsman Class, Third Year ...	...	13	...	6	7	...	...	46	54	...		
Record Room Establishment (Judicial Department).												
Clerks	55—175	32	...	26	6	...	...	81	19	...		
Clerks	25—50	270	...	173	97	...	...	64	36	...		
Servants	9—15	37	...	21	16	...	...	57	43	...		
Subordinate and Clerical Establishment (Judicial Department).	75—350	493	...	378	115	...	...	77	23	...		
Subordinate and Clerical Establishment (Judicial Department).	20—70	2,019	..	1,424	595	...	...	71	29	...		
Excise Department.												
Excise Inspectors	...	153	6	98	49	...	4	64	32	...		
Clerks	...	48	1	34	13	...	2	71	27	...		
Judicial Process-servers, United Provinces.	...	2,248	...	1129	1119	...	...	50	50	...		

Name of Department.	Pay.	Total strength.	Details.				Percentage.				Column of Remarks.
			Christians.	Hindus.	Muslims.	Parsis.	Christians.	Hindus.	Muslims.	Parsis.	
	Rs.										
Leather Working Schools, Cawnpore, Meerut and Agra.											
Students	...	142	...	43	99	...	...	30	70	..	
Staff	...	36	1	23	12	...	3	64	33	...	
Industries Department.											
Clerks	75—420	12	...	12	...	...	...	100	...	...	
Clerks	45—100	12	...	7	5	...	...	58	42	...	
Chief Inspector of Factories and Boilers.											
Officers	...	4	...	3	1	...	...	75	25	...	
Clerks	...	9	...	9	...	...	...	100	...	...	
Forest Department.											
Subordinate Forest Service ...	...	1,240	...	1,004	236	...	...	81	19	...	
Clerks	...	156	...	139	17	...	...	89	11	...	
Public Health Department.	...										

Travelling Medical Officers	...	54	2	40	12	...	4	74	22	...
Sanitary Inspectors, Municipalities ...	...	116	7	68	41	...	6	59	35	...
Sanitary Inspectors, Rural Areas ...	...	73	1	55	17	...	2	75	23	...
Assistant Superintendents of Vaccination and vaccinators.	...	940	...	509	431	...	...	54	46	...
Clerical and other Establishment ...	...	55	...	42	13	...	...	77	23	...
Medical Department.										
Subordinate Medical Service ...	...	72	...	62	10	...	...	86	14	...
Clerical Establishment	...	108	...	97	11	...	...	90	10	...
Jails.										
Central Jails	...	443	...	277	166	...	...	63	37	...
District Jails	...	1,639	...	1,017	622	...	...	62	38	...
Improvement Trust.										
Allahabad	...	40	...	33	7	...	...	83	17	..
Cawnpore	...	52	...	34	18	..	...	65	35	...
Lucknow	...	120	...	80	40	...	...	67	33	...
Clerical Establishment in Registration District in the United Provinces.										
			Non-Muslims				Non-Muslims			
Province of Agra	...	308	198		110	...	64		36	...
Province of Oudh	...	79	55		24	...	70		30	...
Grand total, United Provinces ...	...	387	253		134	..	65		35	...

Name of Department.	Pay.	Total strength.	Details.				Percentage.				Column of Remarks.
			Christians.	Hindus.	Muslims.	Parsis.	Christians.	Hindus.	Muslims.	Parsis.	
Inspector.											
(*a*) Industries	360	1	1		...	...	100		...	...	
(*b*) Others	140—240	26	18		8	...	69		31	...	
Auditors	50—100	52	33		19	...	63		37	...	
Communal representation in the Police Service.											
(*a*) Sub-Inspectors	...	1697	7	997	693	...	2	58	40	..	
(*b*) Circle Inspectors	...	98	1	38	59	...	1	39	60	....	
(*c*) Station officers in-charge of City Kotwalis.	...	42	1	19	22	...	2	46	52	...	
(*d*) Station officers of Police Stations, 1st class.	...	268	2	138	121	...	1	51	48	...	
(*e*) Station Officers of Police Stations (other than 1st class).	...	542	3	275	264	...	1	52	47	...	
(*f*) Prosecuting Inspectors	...	60	1	44	15	...	1	74	25	...	

(*g*) Prosecuting Sub-Inspectors ...	...	...	102	...	78	24	...	...	77	23	...	
			2,809		1,589	1,205			56	43		
Head Clerk, Constables	...	...	1,444	1	323	1,120	...	1	22	77	...	
Clerical staff in Civil Secretariat and representation of communities.												
Permanent	...	...	186	15,* 22 †	127	22	...	20	68	12	...	* Indian Christians. † Anglo-Indians.
Temporary	...	...	52	1,* 2†	38	11	...	6	74	20	...	
Waiting list	...	...	72	1,* 2 †	52	17	...	...	...	...	...	

For the Education Department, reference is made to the report on Education for University, Secondary and Primary education.

The number of Muslims in cadres of Deputy and Sub-Deputy Inspectors is scandalously low; while the number of clerks in the offices of Inspectors and Deputy Inspectors is also very small. It has been the general complaint of Muslims that very few Muslims are appointed to Headmasterships in Government High Schools. This is one of the reasons why the number of Muslims in Government High Schools is so small. We regard Education Department as the chief nation-building department, and we demand that in every grade of service, Muslims should be appointed to the extent of 33 per cent.

APPENDIX C.

Reply to Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan's Question in the U. P. Legislative Council in March, 1928.

	No. of Muslims.	No. of Hindus.	No. of Christians.	No. of Parsis.	Total.
(1) Assistant Directors of Public Health ...	...	3	3	...	6
(2) Municipal Medical Officers of Health ...	2	19	...	1	22
(3) District Medical Officers of Health ...	...	17	...	...	17
(4) Assistant Medical Officers of Health ...	...	17	1	...	18
(5) Special Health Officers	1	3	...	...	4
(6) Special Officers for the analysis of food ...	...	1	1	...	(part 2 time) (?)
(7) Special Officers for the manufacture of lymph	...	...	1	...	1
(8) Travelling Medical Officers	12	40	2	...	54
(9) Sanitary Inspectors in Municipalities ...	41	68	7	...	116
(10) Chief Sanitary Inspectors in Municipalities	6	8	...	...	14
(11) Sanitary Inspectors for the rural areas...	17	55	1	...	73
(12) Assistant Superintendents of Vaccination	24	25	...	...	49
(13) Vaccinators *	407	484	...	...	891 (Figures of 1925)
(14) Clerical establishment in districts ...	11	33	...	...	44
(15) Provincial Hygiene Institute—					
(a) Officers	...	3	...	...	3
(b) Clerks	...	1	...	...	1
(c) Laboratory Assistants and attendants	2	2	...	...	4
(d) Peons	...	3	...	...	3

* Figures for 1926-1927 are not readily available.

APPENDIX D.

Statement showing the number of Muslims and non-Muslims in the various services of the Agriculture department in reply to Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan's Council question in March 1928.

	Name of Service.	No. of Muslims.	No. of non-Muslims.
Permanent and officiating.	Indian Agricultural Service ...	1	13
do.	Provincial Agricultural Service...	5	17
do.	Subordinate Agricultural Service.	29	111
do.	Clerical Establishment ...	40	80

APPENDIX E.

Statement containing the information required in Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan's Legislative Council question in March 1928.

Service.	Total strength.	Muslim.	Non-Muslim.	Percentage.	
				Muslim.	Non-Muslim.
Imperial Forest Service ...	34	1	33	2·9	97·1
Provincial Forest Service ...	32	5	27	15·6	84·4
Subordinate Forest Service—					
Eastern Circle ...	437	211	226	48·3	51·7
Western Circle ...	499	22	477	4·4	95·6
Kumaun Circle ...	286	1	285	·3	99·7
Working Plans Circle ...	18	2	16	11·1	88·9
Total	1,240	236	1,004	19	81
Clerical—					
Eastern Circle ...	57	11	46	19·3	80·7
Western Circle ...	48	4	44	8·3	91·7
Kumaun Circle ...	38	1	37	2·6	97·4
Working Plans Circle ...	13	1	12	8	92
Total ...	156	17	139	10·9	89·1

Statement showing the number of Muslim and non-Muslim Students and Staff of the Cawnpore Agricultural College and the Bulandshahr Agricultural School for the years 1922, 1923, 1924, 1925, 1926, and 1927, in answer to a Council question by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan.

Year.	Cawnpore Agricultural College.				Bulandshahr Agricultural School.			
	Students.		Staff.		Students.		Staff.	
	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.
1922	20	83	5	28	7	24	1	3
1923	24	99	5	31	7	39	1	3
1924	26	88	5	35	6	47	1	4
1925	36	80	7	39	12	21	1	4
1926	39	89	7	44	27	46	1	4
1927	37	110	8	44	31	58	1	5

Statement showing Nationality of the Criminal Investigation Department Ministerial Staff, supplied in answer to a Council question in March 1928, by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, M.L.C.

Serial No.	Class and Grade.	Sanctioned strength.	Nationality.				Remarks.
			Hindus.	Percentage.	Muslims.	Percentage.	
1	Translators—						
	(a) Rs. 100—5—150 ...	1	1	100 per cent.	...	...	
	(b) Rs. 95—4—115 ...	2	1	50 per cent.	1	50 per cent.	
	Total ...	3	2	66 $\frac{2}{3}$ per cent.	1	33 $\frac{1}{3}$ per cent.	
2	Steno-Typists—						
	(a) Rs. 125—5—150 ...	1	1	100 per cent.	...	...	
	(b) Rs. 100—4—120 ...	2	1	50 per cent.	...	...	The other one is a Christian.
	(c) Rs. 90—5—105—7—140 ...	1	1	100 per cent.	...	...	
	Total ...	4	3	75 per cent.	...	...	
3	Photographers—						
	(a) Rs. 140—0—0 ...	1	1	100 per cent.	...	...	
	(b) Rs. 75—0—0 ...	1	1	100 per cent.	...	...	
	(c) Rs. 20—0—0 ...	1	1	100 per cent.	...	...	
	Total ...	3	3	100 per cent.	...	...	

Serial No.	Class and Grade.	Sanctioned strength.	Nationality.				Remarks.
			Hindus.	Percentage.	Muslims.	Percentage.	
(4)	Clerks—						
	(a) Rs. 150-0-0 ...	1	1	100 per cent.	...	...	
	(b) Rs. 120-0-0 ...	1	1	100 per cent.	...	...	
	(c) Rs. 110-0-0 ...	3	2	$66\frac{2}{3}$ per cent.	1	$33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent.	
	(d) Rs. 100-0-0 ...	1	...	...	1	100 per cent.	
	(e) Rs. 90-0-0 ...	1	1	100 per cent.	...	...	
	(f) Rs. 75-0-0 ...	6	1	$16\frac{2}{3}$ per cent.	5	$83\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. *	* One post is to be abolished from the date there is a vacancy.
	(g) Rs. 65-0-0 ...	3	2	$66\frac{2}{3}$ per cent.	1	$33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent.	
	(h) Rs. 60-0-0 ...	2	1	50 per cent.	...	... †	† One post kept vacant.
	(i) Rs. 45-0-0 ...	1	...	...	1	100 per cent.	
	(j) Rs. 40-0-0 ...	1	1	100 per cent.	...	...	
	Total ...	20	10	50 per cent.	9	45 per cent.	
	Grand Total ...	30	18	60 per cent.	10	$33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent.	

APPENDIX G.

I.—Statement showing the number and percentage of Muslims to non-Muslims in the Indian Service of Engineers, Public Works Department, Buildings and Roads Branch, in answer to a Council question by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan in March 1928.

District or Dvision.	Europeans.		Muslims.		Non-Muslim. Non-European.		Percentage of Muslims.
	No.	Pay.	No.	Pay.	No.	Pay.	
		Rs.				Rs.	
(1) Public Works Department, Secretariat, Buildings and Roads Branch.	5	10,425	...	...	1	1,850	
(2) Meerut	1	1,225	...	...	...	...	
(3) Dehra Dun	...	...	...	...	1	575	
(4) Agra	...	...	...	...	1	1,075	
(5) Kumaun	1	1,325	...	...	...	...	
(6) Almora	...	...	...	...	...	...	
(7) Garhwal	...	...	...	...	...	...	
(8) Bareilly	1	1,025	...	...	1	925	
(9) Lucknow	1	1,275	...	...	...	...	
(10) Allahabad	...	...	...	...	1	1,325	
(11) Cawnpore	1	1,175	...	...	...	...	
(12) Jhansi	1	925	...	...	...	...	
(13) Benares	...	...	1	1,025	...	...	
(14) Fyzabad	1	1,325	...	...	...	...	
(15) Gonda	...	...	...	...	1	775	
(16) Officers on leave and deputation.	8	13,900	...	...	2	1,925	
Total ...	20	32,600	1	1,025	8	9,450	3·4 per cent.

II.—Statement showing the number and percentage of Muslims to non-Muslims in the United Provinces Engineering Service, Public Works Department, Buildings and Roads Branch, in answer to a Council question by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, M. L. C. in March 1928.

District or Division.	Europeans		Muslims.		Non-Muslim. Non-European.		Percentage of Muslims.
	No.	Pay.	No.	Pay.	No.	Pay.	
		Rs.		Rs.		Rs.	
(1) Meerut	1	670	...	...	2	1,360	
(2) Dehra Dun	...	...	...	...	1	690	
(3) Agra	1	550	...	...	2	1,280	
(4) Kumaun	3	1,330	...	...	...	...	
(5) Almora	...	...	...	...	1	650	
(6) Garhwal	1	650	...	...	...	..	
(7) Bareilly ...	1	570	...	..	2	1,360	
(8) Lucknow	1	430	...	...	2	700	
(9) Allahabad	...	...	...	...	3	1,390	
(10) Cawnpore	1	270	...	...	3	1,630	
(11) Jhansi	1	530	...	...	2	1,380	
(12) Benares	...	...	1	670	2	980	
(13) Fyzabad	1	610	...	...	...	...	
(14) Gonda	1	750	...	...	2	1,140	
(15) Officers on leave and deputation.	...	...	...	...	5	...	
Total ...	12	6,360	1	670	27	12,560	2·5 per cent.

III.—Statement showing the number and percentage of Muslims to non-Muslims in the Upper Subordinate and Subordinate Engineering Service of the Public Works Department, Buildings and Roads Branch, in answer to a Council question by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, M. L. C. in March 1928.

District or Division.	Europeans.		Muslims.		Non-Muslims. Non-Europeans.		Percentage of Muslims.
	No.	Pay.	No.	Pay.	No.	Pay.	
		Rs.		Rs.		Rs.	
(1) Meerut	...	...	1	199	10	1,505	
(2) Dehra Dun	...	...	...	...	4	630	
(3) Agra	1	540	1	157	14	1,612½	
(4) Kumaun	...	...	...	...	10	1,188½	
(5) Almora	...	...	...	...	4	661½	
(6) Garhwal	...	...	...	...	6	1,061	
(7) Bareilly	1	199	2	272	7	1,141½	
(8) Lucknow	1	480	2	335	8	931	
(9) Allahabad	...	...	...	...	12	1,906½	
(10) Cawnpore	1	220	2	391	10	1,679	
(11) Jhansi	...	...	1	80	6	849	
(12) Benares	...	...	...	...	8	955	
(13) Fyzabad	...	...	...	...	7	1,269	
(14) Gonda	...	...	1	101	5	713½	
Total ...	4	1,439	10	1,535	111	16,103	8 per cent.

IV.—Statement showing the number and percentage of Muslim to non-Muslim Clerks in the Public Works Department, Buildings and Roads Branch, in answer to a Council question by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, in March 1928.

District or Division.	Non-Muslim.		Muslim.		Percentage.
	No.	Pay per month.	No.	Pay per month.	
		Rs.		Rs.	
(1) Public Works Department Secretariat ...	54	11,732	9	1,530	
(2) Meerut	13	965	2	155	
(3) Dehra Dun	2	100	1	85	
(4) Agra	14	870	2	135	
(5) Kumaun	14	910	...	...	
(6) Almora	3	215	...	...	
(7) Garhwal	3	255	...	...	
(8) Bareilly	13	870	2	125	
(9) Lucknow	14	935	1	85	
(10) Allahabad	14	1,070	2	170	
(11) Cawnpore	13	850	1	85	
(12) Jhansi	11	750	2	190	
(13) Benares	13	950	1	85	
(14) Fyzabad	8	525	1	85	
(15) Gonda	9	605	...	...	
Total	198	21,602	24	2,730	10·81 per cent.

APPENDIX H.

Statement showing the information about Clerical Establishment of the Offices of (1) Commissioners (2) Director of Land Records (3) Board of Revenue *in the United Provinces in reply to Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan's Council question, in March 1928.*

Division.	Number.		Percentage.		Average pay drawn per mensem.		Percentage.		Remarks.
	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	
					Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.			
			(1) *Commissioner's Office.*						
Meerut	4	17	...	...	326 0 0	1,876 0 0			
Agra	2	17	...	...	125 0 0	2,015 0 0			
Rohilkhand	3	23	...	...	140 0 0	2,493 0 0			
Allahabad	6	12	...	...	520 0 0	1,175 0 0			
Jhansi	2	11	...	...	285 0 0	1,320 0 0			
Benares	5	19	...	...	220 0 0	2,045 0 0			
Gorakhpur	4	14	...	...	226 0 0	1,621 0 0			
Kumaun	...	14	...	...	...	1,730 0 0			
Lucknow	5	9	...	...	350 0 0	1,080 0 0			
Fyzabad	5	12	...	...	585 0 0	1,160 0 0			
Total ..	36	148	19·57	80·43	2,777 0 0	16,515 0 0	14·39	85·61	
			(2) *Director of Land Records Office.*						
	13	15	46·4	53·6	1,030 0 0	1,675 0 0	38·1	61·9	
			(3) *Board of Revenue Office.*						
	12	58	17·14	82·86	996 0 0	6,121 0 0	14·0	86·0	

APPENDIX I.

Statement showing the information required by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan in his Council question in March, 1928.

(1) Patwaris.

DISTRICT.	Number.		Percentage.		Average pay drawn per mensem.		Percentage.		REMARKS.
	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	
					Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.			
PROVINCE OF AGRA.									
Dehra Dun	7	62	...	...	132 0 0	1,158 0 0			
Saháranpur	135	436	...	...	2,003 0 0	6,196 0 0			
Muzaffarnagar	90	382	...	...	1,380 0 0	5,818 0 0			
Meerut	80	647	...	...	1,190 0 0	9,583 0 0			
Bulandshahr	40	452	...	...	585 0 0	7,291 0 0			
Total, Meerut Division ...	352	1,979	...	..	5,290 0 0	30,046 0 0 0			
Aligarh	42	580	...	...	630 0 0	8,658 0 0			
Muttra	...	444	...	...	...	6,518 0 0			
Agra	3	600	...	...	40 0 0	8,498 0 0			
Mainpuri	1	444	...	...	15 0 0	6,402 0 0			
Etah	18	480	...	...	266 0 0	7,002 0 0			
Total, Agra Division ...	64	2,548	...	...	951 0 0	37,078 0 0			
Bareilly	12	615	...	...	171 0 0	9,278 0 0			
Bijnor	121	409	...	...	1,800 0 0	6,200 0 0			
Budaun	47	605	...	...	673 0 0	8,618 0 0			
Moradabad	78	612	...	...	1,162 0 0	9,121 0 0			
Sháhjahánpur	12	512	...	...	168 0 0	7,559 0 0			
Pilibhit	28	309	...	...	399 0 0	4,653 0 0			
Total, Rohilkhand Division ...	298	3,062	...	...	4,373 0 0	45,429 0 0			
Farrukhabad	7	509	...	...	98 0 0	7,470 0 0			
Etawah	7	362	...	...	104 0 0	5,312 0 0			
Cawnpore	2	739	...	..	28 0 0	10,783 0 0			
Fatehpur	33	513	..	...	472 0 0	7,570 0 0			
Allahabad	302	654	..	...	4,438 0 0	9,429 0 0			
Total, Allahabad Division ...	351	2,777	...	...	5,140 0 0	40,564 0 0			

Bánda	30	604	...	...	420	0	0	8,480	0	0
Hamirpur	11	593	...	...	160	0	0	7,827	0	0
Jhánsi	2	574	...	...	27	0	0	7,917	0	0
Jalaun	8	393	...	...	112	0	0	5,560	0	0
Total, Jhansi Division ...	51	2,164	...	...	719	0	0	29,784	0	0
Benares	...	461	...	...	...			6,650	0	0
Mirzapur	14	509	...	...	215	0	0	7,152	0	0
Jaunpur	3	678	...	...	39	0	0	3,439	0	0
Ghazipur	...	584	...	...	...			16,397	0	0
Ballia	...	558	...	...	...			7,761	0	0
Total, Benares Division ...	17	2,790	...	...	254	0	0	41,399	0	0
Gorakhpur	14	1,572	...	...	186	0	0	21,478	0	0
Basti	1	1,106	...	...	14	0	0	15,727	0	0
Azamgarh	6	1,029	...	...	88	0	0	15,185	0	0
Total, Gorakhpur Division ...	21	3,707	...	...	288	0	0	52,390	0	0
Naini Tal	4	179	..	...	75	0	0	3,344	0	0
Almora	...	87	...	...	...			2,262	0	0
Garhwál	...	80	...	...	...			1,846	0	0
Total, Kumaun Division ...	4	346	...	...	75	0	0	7,452	0	0
Total, Province of Agra ...	1,158	19,373	5·64	94·36	17,090	0	0	2,84,142	0	0	5·67	94·33
OUDH.										
Lucknow	4	298	..	...	69	0	0	3,955	0	0
Unao	5	531	...	...	71	0	0	7,093	0	0
Rae Bareli	6	505	...	...	90	0	0	6,559	0	0
Sitapur	19	679	...	...	267	0	0	9,491	0	0
Hardoi	26	683	...	...	347	0	0	9,832	0	0
Kheri	25	572	...	...	312	0	0	7,697	0	0
Total, Lucknow Division ...	85	3,268	...	...	1,156	0	0	44,627	0	0
Fyzabad	1	715	...	...	13	0	0	9,968	0	0
Gonda	13	845	...	...	157	0	0	11,740	0	0
Bahraich	14	724	...	...	183	0	0	10,051	0	0
Sultánpur	2	704	...	...	32	0	0	9,818	0	0
Partábgarh	48	437	...	...	669	0	0	6,043	0	0
Bara Banki	12	570	...	...	179	0	0	7,930	0	0
Total, Fyzabad Division ...	90	3,995	...	...	1,233	0	0	55,550	0	0
Total, Oudh ...	175	7,263	2·35	97·65	2389	0	0	1,00,177	0	0	2·33	97·67
TOTAL, UNITED PROVINCES ...	1,333	26,636	4·77	95·23	19,479	0	0	3,84,319	0	0	4·82	95·18

Statement showing the information required by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan in his Council question for March 1928

(2) Kanungos.

DISTRICT.	Number.		Percentage.		Average pay drawn per mensem.		Percentage.		REMARKS.
	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	
					Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.			
PROVINCE OF AGRA.									
Dehra Dun	1	5	...	...	75 0 0	291 0 0			
Saháranpur	6	9	...	...	425 0 0	645 0 0			
Muzaffarnagar	4	23	...		273 0 0	1,242 0 0			
Meerut	6	30	...	...	400 0 0	1,780 0 0			
Bulandshahr	6	21	...	...	393 0 0	1,107 0 0			
Total, Meerut Division ...	23	88	..	...	1,566 0 0	5,065 0 0			
Aligarh	5	12	...	...	310 0 0	840 0 0			
Muttra	2	10	...	...	140 0 0	650 0 0			
Agra	4	24	...	...	230 0 0	1,390 0 0			
Mainpuri	2	8	..	...	140 0 0	502 0 0			
Etah	5	17	...	...	320 0 0	1,115 0 0			
Total, Agra Division ...	18	71	...	...	1,140 0 0	4,497 0 0			
Bareilly	9	24	...	...	570 0 0	1,328 0 0			
Bijnor	14	15	...	...	775 0 0	800 0 0			
Budaun	8	20	...	..	525 0 0	1,024 0 0			
Moradabad	8	27	...	...	555 0 0	1,520 0 0			
Sháhjahánpur	4	18	...	...	196 0 0	1,248 0 0			
Pilibhit	3	13	...	...	160 0 0	740 0 0			
Total, Rohilkhand Division ...	46	117	..	...	2,781 0 0	6,660 0 0			
Farrukhabad	4	10	...	...	260 0 0	660 0 0			
Etawah	5	16	...	...	274 0 0	921 0 0			
Cawnpore	2	30	...	...	120 0 0	1,765 0 0			
Fatehpur	1	14	...	...	80 0 0	900 0 0			
Allahabad	11	16	...	...	944 0 0	1.064 0 0			
Total, Allahabad Division ...	23	85	...	...	1,678 0 0	5,310 0 0			

Bánda	4	16	...	...	271 0 0	1,085 0 0				
Hamirpur	6	10	...	...	399 0 0	708 0 0				
Jhánsi	2	14	...	...	145 0 0	930 0 0				
Jalaun	6	13	...	...	350 0 0	733 0 0				
Total, Jhansi Division ...	18	53	...	...	1,165 0 0	3,456 0 0				
Benares	3	20	..	...	180 0 0	1,080 0 0				
Mirzapur	5	26	...	...	265 0 0	1,540 0 0				
Jaunpur	11	24	...	...	595 0 0	1,375 0 0				
Ghazipur	7	23	...	...	306 0 0	1,174 0 0				
Ballia	5	24	...	...	375 0 0	1,210 0 0				
Total, Benares Division ...	31	117	...	...	1,721 0 0	6,379 0 0				
Gorakhpur	18	56	...	...	1,070 0 0	2,925 0 0				
Basti	11	42	...	...	519 0 0	2,385 0 0				
Azamgarh	12	44	..	...	750 0 0	2,280 0 0				
Total, Gorakhpur Division ...	41	142	...	...	2,339 0 0	7,590 0 0				
Naini Tal	...	18	...	...	...	1,075 0 0				
Almora	...	6	...	...	...	399 4 0				
Garhwál	..	6	...	...	...	399 4 0				
Total, Kumaun Division ...	...	30	...	...	...	1,873 8 0				
Total, Province of Agra ...	200	701	22·12	77·88	12,390 0 0	40,830 8 0	23·28	76·72		
OUDH.										
Lucknow	6	8	...	...	336 0 0	455 0 0				
Unao	6	23	...	...	330 0 0	1,297 0 0				
Rae Bareli	10	14	...	...	542 0 0	917 0 0				
Sitapur	1	17	...	...	80 0 0	1,328 0 0				
Hardoi	4	13	...	...	246 0 0	876 0 0				
Kheri	3	16	...	...	193 0 0	930 0 0				
Total, Lucknow Division ...	30	91	..	...	1,727 0 0	5,803 0 0				
Fyzabad	6	33	...	...	380 0 0	1,750 0 0				
Gonda	3	17	...	...	203 0 0	1,194 0 0				
Bahraich	4	12	...	...	290 0 0	780 0 0				
Sultánpur	6	11	...	...	390 0 0	760 0 0				
Partábgarh	2	10	...	...	120 0 0	680 0 0				
Bara Banki	4	12	...	...	236 0 0	918 0 0				
Total, Fyzabad Division ...	25	95	...	..	1,619 0 0	6,062 0 0				
Total, Oudh ...	55	186	22·82	77·18	3,346 0 0	11,865 0 0	22·0	78·0		
TOTAL, UNITED PROVINCES ...	255	890	22·27	77·73	15,736 0 0	52,695 8 0	23 0	77·0		

Statement showing the information required by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan in his Council question for March 1928.

(3) Sadar Kanungos.

DISTRICT.	Number.		Percentage.		Average pay drawn per mensem.		Percentage.		REMARKS.
	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	Muslims.	Non-Muslims	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	Muslims.	Non-Muslims	
PROVINCE OF AGRA.					Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.			
Dehra Dun	...	1	...	...	...	140 0 0			
Saháranpur	1	...	...	...	85 0 0	...			
Muzaffarnagar	...	1	...	...	..	85 0 0			
Meerut	1	1	...	...	65 0 0	85 0 0			
Bulandshahr	...	1	...	...	...	80 0 0			
Total, Meerut Division ...	2	4	...	...	150 0 0	390 0 0			
Aligarh	...	1	...	...	...	80 0 0			
Muttra	...	1	...	...	...	80 0 0			
Agra	...	1	...	...	...	80 0 0			
Mainpuri	..	1	...	...	...	80 0 0			
Etah	...	1	...	...	...	80 0 0			
Total, Agra Division ...	...	5	...	...	...	400 0 0			
Bareilly	1	...	...	...	80 0 0	..			
Bijnor	...	1	...	...	...	80 0 0			
Budaun	..	1	...	...	...	85 0 0			
Moradabad	1	...	...	...	85 0 0	...			
Sháhjahánpur	...	1	...	...	...	90 0 0			
Pilibhit	1	...	...	...	90 0 0	...			
Total, Rohilkhand Division ...	3	3	...	...	255 0 0	255 0 0			
Farrukhabad	...	1	...	...	..	80 0 0			
Etawah	...	1	...	...	...	110 0 0			
Cawnpore	...	1	...	...	...	80 0 0			
Fatehpur	1	...	...	...	80 0 0	...			
Allahabad	1	...	...	...	90 0 0	...			
Total, Allahabad Division ...	2	3	...	...	170 0 0	270 0 0			

Bánda	...	1	...	...	...	110 0 0				
Hamirpur	...	1	...	...	...	80 0 0				
Jhánsi	...	1	...	...	...	80 0 0				
Jalaun	...	1	...	...	...	80 0 0				
Total, Jhansi Division ...	...	4	...	...	...	350 0 0				
Benares	...	1	...	...	...	80 0 0				
Mirzapur	...	1	...	...	...	85 0 0				
Jaunpur	1	...	...	...	140 0 0	...				
Ghazipur	...	1	...	...	...	109 0 0				
Ballia	1	...	...	...	100 0 0	...				
Total, Benares Division ...	2	3	...	...	240 0 0	274 0 0				
Gorakhpur	...	1	...	...	...	80 0 0				
Basti	1	...	...	...	80 0 0	...				
Azamgarh	...	1	...	...	...	90 0 0				
Total, Gorakhpur Division ...	1	2	...	...	80 0 0	170 0 0				
Naini Tal	...	1	...	...	...	80 0 0				
Almora	...	...	...	...	...	...				
Garhwál	...	...	...	...	...	...				
Total, Kumaun Division ...	...	1	...	...	...	80 0 0				
Total, Province of Agra ...	10	25	28 57	71·43	895 0 0	2,189 0 0	29·02	70·98		
OUDH.										
Lucknow	...	1	...	...	...	110 0 0				
Unao	..	1	..	...	...	119 0 0				
Rae Bareli	...	1	...	...	...	80 0 0				
Sitapur	...	1	...	...	...	80 0 0				
Hardoi	...	1	...	...	..	80 0 0				
Kheri	...	1	...	...	...	106 0 0				
Total, Lucknow Division ...	...	6	...	...	...	575 0 0				
Fyzabad	1	...	...	...	90 0 0	...				
Gonda	...	1	...	...	...	108 0 0				
Bahraich	...	1	...	...	...	90 0 0				
Sultánpur	...	1	...	...	...	110 0 0				
Partábgarh	...	1	...	...	...	80 0 0				
Bara Banki	1	...	...	...	97 0 0	...				
Total, Fyzabad Division ...	2	4	...	...	187 0 0	388 0 0				
Total, Oudh ...	2	10	16 67	83 33	187 0 0	963 0 0	16·26	83·74		
TOTAL, UNITED PROVINCES ...	12	35	25·53	74·47	1,082 0 0	3,152 0 0	25·56	74·44		

Statement showing the information required by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan in his Council question for March 1928.

(4) Clerks.

DISTRICT.	Number.		Percentage.		Average pay drawn per mensem.		Percentage.		REMARKS.
	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	
PROVINCE OF AGRA.									
Dehra Dun	10	43	...	...	505 0 0	2,890 0 0			
Saháranpur	51	94	...	...	2,181 0 0	4,827 0 0			
Muzaffarnagar	29	63	...	...	1,390 0 0	3,569 0 0			
Meerut	49	82	...	...	2,196 0 0	4,570 0 0			
Bulandshahr	28	107	...	...	888 0 0	4,820 0 0			
Total, Meerut Division ...	167	389	...	...	7,160 0 0	20,676 0 0			
Aligarh	41	111	...	...	2,022 0 0	5,277 0 0			
Muttra	28	62	...	...	1,284 0 0	3,382 0 0			
Agra	47	77	...	...	2,005 0 0	4,335 0 0			
Mainpuri	20	78	...	...	982 0 0	4,010 0 0			
Etah	27	58	...	...	1,309 0 0	3,439 0 0			
Total, Agra Division ...	163	386	...	...	7,602 0 0	20,443 0 0			
Bareilly	35	80	...	...	1,534 0 0	4,401 0 0			
Bijnor	31	62	...	...	1,309 0 0	3,232 0 0			
Budaun	51	72	...	...	2,275 0 0	3,792 0 0			
Moradabad	46	75	...	...	2,230 0 0	3,940 0 0			
Sháhjahánpur	41	79	...	...	1,725 0 0	4,452 0 0			
Pilibhit	14	53	...	...	677 0 0	2,889 0 0			
Total, Rohilkhand Division ...	218	421	...	...	9,750 0 0	22,706 0 0			
Farrukhabad	37	76	...	...	1,675 0 0	3,700 0 0			
Etawah	39	69	...	...	1,817 0 0	3,707 0 0			
Cawnpore	30	104	...	...	1,022 0 0	5,655 0 0			
Fatehpur	19	64	...	...	885 0 0	3,345 0 0			
Allahabad	83	104	...	...	3,763 0 0	5,314 0 0			
Total, Allahabad Division ...	208	417	...	...	9,162 0 0	21,721 0 0			

Bánda	18	81	...	...	805 0 0	4,353 0 0		
Hamirpur	11	66	...	...	585 0 0	3,475 0 0		
Jhánsi	33	74	...	...	1,353 0 0	4,397 0 0		
Jalaun	27	50	...	...	1,177 0 0	3,103 0 0		
Total, Jhansi Division ...	89	271	...	...	3,920 0 0	15,228 0 0		
Benares	17	72	...	...	965 0 0	3,815 0 0		
Mirzapur	21	72	...	...	1,110 0 0	3,581 0 0		
Jaunpur	36	91	...	...	1,435 0 0	4,560 0 0		
Ghazipur	26	64	...	...	1,180 0 0	3,503 0 0		
Ballia	15	93	...	...	542 0 0	4,454 0 0		
Total, Benares Division ...	115	392	..	...	5,232 0 0	19,913 0 0		
Gorakhpur	59	113	...	...	2,475 0 0	5,280 0 0		
Basti	41	94	...	...	1,930 0 0	4,496 0 0		
Azamgarh	37	93	...	...	1,410 0 0	4,755 0 0		
Total, Gorakhpur Division ...	137	300	...	...	5,815 0 0	14,531		
Naini Tal	10	59	...	...	515 0 0	3,371 0 0		
Almora	1	77	...	...	45 0 0	5,505 0 0		
Garhwál	..	62	...	...	...	3,762 0 0		
Total, Kumaun Division ...	11	198	...	...	560 0 0	12,638 0 0		
Total, Province of Agra ...	1,108 0 0	2,774	28·54	71·46	49,201 0 0	1,47,856 0 0	24·97	75·03
OUDH.								
Lucknow	38	53	...	...	1,990 0 0	2,728 0 0		
Unao	34	59	...	...	1,679 0 0	3,514 0 0		
Rae Bareli	34	57	...	...	1,837 0 0	2,946 0 0		
Sitapur	32	79	...	...	1,446 0 0	4,402 0 0		
Hardoi	48	98	...	...	1,929 0 0	3,886 0 0		
Kheri	27	68	...	..	1,007 0 0	2,722 0 0		
Total, Lucknow Division ...	213	414	..	...	9,888 0 0	20,198 0 0		
Fyzabad	20	90	...	..	835 0 0	4,975 0 0		
Gonda	17	103	...	...	620 0 0	5,225 0 0		
Bahraich	19	63	...	...	801 0 0	3,500 0 0		
Sultánpur	20	84	...	...	915 0 0	4,330 0 0		
Partábgarh	25	57	...	...	1,260 0 0	3,021 0 0		
Bara Banki	35	66	...	...	1,681 0 0	3,465 0 0		
Total, Fyzabad Division ...	136	463	...	...	6,112 0 0	24,516 0 0		
Total, Oudh ...	349	877	28·47	71·53	16,000 0 0	44,714 0 0	26·35	73·65
TOTAL, UNITED PROVINCES ...	1,457	3,651	28·52	71·48	65,201 0 0	1,92,570 0 0	25·29	74·71

APPENDIX J.

Answer to a Council Question by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan in March 1928.

Stations.	Provincial Subordinate Medical Service Officers Reserve.		Clerical Establishment.	
	Muslim.	Non-Muslim.	Muslim.	Non-Muslim.
Agra	1	2	...	3
Allahabad	1	1	...	3
Aligarh	...	1	...	3
Azamgarh ...	...	3	...	2
Almora	...	1	...	2
Banda	1	...	...	2
Bareilly	1	1	...	3
Benares	...	2	1	2
Bijnor	...	1	1	1
Bulandshahr	...	...	...	2
Ballia	...	1	...	1
Budaun	...	1	1	2
Basti	...	...	...	2
Bahraich...	...	1	...	2
Bara Banki	...	3	..	2
Cawnpore	...	2	...	3
Dehra Dun	...	2	1	1
Etah	..	...	...	2
Etawah	...	1	...	2
Farrukhabad	...	2	...	2
Fatehpur	1	...	...	2
Fyzabad	...	2	2	...
Ghazipur...	1	2	...	2
Gorakhpur	...	4	...	2
Gonda	...	...	1	1
Garhwal...	...	2	...	2
Hamirpur	...	1	...	2
Hardoi	...	3	1	1

Stations.	Provincial Subordinate Medical Service Officers Reserve.		Clerical Establishment.	
	Muslim.	Non-Muslim.	Muslim.	Non-Muslim.
Jalaun	...	1	...	2
Jhansi	...	...	...	3
Jaunpur	...	...	...	2
Kheri	...	...	...	2
Lucknow	1	4	...	2
Meerut	...	1	...	3
Mirzapur...	...	2	...	3
Moradabad	...	2	...	2
Muzaffarnagar	...	...	2	...
Muttra	...	3	...	2
Mainpuri...	...	...	...	2
Mussoorie	...	...	...	2
Naini Tal	...	1	...	3
Partabgarh	...	2	...	1
Pilibhit	1	1	...	2
Rae Bareli	...	...	1	1
Ranikhet	...	...	...	...
Roorkee...	...	...	...	1
Saharanpur	...	2	...	3
Shahjahanpur	...	1	...	2
Sitapur	1	2	...	2
Sultanpur	...	1	...	1
Unao	1	...	...	2
	10	62	11	97

APPENDIX K.

Government reply to a Council question by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan in March 1928.

(1) Kurk Amins.

District.	Number.		Percentage.		Average pay drawn per mensem.		Percentage.		Remarks.
	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	
PROVINCE OF AGRA.					Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.			
Dehra Dun	1	...	...	...	40 0 0	...			
Saháranpur	4	3	...	...	180 0 0	130 0 0			
Muzaffarnagar	2	4	...	...	85 0 0	185 0 0			
Meerut	6	5	...	...	265 0 0	220 0 0			
Bulandshahr	5	5	...	...	200 0 0	230 0 0			
Total, Meerut Division ...	18	17	...	..	770 0 0	765 0 0			
Aligarh	4	6	...	..	185 0 0	260 0 0			
Muttra	2	5	...	...	80 0 0	230 0 0			
Agra	8	3	...	...	345 0 0	135 0 0			
Mainpuri	4	4	...	...	180 0 0	170 0 0			
Etah	1	6	...	...	45 0 0	265 0 0			
Total, Agra Division ...	19	24	...	...	835 0 0	1,060 0 0			
Bareilly	4	4	...	..	175 0 0	180 0 0			
Bijnor	1	5	...	...	40 0 0	230 0 0			
Budaun	5	4	...	...	220 0 0	185 0 0			
Moradabad	6	5	...	...	275 0 0	215 0 0			
Sháhjahánpur	6	2	...	-	261 0 0	90 0 0			
Pilibhit	3	1	...	...	135 0 0	40 0 0			
Total, Rohilkhand Division ...	25	21	...	..	1,106 0 0	940 0 0			
Farrukhabad	4	5	...	...	180 0 0	225 0 0			
Etawah	5	3	...	...	220 0 0	135 0 0			
Cawnpore	2	10	...	..	111 0 0	419 0 0			
Fatehpur	3	4	...	...	140 0 0	170 0 0			
Allahabad	8	9	...	...	345 0 0	405 0 0			
Total, Allahabad Division ...	22	31	...	...	996 0 0	1,354 0 0			
Bánda	3	4	...	...	120 0 0	180 0 0			
Hamirpur	3	1	...	...	130 0 0	40 0 0			

Jhánsi	1	...	...	...	40 0 0	...				
Jalaun	1	1	...	...	45 0 0	40 0 0				
Total, Jhansi Division ...	8	6	...	..	335 0 0	260 0 0				
Benares	4	3	...	...	180 0 0	135 0 0				
Mirzapur	2	2	..	...	90 0 0	90 0 0				
Jaunpur	9	5	...	...	395 0 0	220 0 0				
Ghazipur	1	5	...	...	45 0 0	225 0 0				
Ballia	...	6	...	...	...	135 0 0				
Total, Benares Division ...	16	21	...	...	710 0 0	805 0 0				
Gorakhpur	6	5	...	...	260 0 0	215 0 0				
Basti	2	5	...	...	85 0 0	225 0 0				
Azamgarh	6	3	...	...	260 0 0	145 0 0				
Total, Gorakhpur Division ...	14	13	...	...	605 0 0	585 0 0				
Naini Tal	...	1	...	...	...	40 0 0				
Almora	...	...	...	...	...	...				
Garhwál	...	...	...	...	...	...				
Total, Kumaun Division ...	...	1	...	...	...	40				
Total, Province of Agra ...	122	134	47·66	52·34	5,357 0 0	5,809 0 0	47·98	52·02		
OUDH										
Lucknow	1	2	...	...	40 0 0	95 0 0				
Unao	3	3	...	...	140 0 0	130 0 0				
Rae Bareli	2	2	...	...	85 0 0	90 0 0				
Sitapur	1	3	...	...	40 0 0	135 0 0				
Hardoi	1	6	...	...	45 0 0	265 0 0				
Kheri	3	...	...	...	135 0 0	...				
Total, Lucknow Division ...	11	16	...	...	485 0 0	715 0 0				
Fyzabad	3	4	...	...	140 0 0	170 0 0				
Gonda	2	3	...	...	85 0 0	135 0 0				
Bahraich	2	2	...	...	85 0 0	90 0 0				
Sultánpur	...	6	...	...	...	270 0 0				
Partábgarh	3	..	...	...	135 0 0	...				
Bara Banki	2	2	...	...	85 0 0	90 0 0				
Total, Fyzabad Division ...	12	17	...	...	530 0 0	755 0 0				
Total, Oudh ...	23	33	41·07	58·93	1,015 0 0	1,470 0 0	40·84	59·16		
TOTAL, UNITED PROVINCES ...	145	167	46·47	53·53	6,372 0 0	7,279 0 0	46·68	53·32		

Government reply to a Council question by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan in March 1928.

(2) Kurk Amin's Servants.

District.	Number.		Percentage.		Average pay drawn per mensem.		Percentage.		Remarks.
	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	
PROVINCE OF AGRA.					Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.			
Dehra Dun	1	...	...	...	10 8 0	...			
Saháranpur	6	1	..	...	63 0 0	10 8 0			
Muzaffarnagar	4	2	...	..	42 0 0	21 0 0			
Meerut	9	2	..	...	94 8 0	21 0 0			
Bulandshahr	5	5	...	...	63 0 0	42 0 0			
Total, Meerut Division ...	25	10	...	...	273 0 0	94 8 0			
Aligarh	6	4	...	...	63 0 0	42 0 0			
Muttra	5	2	...	...	52 8 0	21 0 0			
Agra	10	1	..	...	105 0 0	10 8 0			
Mainpuri	6	2	...	...	63 0 0	21 0 0			
Etah	2	5	...	...	21 0 0	55 0 0			
Total, Agra Division ...	29	14	...	...	304 8 0	149 8 0			
Bareilly	5	3	...	...	52 8 0	31 8 0			
Bijnor	3	3	...	...	31 8 0	31 8 0			
Budaun	7	2	...	...	73 8 0	21 0 0			
Moradabad	5	6	...	...	52 8 0	63 0 0			
Sháhjahánpur	5	3	...	...	52 8 0	31 8 0			
Pilibhit	2	2	...	...	21 0 0	21 0 0			
Total, Rohilkhand Division ...	27	19	...	...	283 8 0	199 8 0			
Farrukhabad	6	3	...	...	63 0 0	31 8 0			
Etawah	4	4	...	...	42 0 0	42 0 0			
Cawnpore	6	6	...	...	63 0 0	63 0 0			
Fatehpur	3	4	...	...	31 8 0	42 0 0			
Allahabad	7	10	...	...	73 8 0	105 0 0			
Total, Allahabad Division ...	26	27	...	...	273 0 0	283 8 0			
Bánda	5	...	...	...	52 8 0	...			
Hamirpur	4	...	...	...	42 0 0	...			

Jhánsi	...	1	...	...	...		10 8 0			
Jalaun	2	...	...	...	21		...			
Total, Jhansi Division ...	11	1	...	...	115	8 0	10 8 0			
Benares	4	3	...	...	42	0 0	31 8 0			
Mirzapur	2	2	...	...	21	0 0	21 0 0			
Jaunpur	11	3	...	..	115	8 0	30 0 0			
Ghazipur	1	5	...	...	10	8 0	52 8 0			
Ballia	...	6	...	...	...		63 0 0			
Total, Benares Division ...	18	19	...	...	189	0 0	198 0 0			
Gorakhpur	5	6	...	...	52	8	63 0 0			
Basti	2	5	...	...	21	0 0	52 8 0			
Azamgarh	3	6	...	...	31	8 0	63 0 0			
Total, Gorakhpur Division ...	10	17	...	...	105	0 0	178 8 0			
Naini Tal	1	...	...	...	10	8 0	...			
Almora	...	...	...	....	...		...			
Garhwál	...	...	...	...	...		...			
Total, Kumaun Division ...	1	...	...	...	10	8 0	...			
Total, Province of Agra ...	147	107	57·87	42·13	1,554	0 0	1,114 0 0	58·25	41·75	
OUDH										
Lucknow	2	1	...	...	21	0 0	10 8 0			
Unao	3	3	...	...	31	8 0	31 8 0			
Rae Bareli	2	2	...	...	21	0 0	21 0 0			
Sitapur	4	...	...	...	42	0 0	...			
Hardoi	4	3	...	...	42	0 0	31 8 0			
Kheri	2	1	...	...	21	0 0	10 8 0			
Total, Lucknow Division ...	17	10	...	...	178	8 0	105 0 0			
Fyzabad	3	4	...	...	31	8 0	42 0 0			
Gonda	1	4	...	...	10	8 0	42 0 0			
Bahraich	1	3	...	...	10	8 0	31 8 0			
Sultánpur	1	5	...	...	10	8 0	52 8 0			
Partábgarh	...	3	...	...	...		31 8 0			
Bara Banki	2	2	...	...	21	0 0	21 0 0			
Total, Fyzabad Division ...	8	21	...	...	84	0 0	220 8 0			
Total, Oudh ...	25	31	44·64	55·36	262	8 0	325 8 0	44·63	55 37	
TOTAL, UNITED PROVINCES ...	172	138	55·48	44·52	1,816	8 0	1,439 8 0	55·79	44·21	

Government repty to a Council question by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan in March, 1928.

(3) Process-serving Establishment Temporary Servants.

District.	Number.		Percentage.		Average pay drawn per mensem.		Percentage.		Remarks.
	Musl	Non-Muslims.	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	
PROVINCE OF AGRA.					Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.			
Dehra Dun	...	...	...	...	...	...			
Saháranpur	...	...	...	...	...	...			
Muzaffarnagar	...	...	...	...	...	...			
Meerut	7	10	...	...	68 0 0	96 0 0			
Bulandshahr	1	3	...	...	53 0 0	107 0 0			
Total, Meerut Division ...	8		...	...	121 0 0	203 0 0			
Aligarh	...	...	...	...	...	...			
Muttra	...	...	...	...	...	...			
Agra	1	3	...	...	9 0 0	27 0 0			
Mainpuri	...	...	...	...	...	...			
Etah	...	...	...	...	...	...			
Total, Agra Division ...	1	3	...	...	9 0 0	27 0 0			
Bareilly	...	...	...	...	...	...			
Bijnor	1	3	...	...	10 8 0	30 0 0			
Budaun	...	...	...	...	...	...			
Moradabad	...	...	...	...	...	...			
Sháhjahánpur	...	...	...	...	...	...			
Pilibhit	...	...	...	...	...	...			
Total, Rohilkhand Division ...	1	3	...	...	10 8 0	30 0 0			
Farrukhabad	2	9	...	...	104 0 0	259 0 0			
Etawah	...	...	...	...	...	...			
Cawnpore	...	...	...	...	...	...			
Fatehpur	...	...	...	...	...	...			
Allahabad	...	...	...	...	...	...			
Total, Allahabad Division ...	2	9	...	...	104 0 0	259 0 0			
Bánda	...	...	...	...	...	...			
Hamirpur	...	...	...	...	...	...			

Jhánsi	...	...	...	...	...	..			
Jalaun	...	...	...	...	...	...			
Total, Jhansi Division ...	...	...	...	...	...	...			
Benares	...	—	...	...	...	...			
Mirzapur	...	...	...	...	...	...			
Jaunpur	...	...	...	...	...	...			
Ghazipur	..	...	...	...	...	...			
Ballia	...	...	...	...	...	...			
Total, Benares Division ...	...	...	...	...	...	...			
Gorakhpur	8	6	...	...	72 0 0	54 0 0			
Basti	14	11	...	...	623 0 0	457 0 0			
Azamgarh	5	10	...	...	21 0 0	84 0 0			
Total, Gorakhpur Division ...	27	27	...	...	716 0 0	595 0 0			
Naini Tal	...	...	...	...	...	...			
Almora	...	...	...	...	...	...			
Garhwál	...	...	...	...	...	...			
Total, Kumaun Division ...	...	...	...	...	...	...			
Total, Province of Agra ...	39	55	41·49	58·51	960 8 0	1,114 0 0	46·29	53·71	
OUDH									
Lucknow	...	...	...	...	...	...			
Unao	3	2	...	..	64 12 0	46 12 0			
Rae Bareli	...	...	...	...	...	...			
Sitapur	...	...	...	...	...	...			
Hardoi	1	2	...	...	9 0 0	18 0 0			
Kheri	2	...	...	...	12 12 0	...			
Total, Lucknow Division ...	6	4	...	...	86 8 0	64 12 0			
Fyzabad	...	...	...	...	...	...			
Gonda	2	6	...	...	14 0 0	35 0 0			
Bahraich	6	1	...	...	23 0 0	2 0 0			
Sultánpur	2	6	...	...	50 8 0	157 8 0			
Partábgarh	...	...	...	...	...	...			
Bara Banki	2	...	...	...	18 0 0	...			
Total, Fyzabad Division ...	12	13	...	...	107 8 0	194 8 0			
Total, Oudh ...	18	17	51·43	48·57	192 0 0	259 4 0	42·57	57·43	
TOTAL, UNITED PROVINCES ...	57	72	44·19	55·81	1,152 8 0	1,373 4 0	45·62	54·38	

Government reply to a Council question by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan in March 1928.

(4) Writers and runners.

District.	Number.		Percentage.		Average pay drawn per mensem.		Percentage.		Remarks.
	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	
					Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.			
PROVINCE OF AGRA.									
Dehra Dun	...	4	...	...	...	39 0 0			
Saháranpur	16	24	...	...	151 8 0	226 8 0			
Muzaffarnagar	29	10	...	...	267 0 0	96 0 0			
Meerut	27	19	...	...	250 0 0	180 0 0			
Bulandshahr	21	24	...	...	200 0 0	221 0 0			
Total, Meerut Division ...	93	81	...	...	868 8 0	762 8 0			
Aligarh	...	...	...	...	...	...			
Muttra	10	10	...	...	96 0 0	100 0 0			
Agra	32	26	...	...	301 8 0	241 8 0			
Mainpuri	14	15	...	...	130 8 0	139 8 0			
Etah	24	10	...	...	220 8 0	93 0 0			
Total, Agra Division ...	80	61	...	...	748 8 0	574 0 0			
Bareilly	31	12	...	...	288 0 0	111 0 0			
Bijnor	16	19	...	...	145 8 0	181 8 0			
Budaun	35	13	...	...	322 8 0	127 8 0			
Moradabad	18	21	...	...	171 0 0	193 8 0			
Sháhjahánpur	15	14	...	...	143 0 0	132 0 0			
Pilibhit	4	4	...	...	36 0 0	39 0 0			
Total, Rohilkhand Division ...	119	83	...	...	1,106 0 0	784 8 0			
Farrukhabad	17	16	...	...	159 0 0	150 0 0			
Etawah	7	19	...	...	64 0 0	180 0 0			
Cawnpore	25	20	...	...	230 0 0	192 0 0			
Fatehpur	17	11	...	...	159 0 0	102 0 0			
Allahabad	29	58	...	...	274 8 0	549 0 0			
Total, Allahabad Division ...	95	124	...	...	886 8 0	1,173 0 0			
Bánda	...	...	...	...	...	...			
Hamirpur	...	...	...	...	...	...			

Jhánsi	14	14	...	...	219 0 0	130 0 0				
Jalaun	10	10	...	...	93 0 0	94 0 0				
Total, Jhansi Division ...	24	24	...	...	122 0 0	224 0 0				
Benares	17	11	...	...	159 0 0	106 0 0				
Mirzapur	2	17	...	...	15 0 0	168 8 0				
Jaunpur	34	38	...	...	367 0 0	481 0 0				
Ghazipur	49	78	...	...	896 0 0	1,486 0 0				
Ballia	15	19	...	...	139 8 0	174 0 0				
Total, Benares Division ...	117	163	...	...	1,576 8 0	2,415 8 0				
Gorakhpur	78	104	...	...	807 0 0	1,075 0 0				
Basti	80	59	...	...	838 0 0	617 0 0				
Azamgarh	86	59	...	...	930 0 0	625 0 0				
Total, Gorakhpur Division ...	244	222	...	...	2,575 0 0	2,317 0 0				
Naini Tal	1	37	...	...	9 0 0	372 0 0				
Almora	...	58	...	...	...	609 0 0				
Garhwál	...	65	...	...	...	647 0 0				
Total, Kumaun Division ...	1	160	...	...	9 0 0	1,628 0 0				
Total, Province of Agra ...	773	918	45·71	54·29	7,892 0 0	9,878 8 0	44·41	55·59		
OUDH										
Lucknow	2	8	...	...	18 0 0	72 0 0				
Unao	2	7	...	...	26 0 0	120 0 0				
Rae Bareli	2	1	...	...	20 0 0	6 0 0				
Sitapur	45	42	...	...	479 0 0	443 0 0				
Hardoi	10	14	...	...	132 0 0	91 8 0				
Kheri	30	39	...	...	250 0 0	435 0 0				
Total, Lucknow Division ...	91	111	...	...	925 0 0	1,167 8 0				
Fyzabad	1	30	...	...	9 0 0	273 0 0				
Gonda	4	26	...	...	39 0 0	241 0 0				
Bahraich	17	6	...	...	157 8 0	58 8 0				
Sultánpur	9	21	...	...	85 8 0	195 0 0				
Partábgarh	3	16	...	...	28 8 0	150 0 0				
Bara Banki	18	15	...	...	165 0 0	144 0 0				
Total, Fyzabad Division ...	52	114	...	...	484 8 0	1,061 8 0				
Total, Oudh ...	143	225	38·86	61·14	1,409 8 0	2,229 0 0	38·73	61·27		
TOTAL, UNITED PROVINCES ...	916	1,143	44·49	55·51	9,301 8 0	12,107 8 0	43·45	56·55		

APPEN

Answer to Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan's Council question, in February, 1928, on

District.	Office establishment.							Educa-				
	Total number of employees.	Number of Hindus.	Pay of Hindus.	Number of Muslims.	Pay of Muslims.	Number of Christians.	Pay of Christians.	Total number of employees.	Number of Hindus.	Pay of Hindus.	Number of Muslims.	Pay of Muslims.
PROVINCE OF AGRA AND OUDH.			Rs. a.		Rs. a.		Rs. a.			Rs. a.		Rs. a.
Dehra Dun ...	11	11	561 0	...	...	...	...	171	164	3,250 0	7	155 0
Saharanpur ...	24	14	1,049 0	10	405 0	...	...	468	270	5,703 0	198	4,409 0
Muzaffarnagar ..	22	17	1,032 0	5	211 0	...	...	516	445	9,511 0	70	1,434 0
Meerut ...	43	33	1,823 0	9	386 0	1	10 0	936	849	17,225 0	87	1,822 0
Bulandshahr ...	20	17	1,113 0	3	61 0	...	...	627	552	1,118 0	75	1,655 0
Aligarh ...	18	13	1,082 0	5	230 0	...	...	687	621	11,968 0	66	1,417 0
Muttra ...	15	10	1,130 0	5	130 0	...	...	552	518	6,904 0	34	599 0
Agra ...	22	17	1,183 0	5	142 0	...	...	684	657	13,621 0	27	523 0
Mainpuri ...	22	16	486 8	6	311 0	...	...	553	510	10,680 0	43	834 0
Etah ...	14	12	683 0	2	46 0	...	...	608	570	10,448 0	38	917 0
Bareilly ...	13	4	135 0	9	650 0	...	...	558	421	8,295 0	137	2,464 0
Bijnor ...	24	20	1,194 0	4	206 0	...	...	575	463	9,416 0	112	2,567 0
Budaun ...	23	12	422 0	11	834 8	...	...	575	404	8,134 0	171	3,374 0
Moradabad ...	45	37	1,441 0	7	163 0	1	20 0	889	661	9,798 0	228	4,057 0
Shahjahanpur ...	32	21	1,089 0	11	332 0	...	...	534	459	9,706 0	75	1,618 0
Pilibhit ...	21	21	956 0	...	...	...	...	403	330	6,002 0	73	1,238 0
Farrukhabad ...	21	17	1,213 0	4	119 0	...	...	731	646	14,564 0	85	1,842 0
Etawah ..	21	20	1,205 0	1	12 0	...	...	551	529	11,056 0	22	436 0
Cawnpore ...	29	18	652 0	11	1,021 8	...	...	1,021	984	18,187 0	36	797 0
Fatehpur ...	18	14	577 0	4	215 0	...	...	579	508	9,609 0	71	1,542 0
Allahabad ...	34	20	998 8	14	554 8	...	...	1,352	1,046	17,361 0	304	5,239 0
Banda ...	24	21	804 0	3	57 8	...	...	634	573	11,667 0	61	966 8
Hamirpur ...	25	22	757 0	3	204 0	...	...	550	457	9,381 0	83	1,470 0
Jhansi ...	38	31	1,276 0	7	315 8	...	...	590	562	9,640 0	28	614 0
Jalaun ...	20	16	540 8	4	86 0	...	...	459	420	8,065 0	39	730 0
Benares ...	22	18	955 0	4	67 0	...	...	1,139	1,077	21,245 0	62	1,280 0
Mirzapur ...	19	17	927 0	2	69 8	...	...	560	522	1,081 0	38	724 0
Jaunpur ...	14	8	898 8	6	215 8	...	...	1,026	899	18,761 0	127	2,679 0
Ghazipur ...	24	21	963 0	3	85 0	...	...	785	713	16,389 0	72	1,378 0
Ballia	23	21	1,038 0	2	63 0	...	...	950	888	18,630 0	62	1,194 0
Gorakhpur ...	40	33	23,038 0	5	2,140 0	2	5,550 0	1,845	1,739	3,94,032 0	106	25,176 0

DIX L.

the number and pay of employees of various District Boards in the United Provinces.

tional.		Conservancy.							Medical.						
Number of Christians.	Pay of Christians.	Total number of employees.	Number of Hindus.	Pay of Hindus.	Number of Muslims.	Pay of Muslims.	Number of Christians.	Pay of Christians.	Total number of employees.	Number of Hindus.	Pay of Hindus.	Number of Muslims.	Pay of Muslims.	Number of Christians.	Pay of Christians.
	Rs. a.			Rs. a.		Rs. a.		Rs. a.			Rs. a.		Rs. a.		Rs. a.
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	44	40	1,173 0	4	69 0	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	36	26	502 0	10	264 8	..	...
1	50	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	32	10	984 0	20	4,298 0	2	85 0
...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	69	47	1,549 0	21	701 0	1	40 0
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	73	56	1,171 0	14	260 0	3	110 0
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	109	80	2,632 0	23	668 0	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	59	44	857 0	12	213 8	3	41 0
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	49	37	1,341 8	12	292 8	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	27	19	949 0	6	467 0	2	110 0
...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	60	54	1,626 0	5	128 0	1	4,798 0
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	22	9	764 0	13	970 0	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	43	34	3,141 0	9	2,828 0	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	85	63	1,987 0	22	654 0	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	141	101	2,573 0	31	618 0	9	540 0
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	30	11	715 0	17	532 0	2	50 0
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	42	39	1,408 0	3	200 8	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	62	50	1,193 0	10	321 0	2	45 0
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	77	71	2,218 0	4	80 0	2	115 0
1	30	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	25	16	1,285 0	8	270 0	1	195 0
...	...	21	13	779 0	8	366 0	...	...	49	38	1,077 0	9	194 0	2	150 0
2	60	36	21	1,656 8	15	529 0	...	...	44	37	1,111 0	7	300 0	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	40	34	777 0	6	281 0	...	...
10	84	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	39	34	921 0	4	145 0	1	60 0
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	87	72	2,265 8	14	337 0	1	250 0
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	42	37	1,166 8	4	270 0	1	60 0
...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	20	12	533 0	8	137 0	...	...
...	...	9	1	10 0	6	48 0	...	...	47	38	1,346 8	9	442 8	...	...
...	...	39	26	136 0	13	73 0	...	...	56	42	1,485 8	12	293 8	2	60 0
...	...	24	18	705 0	6	390 0	...	...	24	22	637 0	2	200 0	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	15	11	847 0	2	80 0	2	132 0
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	106	76	29,676 0	29	10,542 0	1	480 0

Answer to Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan's Council question, in February, 1928,

District.	Office establishment.							Educa-				
	Total number of employees.	Number of Hindus.	Pay of Hindus.	Number of Muslims.	Pay of Muslims.	Number of Christians.	Pay of Christians.	Total number of employees.	Number of Hindus.	Pay of Hindus.	Number of Muslims,	Pay of Muslims.
			Rs. a.		Rs. a.		Rs. a.			Rs. a		Rs. a.
Basti	29	26	1,200 0	3	84 0	...	...	1,194	1,047	21,364 0	146	3,181 0
Azamgarh ...	32	25	1,358 0	7	402 0	...	...	975	858	17,933 0	117	2,693 0
Naini Tal ...	16	16	10,548 0	...	...	...	...	319	295	68,376 0	24	5,208 0
Almora ...	23	23	1,307 0	...	...	...	...	615	612	1,176 0	3	52 0
Garhwal ...	16	16	996 0	...	...	...	...	676	668	11,441 0	4	90 0
Lucknow ...	34	21	634 0	13	631 0	...	...	540	422	8,208 0	118	2,432 0
Unao ...	20	18	267 8	2	88 0	...	...	509	433	8,974 0	76	1,540 0
Rae Bareli ...	28	24	1,206 0	4	119 0	...	...	677	585	12,081 0	92	1,862 0
Sitapur ...	26	24	1,037 0	2	55 0	...	...	642	533	10,870 0	109	2,513 0
Hardoi ...	45	34	1,377 0	11	229 0	...	...	901	768	14,607 0	133	2,805 0
Kheri	34	26	1,177 0	8	257 0	...	...	474	377	7,341 0	97	1,816 0
Fyzabad ...	22	21	726 0	1	16 0	...	...	648	526	10,732 0	122	2,662 0
Gonda... ...	29	25	1,160 0	4	264 8	...	...	598	443	9,544 0	155	3,274 0
Bahraich ...	33	29	1,331 0	4	81 8	...	...	660	501	9,196 0	158	2,963 0
Sultanpur ...	20	16	603 0	4	143 0	...	...	627	532	9,993 0	94	2,009 0
Partabgarh ...	16	12	729 0	4	151 0	...	...	703	568	10,319 0	135	2,482 0
Bara Banki ...	26	13	524 0	13	903 0	..	...	620	455	8,350 14	161	2,991 14
Total United Provinces.	1,190	941	77,222 8	245	12,756 8	4	5,580 0	33,486	29,080	9,72,352 14	4,381	1,15,724 6

on the number and pay of employees of various District Boards in the United Provinces.

tional.		Conservancy.							Medical.						
Number of Christians.	Pay of Christians.	Total Number of employees.	Number of Hindus.	Pay of Hindus.	Number of Muslims.	Pay of Muslims.	Number of Christians.	Pay of Christians.	Total number of employees.	Number of Hindus.	Pay of Hindus.	Number of Muslims.	Pay of Muslims.	Number of Christians.	Pay of Christians.
	Rs. a.			Rs. a.		Rs. a.		Rs. a.			Rs. a.		Rs. a.		Rs. a.
1	30 0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	72	50	1,661 0	20	607 0	2	55 0
...	...	36	36	360 0	...	...	...	...	20	13	1,345 0	5	310 0	2	110 0
...	...	11	11	1,836 0	...	...	...	...	36	33	14,110 0	3	2,904 0	...	...
...	...	8	8	84 0	...	...	...	...	17	17	438 0	...	...	...	...
4	95 0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	22	21	870 0	...	...	1	50 0
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	37	23	750 0	14	616 0	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	31	20	636 8	10	308 0	1	30 0
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	29	22	1,534 0	7	578 0	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	43	28	1,487 0	15	805 0	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	45	35	491 0	9	216 0	1	40 0
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	18	13	1,547 8	4	333 0	1	20 0
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	70	53	1,055 0	16	595 0	1	17 0
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	72	58	1,715 0	13	570 0	1	58 0
1	20 0	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	81	67	2,111 0	11	652 0	3	140 0
1	40 0	10	9	957 8	1	50 0	...	...	38	32	610 0	6	132 8	...	...
...	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	38	29	1,040 8	8	328 0	1	30 0
4	110 0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	44	35	373 8	9	263 0	...	...
25	519 0	194	143	6,524 0	49	1,456 0	...	...	2,361	1,809	1,01,796 8	500	36,274 8	52	7,886 0

Answer to Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan's Council question, in February, 1928, on the

District.	Veterinary.						Arboricul			
	Total number of employees.	Number of Hindus.	Pay of Hindus.	Number of Muslims.	Pay of Muslims.	Number of Christians.	Pay of Christians.	Total number of employees.	Number of Hindus.	Pay of Hindus.	Number of Muslims.
PROVINCE OF AGRA AND OUDH.			Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.		Rs.			Rs. a. p.	
Dehra Dun ...	4	2	174 0 0	2	144 0 0	...	...	...	...	...	...
Saharanpur ...	3	...	...	3	45 0 0	...	...	11	9	90 0 0	2
Muzaffarnagar ...	8	3	87 0 0	5	272 0 0	...	...	1	...	...	1
Meerut ...	9	4	97 0 0	5	254 0 0	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bulandshahr ...	6	2	21 0 0	4	56 0 0	...	...	6	6	140 0 0	...
Aligarh ...	19	14	107 0 0	5	52 0 0	...	...	...	...	...	...
Muttra ...	4	1	87 0 0	3	114 0 0	...	...	3	3	34 0 0	...
Agra	12	4	55 0 0	8	34 0 0	...	...	32	20	182 0 0	12
Mainpuri ...	14	3	21 0 0	11	258 0 0	...	...	2	2	22 8 0	...
Etah	14	4	30 0 0	10	38 0 0	...	...	13	12	141 0 0	1
Bareilly ...	3	1	57 0 0	2	156 0 0	...	...	5	5	52 0 0	...
Bijnor... ...	10	1	10 0 0	9	3,400 0 0	...	...	9	6	45 0 0	3
Budaun ...	13	5	34 8 0	8	102 0 0	...	...	28	23	179 0 0	5
Moradabad ...	20	9	185 0 0	11	294 0 0	...	...	19	16	153 0 0	3
Shahjahanpur ...	9	2	100 0 0	7	276 0 0	...	...	23	20	155 8 0	3
Pilibhit ...	12	3	26 8 0	9	301 8 0	...	...	22	19	189 0 0	3
Farrukhabad ...	11	2	17 8 0	9	261 8 0	...	...	23	23	207 0 0	...
Etawah ...	8	2	22 0 0	6	165 0 0	...	...	8	8	68 0 0	...
Cawnpore ...	13	9	60 0 0	4	56 8 0	...	...	1	...	...	1
Fatehpur ...	14	...	...	14	357 0 0	...	...	6	5	66 0 0	1
Allahabad ...	20	13	230 0 0	7	169 0 0	...	...	14	10	113 0 0	4
Banda ...	12	1	3 0 0	11	495 6 0	...	...	5	5	48 0 0	...
Hamirpur ...	6	1	11 0 0	5	189 0 0	...	...	10	10	80 0 0	...
Jhansi ...	12	5	83 0 0	7	202 8 0	...	...	33	32	326 0 0	1
Jalaun ...	10	6	107 0 0	4	183 0 0	...	...	9	9	84 0 0	...
Benares ...	6	4	69 0 0	2	32 0 0	...	...	14	13	94 0 0	1
Mirzapur ...	9	7	284 0 0	2	115 0 0	...	...	20	17	134 0 0	3
Jaunpur ...	14	3	37 0 0	11	238 8 0	...	...	14	14	99 0 0	...
Ghazipur ...	9	3	17 0 0	6	179 0 0	...	...	18	18	170 0 0	...
Ballia ...	6	4	114 0 0	2	132 0 0	...	...	23	23	169 0 0	...
Gorakhpur ...	18	5	660 0 0	13	1,446 0 0	...	...	72	55	13,296 0 0	16
Basti	13	3	175 0 0	10	193 0 0	...	...	23	20	120 0 0	3
Azamgarh ...	14	5	51 0 0	9	80 0 0	...	...	35	35	264 0 0	...

number and pay of employees of various District Boards in the United Provinces.

ture.				Miscellaneous.						
Pay of Muslims.	Number of Christians.	Pay of Christians.	Total number of employees.	Number of Hindus.	Pay of Hindus.	Number of Muslims.	Pay of Muslims.	Number of Christians.	Pay of Christians.
Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.			Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.
...	...	...	36	27	423 0 0	9	136 0 0	...	...
35 8 0	...	...	133	51	775 8 0	80	1,229 0 0	2	183 8 0
70 0 0	...	...	48	20	168 0 0	28	287 0 0	...	...
...	...	...	81	62	492 0 0	19	166 8 0	...	...
...	...	...	103	69	1,118 0 0	34	741 0 0	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	43	30	264 0 0	16	159 0 0	1	10 0 0
105 8 0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	9	7	249 0 0	2	20 0 0	...	...
11 0 0	...	...	78	48	1,081 0 0	30	522 0 0	...	...
...	...	...	43	11	106 0 0	32	295 0 0	...	...
27 0 0	...	...	65	26	679 0 0	39	612 0 0	...	...
38 12 0	...	...	49	26	839 0 0	23	374 0 0	...	...
27 0 0	...	...	109	74	2,067 0 0	35	1,120 0 0	...	...
62 0 0	...	...	53	39	358 0 0	14	128 0 0	...	...
54 0 0	...	...	82	48	905 8 0	34	400 8 0	...	...
...	...	...	220	163	3,207 8 0	57	596 8 0	...	...
...	...	...	85	62	991 0 0	23	328 0 0	...	...
40 0 0	...	...	87	34	752 0 0	53	750 0 0	...	...
9 0 0	...	...	49	21	395 0 0	28	468 0 0	...	...
75 0 0	...	...	393	343	3,136 0 0	50	575 0 0	...	...
...	...	...	80	57	1,020 0 0	23	305 8 0	...	...
...	...	...	121	72	1,134 0 0	49	767 0 0	...	...
53 0 0	...	...	314	264	3,125 0 0	50	834 9 0	...	...
...	...	...	139	98	1,326 0 0	41	605 0 0	...	...
50 0 0	...	...	41	33	1,504 0 0	8	272 0 0	...	...
24 0 0	...	...	38	28	1,357 8 0	10	359 0 0	...	...
...	...	...	41	31	1,379 8 0	10	407 8 0	...	...
...	...	...	35	20	114 0 0	15	260 0 0	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1,508 0 0	1	480	16	15	8,136 0 0	1	540 0 0	...	...
59 0 0	...	...	200	145	2,526 0 0	54	728 0 0	1	46 0 0
...	...	...	61	39	1,889 0 0	21	764 0 0	1	107 7 0

Answer to Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan's Council question, in February, 1928, on

District.	Veterinary.								Arbori-			
	Total number of employees.	Number of Hindus.	Pay of Hindus.	Number of Muslims.	Pay of Muslims.	Number of Christians.	Pay of Christians.		Total number of employees.	Number of Hindus.	Pay of Hindus.	Number of Muslims.
			Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.		Rs.				Rs. a. p.	
Naini Tal ...	6	1	180 0 0	5	2,148 0 0	...	...		...	...	...	...
Almora ...	6	6	167 0 0	...	...	..	...		...	...	...	...
Garhwal ...	6	6	252 0 0	...	...	...	...		...	...	...	...
Lucknow ...	10	7	237 8 0	3	122 0 0	...	...		15	10	82 0 0	5
Unao	6	1	7 8 0	5	198 0 0	...	...		13	13	126 8 0	...
Rae Bareli ...	12	2	23 0 0	10	65 0 0	...	...		21	20	132 0 0	1
Sitapur ...	12	6	55 0 0	6	52 0 0	...	...		...	...	...	...
Hardoi ...	15	5	50 0 0	10	109 0 0	...	...		3	3	28 0 0	..
Kheri ...	6	4	125 8 0	2	61 8 0	...	...		11	11	111 0 0	...
Fyzabad ...	15	7	727 0 0	8	1,391 0 0	...	...		11	10	71 0 0	1
Gonda ...	10	7	60 0 0	3	29 0 0	...	...		8	8	52 0 0	...
Bahraich ...	7	1	8 0 0	6	256 0 0	...	...		21	18	126 0 0	3
Sultanpur ...	17	10	224 0 0	7	199 0 0	...	...		22	22	198 0 0	...
Partabgarh ...	12	6	140 0 0	6	171 8 0	...	...		12	12	126 0 0	...
Bara Banki ...	6	4	25 8 0	2	21 0 0	...	...		22	20	158 0 0	2
Total United Provinces.	501	204	5,314 8 0	297	15,130 14 0	...	...		561	485	17,931 8 0	75

the number and pay of employees of various District Boards in the United Provinces.

culture		Miscellaneous.								
Pay of Muslims.	Number of Christians.	Pay of Christians.	Total number of employees.	Number of Hindus.	Pay of Hindus.	Number of Muslims.	Pay of Muslims.	Number of Christians.	Pay of Christians.
Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.			Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.
...	...	...	115	101	21,516 0 0	14	2,604 0 0	...	...
...	...	...	70	64	1,235 0 0	6	50 0 0	...	...
...	...	...	9	9	342 0 0	...	...	...	...
74 0 0	...		50	18	493 0 0	32	931 0 0	...	...
...	...	...	65	33	610 0 0	32	530 0 0	...	...
25 0 0	...	...	52	25	1,019 0 0	27	615 0 0	...	...
...	...	...	54	38	745 0 0	16	249 0 0	...	...
...	...	...	78	49	759 0 0	29	286 0 0	...	...
...	...	...	77	38	834 8 0	38	672 0 0	1	350 0 0
25 0 0	...	...	124	81	1,824 0 0	42	754 0 0	1	220 0 0
...	...	...	109	61	1,958 0 0	48	1,118 0 0	...	...
49 0 0	...	...	285	215	3,325 8 0	70	1,232 0 0	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	24	20	702 8 0	4	63 0 0	...	...
87 8 0	...	...	66	19	505 0 0	47	861 0 0	...	...
2,509 4 0	1	480	4,034	2,734	77,376 0 0	1,293	24,615 1 0	7	916 8 0

Answer to Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan's Council question in February, 1928, on

Name of the municipal board.	Office establishment.							Educa-			
	Total number of employees.	Number of Hindus.	Pay of Hindus.	Number of Muslims.	Pay of Muslims.	Number of Christians.	Pay of Christians.	Total number of employees.	Number of Hindus.	Pay of Hindus.	Number of Muslims.
			Rs. a.		Rs. a. p.		Rs. a.			Rs. a.	
Farrukhabad ...	16	13	534 8	3	54 8 0	Nil	Nil	75	67	1,077 8	8
Kanauj	9	5	1,272 0	4	1,496 0 0	...	..	2	2	264 0	Nil
Allahabad ...	90	65	3,412 0	25	840 0 0	...	...	209	169	4,331 0	39
Fatehpur ...	9	5	187 0	4	117 0 0	...	...	16	13	218 0	3
Cawnpore ...	142	103	6,157 0	39	1,547 0 0	Nil	Nil	338	291	7,272 0	43
Etawah	39	20	449 0	18	640 0 0	1	120 0	74	63	989 0	11
Mirzapur ...	19	12	599 0	7	164 0 0	...	...	67	58	895 8	9
Shahjahanpur ...	23	17	840 8	6	195 0 0	...	...	80	46	817 0	34
Gorakhpur ...	42	21	571 0	21	892 0 0	...	...	64	55	895 0	9
Jaunpur ...	18	11	6,684 0	7	1,308 0 0	...	...	54	36	5,064 0	18
Bisalpur ...	5	4	167 0	1	9 0 0	...	...	14	10	140 4	3
Bareilly... ...	151	67	2,336 0	84	2,384 0 0	...	...	335	187	5,003 0	146
Budaun	13	3	64 0	1	641 0 0	...	...	69	11	92 0	58
Ujhani	13	11	375 8	2	28 8 0	...	...	16	12	371 0	4
Sahaswan ...	11	3	130 8	8	301 8 0	...	...	...	...	...	...
Tilhar	9	1	40 0	8	310 0 0	...	...	16	4	96 0	12
Bijnor	6	...	...	6	3,120 0 0	...	...	21	13	1,440 0	8
Najibabad ...	20	7	214 0	13	221 0 0	...	...	4	1	17 0	3
Nagina ...	8	1	11 0	7	178 0 0	...	...	5	1	10 0	4
Dhampur ...	13	5	102 0	8	191 0 0	...	...	9	7	88 0	2
Chandpur ...	4	...	...	4	110 0 0	...	...	2	...	...	2
Pilibhit ...	17	11	431 0	6	10- 0 0	...	...	64	51	455 0	13
Jhansi ...	52	33	1,013 0	19	479 0 0	...	...	93	86	1,413 0	7
Orai ...	10	7	224 0	3	55 8 0	...	...	11	6	104 0	5
Fyzabad ...	14	11	658 0	3	86 0 0	...	...	80	69	959 0	10
Tanda ...	9	5	133 0	4	154 0 0	...	...	18	13	136 0	5
Gonda ...	14	12	237 0	1	8 0 0	1	10 0(?)	6	6	81 0	...
Balrampur ...	10	6	126 0	3	68 0 0	1	40 0	20	16	207 8	4

the number and pay of employees in the various Municipalities of the United Provinces.

tional.			Conservancy.							Medical.		
Pay of Muslims.	Number of Christians.	Pay of Christians.	Total number of employees.	Number of Hindus.	Pay of Hindus.	Number of Muslims.	Pay of Muslims.	Number of Christians.	Pay of Christians.	Total number of employees.	Number of Hindus.	Pay of Hindus.
Rs. a.		Rs. a.			Rs. a.		Rs. a.		Rs. a			Rs. a.
173 0	Nil	Nil	18	5	147 8	13	221 8	Nil	Nil	1	1	308 0 Pay of M. O. H.
Nil	...	...	72	63	4,476 0	9	1,224 0	...	...	Nil	Nil	Nil
1,105 0	1	150 0	99	46	1,449 0	51	1,456 0	2	61 0	29	19	965 0
60 0	Nil	Nil	53	48	396 0	5	44 0	Nil	Nil	2	1	25 0
988 0	4	120 0	123	92	3,237 0	29	1,159 0	2	68 0	13	12	478 0
150 0	...	...	217	204	1,743 0	13	142 0	...	...	6	3	287 0
174 0	...	...	418	304	1,964 0	114	1,005 0	...	...	1	1	49 0
566 8	...	...	28	10	217 8	18	400 8	...	...	4	1	25 0
			425	297	1,498 0	128	633 8					
135 0	...	...	539	415	2,807 0	104	734 0	20	134	..	...	...
2,556 0	...	...	13	5	1,404 0	8	1,212 0	...	...	...	...	...
33 8	(1) Sweepers.	1 0	48	1	9 8	(9) Bhisties out of 9.	80 0	(38) Sweepers.	235 8	...	...	...
3,908 0	2	475 0	53	20	817 0	33	961 0	...	...	8	4	124 0
599 0	...	...	268	167	1,320 0	53	577 0	48	336 0	...	...	...
77 8	...	...	698	53	490 8	15	106 0	...	...	2	2	20 0
...	...	...	74	...	...	7	108 0	67	399 0	...	...	...
187 0	...	...	9	3	52 0	5	177 0	1	17 0	...	...	...
1,344 0	...	...	84	71	6,636 0	13	1,368 0	...	...	...	...	...
239 0	...	...	90	75	517 0	15	187 0	...	...	1	...	...
62 0	..	...	4	2	27 0	2	90 0	...	...	1	1	10 0
17 3	...	...	57	45	246 4	12	106 4	..	...	1	1	20 0
26 0	...	...	40	34	236 0	6	47 8	...	...	...	...	...
241 8	...	...	252	199	1,390 3	52	258 8	1	91 14	...	...	...
117 0	...	...	308	281	2,460 0	27	286 8	...	...	3	3	85 0
74 8	...	...	56	54	427 8	2	15 0	...	...	4	1	45 0
161 0	1	30 0	14	10	284 0	4	69 0	...	...	5	5	57 0
78 0	...	...	4	...	...	4	70 8	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	4	1	85 0	3	42 0	...	...	...	...	...
62 0	...	...	62	57	405 0	5	42 8	...	...	3	1	70 0

Answer to Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan's Council question in February, 1928, on

Name of municipal board.	Office Establishment.							Educa-			
	Total number of employees.	Number of Hindus.	Pay of Hindus.	Number of Muslims.	Pay of Muslims.	Number of Christians.	Pay of Christians.	Total number of employees.	Number of Hindus.	Pay of Hindus.	Number of Muslims.
			Rs. a.		Rs. a. p.		Rs. a.			Rs. a.	
Bahraich ...	4	3	258 0	1	42 0 0	...	...	22	8	154 0	14
Sultanpur ...	15	10	296 0	5	64 0 0	...	...	23	18	171 0	5
Bela (Partabgarh) ...	9	8	258 0	1	4 0 0	...	...	10	6	103 0	4
Nawabganj (Bara Banki) ...	67	36	393 0	31	484 0 0	...	...	12	7	74 0	5
Mainpuri ...	33	28	8,124 0	5	1,224 0 0	...	...	14	13	2,880 0	1
Firozabad ...	5	3	165 0	1	25 0 0	1	33 0	12	10	174 0	2
Atrauli ...	3	1	960 0	2	264 0 0	...	...	12	9	1,484 0	3
Hathras ...	48	33	1,066 0	15	294 0 0	...	...	30	30	592 0	...
Sikandra Rao ...	5	2	100 0	3	77 0 0	...	...	3	3	44 0	...
Aligarh ...	21	13	1,335 0	8	201 0 0	...	...	90	49	875 0	27
Etah ...	7	6	219 0	1	12 0 0	...	...	14	11	193 0	3
Kasganj ...	11	11	335 0	...	...	...	...	16	13	217 0	3
Jalesar ...	5	5	200 0	...	...	...	...	16	12	164 0	4
Soron ...	8	7	289 0	1	10 0 0	...	...	19	18	285 0	1
Brindaban ...	7	7	314 0	...	...	...	...	38	38	647 0	...
Muttra ...	75	45	1,434 0	30	380 8 0	...	...	82	78	1,288 8	4
Agra ...	211	96	3,118 10	115	2,248 8 0	...	...	163	122	2,596 8	39
Naini Tal ...	31	31	1,294 0	...	...	...	...	10	9	233 0	1
Almora ...	7	7	284 0	...	...	...	...	11	8	116 0	3
Kashipur ...	4	4	221 0	...	...	...	...	13	11	215 0	2
Ballia ...	16	15	432 0	1	40 0 0	...	...	...	...	...	...
Lucknow ...	443	244	6,508 0	198	5,271 0 0	1	12 0	449	312	6,216 0	130
Unao ...	6	5	204 0	1	20 0 0	...	...	14	11	190 8	3
Rae Bareli ...	9	7	282 4	2	26 0 0	...	...	30	22	286 12	8
Sitapur ...	14	12	479 0	2	38 0 0	...	...	28	23	383 0	5
Khairabad ...	11	9	210 12	2	22 8 0	...	...	10	5	55 8	5
Hardoi ...	11	8	218 0	3	67 0 0	...	...	30	27	370 8	3
Shahabad ...	24	11	227 8	13	132 8 0	...	...	31	23	425 0	8
Sandila ...	7	3	136 0	4	81 0 0	...	...	14	4	53 0	10
Lakhimpur ...	32	30	627 8	2	35 0 0	...	...	23	20	325 0	3

the number and pay of employees in the various Municipalities of the United Provinces.

tional.			Conservancy.							Medical.		
Pay of Muslims.	Number of Christians.	Pay of Christians.	Total number of employees.	Number of Hindus.	Pay of Hindus.	Number of Muslims.	Pay of Muslims.	Number of Christians.	Pay of Christians.	Total number of employees.	Number of Hindus.	Pay of Hindus.
Rs. a.		Rs. a.			Rs. a.		Rs. a.		Rs. a.			Rs. a.
220 0	...	...	5	3	110 0	2	24 0	...	...	2	1	15 0
96 0	...	...	52	45	280 0	7	46 0	...	...	...	...	...
57 0	...	...	48	25	217 0	21	156 0	2	34 0	...	...	...
85 0	...	...	87	75	410 0	12	98 0	...	...	3	1	30 0
204 0	...	...	96	95	565 0	1	108 0	...	...	2	1	180 0
21 0	...	...	5	3	88 0	2	28 0	...	...	...	...	...
624 0	...	...	65	63	3,706 0	2	264 0	...	...	4	2	108 8
...	...	...	214	158(?)	1,874 8	55	503 0	1	30 0	...	...	...
...	...	...	53	1	6 0	8	101 0	44	324 0	...	...	...
330 0	14	8 0	333(?)	5	206 0	91	830 0	297	2,484 0	...	...	...
71 8	...	...	94	79	532 0	15	94 0	...	...	2	1	30 0
43 0	...	...	137	80	691 0	26	196 0	31	217 0	1	...	...
63 0	...	...	67	63	397 0	4	38 0	...	...	...	...	...
15 0	...	...	3	1	10 0	2	40 0	...	...	3	2	47 0
...	...	...	89	64	687 0	25	328 0	...	...	...	...	...
81 0	...	...	29	12	252 8	16	264 8	1	82 0	5	4	86 0
725 0	2	85 0	82	30	1,306 0	51	1,316 0	1	12 0	13	6	164 0
20 0	...	...	4	4	109 0	...	...	...	...	30	22	458 0
43 0	...	...	79	79	828 8	...	...	...	...	1	1	35 0
50 0	...	...	60	48	367 0	12	106 0	...	...	13	9	211 0
...	...	...	90	87	522 0	3	31 0	...	...	...	...	...
2,967 0	7	630 0	130	63	1,886 0	67	1,345 0	...	...	28	16	592 0
59 0	...	...	3	1	18 0	2	32 0	...	...	...	...	...
127 4	...	...	106	87	658 8	18	171 0	1	100 0	...	...	...
92 0	...	...	8	4	56 0	4	144 0	...	...	3	1	30 0
81 0	...	...	42	38	166 12	4	43 0	...	...	...	...	...
66 0	...	...	85	74	414 12	11	141 0	...	...	4	2	85 0
84 0	...	...	9	1	81 0	8	84 0	...	...	1	...	...
145 0	...	...	66	64	341 0	2	23 8	...	...	1	...	...
56 0	...	...	96	78	702 0	18	188 0	...	...	5	3	58 0

Answer to Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan's Council question in February, 1928, on

Name of municipal board.	Office Establishment.							Educa-			
	Total number of employees.	Number of Hindus.	Pay of Hindus.	Number of Muslims.	Pay of Muslims.	Number of Christians.	Pay of Christians.	Total number of employees.	Number of Hindus.	Pay of Hindus.	Number of Muslims.
			Rs. a		Rs. a. p.		Rs. a.			Rs. a.	
Dehra Dun ...	43	28	1,063 0	15	437 0 0	...	...	3	3	61 0	...
Mussoorie ...	34	31	1,343 8	3	170 0 0	...	...	14	13	810 12	1
Saharanpur ...	14	4	496 0	10	298 0 0	...	...	...	...	...	...
Hardwar Union ...	14	14	738 0	...	...	...	...	10	9	290 0	1
Deoband ...	34	3	60 8	31	626 1 4	...	...	...	...	...	...
Roorkee ...	12	8	369 0	4	103 0 0	...	...	14	10	199 0	4
Muzaffarnagar ...	56	24	594 0	32	752 0 0	...	...	20	16	363 0	4
Kairana ...	9	4	180 0	5	89 0 0	...	...	13	5	126 0	8
Meerut ...	26	18	914 0	7	198 0 0	1	165 0	185	113	1,508 0	71
Ghaziabad ...	11	9	319 0	2	71 0 0	...	...	11	10	182 0	1
Hapur ...	12	5	131 0	7	454 0 0	...	...	...	...	...	...
Baraut ...	7	6	167 0	1	25 0 0	...	...	3	2	30 0	1
Bulandshahr ...	15	9	450 0	6	114 0 0	...	...	37	35	609 0	2
Khurja ...	13	5	132 0	8	299 0 0	...	...	4	4	48 0	...
Sikandrabad ...	30	15	317 0	15	425 0 0	...	...	15	12	176 0	3
Moradabad ...	22	4	156 0	17	792 0 0	1	90 0	279	155	1,712 0	123
Chandausi ...	7	7	336 0	...	...	...	...	35	30	491 0	5
Sambhal ...	5	1	19 0	4	216 0 0	...	...	48	29	249 0	19
Amroha ...	9	7	323 0	2	32 0 0	...	...	43	27	327 0	16
Benares ...	333	201	5,351 0	131	2,921 0 0	1	46 0	223	201	4,395 0	20
Ghazipur ...	45	17	672 0	28	349 0 0	...	...	47	34	771 0	13
Grand Total ...	2,686	1,579	71,151 0	1,099	32,507 0 0	8	656 0	4,003	2,921	65,594 0	1,048

the number and pay of employees in the various Municipalities of the United Provinces.

tional.			Conservancy.							Medical.		
Pay of Muslims.	Number of Christians.	Pay of Christians.	Total number of employees.	Number of Hindus.	Pay of Hindus.	Number of Muslims.	Pay of Muslims.	Number of Christians.	Pay of Christians.	Total number of employees.	Number of Hindus.	Pay of Hindus.
Rs. a.		Rs. a.			Rs. a.		Rs. a.		Rs. a.			Rs. a.
...	...	...	10	4	91 0	6	113	...	...	5	4	155 0
53 4	...	...	11	9	302 0	2	230 0	...	...	8	3	134 0
...	...	...	418	323	2,761 0	95	1,279 0	1	50	...	...	...
30 0	...	...	208	188	2,797 0	20	276 0	...	...	8	8	163 0
...	...	...	89	67	463 0	22	223 12	...	...	...	...	...
103 0	...	...	2	1	76 0	1	19 0	...	...	...	...	...
69 0	...	...	6	4	170 0	2	73 0	...	...	2	1	20 0
234 0	...	...	71	55	287 0	16	1,352 0	...	...	...	...	...
830 0	1	44 0	8	4	288 0	4	316 0	...	...	6	4	117 0
18 0	...	...	39	38	412 0	1	15 0	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	7	4	138 0	3	61 0	...	...	8	3	40 0
13 0	...	...	47	39	291 0	8	68 0	...	...	...	...	...
33 0	...	...	106	80	687 0	26	312 0	...	...	2	1	25 0
...	...	...	156	95	706 8	26	258 8	35	393 0	..	...	...
49 0	...	...	90	69	559 0	21	170 0	...	...	5	1	10 0
2,055 0	1	80 0	581	408	2,953 0	173	1,805 0	...	...	4	3	120 0
81 0	...	...	161	138	1,185 0	23	166 0	...	...	4	4	95 0
241 0	...	...	156	129	733 0	27	212 0	...	...	8	5	238 0
236 0	...	...	162	143	915 0	19	115 0	...	...	2	...	..
413 0	2	50 0	63	36	973 0	27	719 0	...	...	24	18	539 0
302 0	...	...	8	3	42 0	5	144 0	..	...	1	...	...
24,321 0	36	1,673 0	8,196	5,828	(?) 20,622 0	1,775	27,497 0	593	5,168 0	292	183	6,348 0

Answer to Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan's Council question in February, 1928, on the

Name of the municipal board.	Medical—(*contd.*).				Veterinary.							Arbori-	
	Number of Muslims.	Pay of Muslims.	Number of Christians.	Pay of Christians.	Total number of employees.	Number of Hindus.	Pay of Hindus.	Number of Muslims.	Pay of Muslims.	Number of Christians.	Pay of Christians.	Total number of employees	Number of Hindus.
		Rs. a.		Rs. a.			Rs. a.		Rs. a.		Rs. a.		
Farrukhabad ...	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	1	Nil	Nil	1	20 0	Nil	Nil	12	12
Kanauj	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	1	Nil
Allahabad ...	9	267 0	1	50 0	52	18	762 0	34	704 0	..	...	24	24
Fatehpur ...	1	25 0	Nil	Nil	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	1
Cawnpore ...	1	50 0	Nil	Nil	4	Nil	Nil	4	134 0	Nil	Nil	15	14
Etawah	2	160 0	1	30 0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	5
Mirzapur ...	...	...	...	...	2	2	55 0	...	...	..	..	6	6
Shahjahanpur ...	2	85 0	1	25 0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	12	9
Gorakhpur ...	...	...	...	...	1	1	15 0	...	...	...	...	8	7
Jaunpur ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1
Bisalpur ...	...	...	....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bareilly	4	117 0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	35	35
Budaun	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	15	9
Ujhani	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1
Sahaswan ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1
Tilhar	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	5 0	...	...	...	...
Bijnor	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	1
Najibabad ...	...	...	1	50 0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2
Nagina	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Dhampur	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chandpur	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Pilibhit	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	8
Jhansi	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	2	75 0	...	...	10	10
Orai ... 3	70 0	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...
Fyzabad	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	2	52 0	...	...	27	24
Tanda	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...
Gonda	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	10 0	...	...	4 (2) temporary.	4
Balrampur ...	2	36 0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

the number and pay of employees in the various Municipalities of the United Provinces.

culture.						Miscellaneous.						
Pay of Hindus.	Number of Muslims.	Pay of Muslims.	Number of Christians.	Pay of Christians.	Total number of employees.	Number of Hindus.	Pay of Hindus.	Number of Muslims.	Pay of Muslims.	Number of Christians.	Pay of Christians.
Rs. a.		Rs. a.		Rs. a.			Rs. a.		Rs. a.		Rs. a.
158 0	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	80	31	496 0	49	768 8	Nil	Nil
Nil	1	240 0	...	...	12	6	1,092 0	6	612 0	...	...
404 0	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	596	400	13,488 0	195	5,882 0	1	60 0
9 0	1	10 0	Nil	Nil	40	15	260 8	25	364 0	Nil	Nil
280 0	1	14 0	Nil	Nil	434 (1359) temporary	329 (1235) temporary	9,189 0 (13,816) temporary	101 (124) temporary	2,589 0 (1,557) temporary	2 (2) others	50 0 (705) others
64 0	...	...	...	...	46	27	351 0	19	201 0	...	...
96 0	...	...	...	..	162 (?)	119	1,933 0	43	718 0	...	...
90 0	3	32 8	...	...	126	45	779 0	81	1,517 0	...	...
63 0	1	10 0	...	...	145	96	1,161 0	49	786 0	...	...
84 0	...	...	...	..	57	19	2,496 0	38	7,080 0	...	...
...	...	...	...	..	25	14	158 0	10	139 4	(1) Sweeper	5 4
396 0	...	...	...	...	37	10	208 0	29	694 0	...	...
98 0	6	63 0	...	..	74	9	184 0	65	991 0	...	...
22 0	...	...	...	...	8	3	29 8	5	85 0	...	...
9 0	...	...	...	...	14	1	7 8	13	84 0	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	134	13	177 0	39	395 0	82	549 0
150 0	1	132 0	...	...	30	9	1,866 0	21	4,410 0	...	...
27 0	...	...	...	...	10	1	13 0	9	159 0	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	8	...	...	8	168 0	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	7	5	97 0	2	27 0	...	...
88 0	...	...	...	...	41	14	201 0	27	456 0	...	...
104 0	...	...	...	...	68	42	694 8	26	398 0	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	7	5	67 0	2	32 0	...	...
757 0	3	80 0	...	...	111	86	1,296 0	25	407 0	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	2	1	21 0	1	15 0	...	...
10 0	...	...	...	...	38	32	462 0	6	102 0	...	...
...	...	...		...	5	3	43 8	2	23 0	...	...

Answer to Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan's Council question in February, 1928, on the

Name of municipal board.	Medical—(*contd.*).				Veterinary.							Arbori-	
	Number of Muslims.	Pay of Muslims.	Number of Christians.	Pay of Christians.	Total number of employees.	Number of Hindus.	Pay of Hindus.	Number of Muslims.	Pay of Muslims.	Number of Christians.	Pay of Christians.	Total number of employees.	Number of Hindus.
		Rs. a.		Rs. a.			Rs. a.		Rs. a.		Rs. a.		
Bahraich ...	1	30 0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1
Sultanpur ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	9
Bela (Partabgarh) ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	4	4
Nawabganj (Bara Banki) ...	2	50 0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	5	5
Mainpuri ...	1	180 0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Firozabad ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Atrauli ...	...	...	2	1,440 0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1
Hathras ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1
Sikandra Rao ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
Aligarh ...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	85 0	...	...	19	12
Etah ...	1	30 0	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	7	7
Kasganj ...	...	...	1	35 0	1	...	...	1	10 0	...	...	1	1
Jalesar ...	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Soron ...	...	...	1	60 0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1
Brindaban ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Muttra	1	10 0	...	...	3	1	12 0	2	100 0	...	...	19	12
Agra	5	114 0	1 1 Parsi.	90 0 650 0	7	...	...	7	142 0	...	...	11	1
Naini Tal ...	2	24 0	6	290 0	3	2	23 0	1	66 0	...	...	1	1
Almora ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kashipur ...	2	5 0	2	69 0	1	...	...	1	5 0 Allowance to V.A.	...	...	1	...
Ballia	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1
Lucknow ...	12	298 0	...	...	3	...	...	3	246 0	...	...	48	38
Unao	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rae Bareli ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	11	11
Sitapur	2	30 0	...	...	1	...	...	1	10 0	...	...	1	1
Khairabad ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Hardoi ...	2	50 0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	8
Shahabad ...	1	15 0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1
Sandila ...	1	25 0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

number and pay of employees in the various Municipalities of the United Provinces.

culture.						Miscellaneous.						
Pay of Hindus.	Number of Muslims.	Pay of Muslims.	Number of Christians.	Pay of Christians.	Total number of employees.	Number of Hindus.	Pay of Hindus.	Number of Muslims.	Pay of Muslims.	Number of Christians.	Pay of Christians.
Rs. a.		Rs. a.		Rs. a.			Rs a.		Rs. a.		Rs. a.
15 0	...	...	...	...	18	4	110 0	14	245 0	...	...
66 0	...	...	...	...	8	4	29 0	4	50 0	...	...
40 0	...	...	...	...	10	8	120 0	2	17 0	...	...
36 0	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	..	...	10	10	1,236 0	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	26	13	190 0	13	203 0	...	...
120 0	...	...	...	...	48	13	1,980 0	35	3,513 0	...	...
19 0	...	...	..	...	26	16	269 0	10	215 0	...	...
...	1	10 0	...	...	24	7	61 0	15	206 0	2	12 0
151 0	5	50 0	2	29 0	267	49	1,157 0	210	1,821 0	8	96 0
92 0	...	...	...	...	30	20	279 0	10	213 0	...	...
12 0	...	...	...	...	20	18	253 0	11	157 0	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	33	17	214 0	16	155 0	...	...
12 0	...	...	...	...	34	19	237 0	15	206 8	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	10	8	162 0	2	30 0	...	...
179 0	7	107 0	...	...	40	26	848 0	13	254 0	1	275 0
10 0	10	135 0	...	...	273	170	2,903 0	96	1,622 0	4 3 Parsis.	144 0 990 0
20 0	...	...	...	...	84	81	2,219 0	3	193 0	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	36	35	501 8	1	15 0	...	...
...	1	4 0	...	...	10	8	129 0	2	29 0	...	...
9 0	...	...	...	...	10	9	125 0	1	7 0	...	...
425 0	10	167 0	...	...	305	210	5,206 0	90	2,092 0	5	1,735 0
...	...	...	...	...	26	14	313 8	12	156 0	...	...
118 8	...	...	...	...	49	30	389 8	19	239 8	...	...
30 0	...	...	...	...	47	21	400 0	26	475 0	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	14	8	64 0	6	94 0	...	...
104 0	...	...	...	...	8	1	17 0	7	81 0	...	...
9 0	...	...	...	...	28	11	104 0	17	201 0	...	...
..	...	..	...	...	34	8	70 0	26	304 0	...	...

Answer to Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan's Council question in February, 1928, on the

Name of the municipal board.	Medical—(*contd.*)				Veterinary.							Arbor	
	Number of Muslims.	Pay of Muslims.	Number of Christians.	Number of Christians.	Total number of employees.	Number of Muslims.	Pay of Hindus.	Number of Muslims.	Pay of Muslims.	Number of Christians.	Pay of Christians.	Total number of employees.	Number of Hindus.
		Rs. a.		Rs. a.			Rs. a		Rs a.		Rs.		
Lakhimpur ...	1	25 0	1	35 0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	4
Dehra Dun ...	1	100 0	...	...	1	...	...	1	135 0	...	...	...	...
Mussoorie ...	4	89 0	1	45 0	1	...	...	1	76 0	...	...	1	1
Saharanpur ...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	2	29 0	...	...	11	9
Hardwar Union ...	...	...	...	...	2	2	71 0	...	...	...	...	4	4
Deoband ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Roorkee ...	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1
Muzaffarnagar ...	1	20 0	...	...	1	...	...	1	10 0	...	...	15	7
Kairana ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Meerut ...	1	25 0	1	40 0	1	...	...	1	8 0	...	...	10	8
Ghaziabad ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	2	2
Hapur	3	42 0	2	104 0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	1
Baraut	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bulandshahr ...	1	20 0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	2
Khurja ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1
Sikandrabad ...	2	47 0	2	100 0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...
Moradabad ...	1	50 0	...	...	2	...	...	2	109 0	...	...	16	15
Chandausi ...	...	...	...	...	1	5	57 0	...	...	...	...	5	5
Sambhal ...	2	51 0	1	20 0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	1
Amroha ...	2	95 0	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Benares ...	6	198 0	...	...	2	2	84 0	...	...	...	...	22	21
Ghazipur ...	1	20 0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...
Grand Total ...	83	2,453 0	26	3,133 0	103	33	1,079 0	70	2,031 0	...	...	447	372

number and pay of employees in the various Municipalities of the United Provinces.

culture.					Miscellaneous.							
Pay of Hindus.	Number of Muslims.	Pay of Muslims.	Number of Christians.	Pay of Christians.	Total number of employees.	Number of Hindus.	Pay of Hindus.	Number of Muslims.	Pay of Muslims.	Number of Christians.	Pay of Christians.
Rs. a.		Rs. a.		Rs.			Rs. a.		Rs. a.		Rs. a.
35 8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	35	31	703 0	4	95 0	...	...
15 0	...	...	...	...	152	138	3,850 8	14	927 0	...	...
104 0	2	20 0	...	...	91	43	827 0	48	874 0	...	...
56 0	...	...	...	...	98	78	2,113 0	20	227 0	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
13 0	...	...	...	...	25	13	85 0	12	122 0	...	...
108 0	8	101 0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	28	5	81 0	23	293 0	...	...
106 0	2	18 0	...	...	227	124	2,756 0	102	1,953 0	1	470 0
27 0	...	...	...	...	57	36	540 0	21	211 0	...	...
15 0	1	10 0	...	...	51	24	368 0	27	419 8	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	3	57 0	...	...
48 0	3	33 0	...	...	42	29	576 0	13	205 0	...	...
11 0	...	...	...	...	47	18	333 0	29	430 0	...	...
...	3	29 0	...	...	14	9	166 0	5	42 0	...	...
197 0	1	9 0	...	...	105	49	815 0	55	1,144 0	1	170 0
57 0	...	...	...	...	35	24	382 0	11	206 0	...	...
9 0	1	9 0	...	...	73	24	273 0	49	557 0	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	62	23	313 0	38	442 0	1	35
208 0	1	11 0	...	...	232	219	6,627 0	9	321 0	4	168 0
...	...	...	...	...	11	3	113 0	8	89 0	...	...
5,381 0	73	1,295 0	2	29	6,601	4,298	91,099 0	2,187	52,080 0	116	5,467 0

Summary of the total Number and Pay of Employees employed in District Boards, United Provinces, which details are given in the foregoing list.

Department.	No. of Employees.				Pay of Employees.			
	Hindus.	Muslims.	Christians.	Total.	Hindus.	Muslims.	Christians.	Total.
					Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Office Establishment ...	941	245	4	1,190	77,222 8 0	12,756 8 0	5,580 0 0	95,559 0 0
Educational	29,080	4,381	25	33,486	9,72,352 14 0	1,15,724 6 0	519 0 0	10,88,596 4 0
Conservancy	143	49	...	194	6,524 0 0	1,456 0 0	..	7,980 0 0
Medical	1,809	500	52	2,361	1,01,796 8 0	36,274 8 0	7,886 0 0	1,45,957 0 0
Veterinary	204	297	...	501	5,314 8 0	15,130 14 0	...	20,445 6 0
Arboriculture	485	75	1	561	17,931 8 0	2,509 4 0	480 0 0	20,920 12 0
Miscellaneous	2,734	1,293	7	4,034	77,376 0 0	24,615 1 0	9,16 8 0	1,02,907 9 0
Total ...	35,396	6,840	89	42,327	12,58,517 14 0	20,84,669 0 0	15,381 8 0	14,82,365 15 0

Statement showing Nationality of the Clerks in the Office of Inspector-General of Police, United Provinces, including Camp Clerks of Deputy Inspector-General, Inspector-General and Assistant to Inspector-General, supplied by the Government in answer to a question asked by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, in the U. P. Legislative Council, in March, 1928.

Designation.	Grade.	Europeans.	Hindus.	Muslims.	Percentage of Europeans	Percentage of Hindus	Percentage of Muslims	Remarks.
1 Superintendent	On 360—24—480 ...	1	...	...	100 %	...	...	
1 Assistant Superintendent ...	„ 240—12—300 ...	...	1	...	...	100 %	...	
1 Head Clerk	„ 265	...	1	...	...	100 %	...	
1 Head Clerk	„ 210	...	1	...	...	100 %	...	
3 Head Clerks	„ 195 each ...	...	3	...	...	100 %	...	
1 Head Clerk	„ 160 „ ...	...	1	...	...	100 %	...	
3 Head Clerks	„ 140 „ ...	...	3	...	...	100 %	...	
8 Assistant Clerks ...	„ 110 „ ...	...	5	3	...	62½ %	37½ %	
6 Do. ...	„ 90 „ ...	...	4	2	...	67 %	33 %	
7 Do. ...	„ 75 „ ...	...	4	3	...	57 %	43 %	
3 Do. ...	„ 70 „ ...	...	3	...	...	100 %	...	
2 Do. ...	„ 65 „ ...	...	2	...	...	100 %	...	
2 Do. ...	„ 60 „ ...	...	1	1	...	50 %	50 %	
2 Do. ...	„ 50 „ ...	...	1	1	...	50 %	50 %	

Designation.	Grade.	Europeans.	Hindus.	Muslims.	Percentage of Europeans.	Percentage of Hindus.	Percentage of Muslims.	Remarks.
2 Assistant Clerks ...	„ 45 „ ...	...	1	1	...	50 %	50 %	
6 Do. ...	„ 40 „ ...	...	5	1	...	83 %	17 %	
1 Stenographer	„ 105—7—140 ...	...	1	...	...	100 %	...	
4 Stenographers	„ 90—5—105—7—140	...	4	...	...	100 %	...	

Statement showing the Number of Hindus and Muslims in each grade in the Ministerial Establishment of the Government Railway Police Offices, supplied by the Government in answer to a question asked by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, in the U. P. Legislative Council, in March, 1928.

Serial No.	Designation.	Grade.	Assistant to Inspector-General of Police Railways Office.		A Section.		B Section.		C Section.		Sub-section "C."		Total.		Percentage.		Remarks.
			Hindus.	Muslims.	Hindus.	Muslims.	Hindus.	Muslims.	Hindus.	Muslims.	Hindus.	Muslims.	Hindus.	Muslims.	Hindus.	Muslims.	
							English Office.										
1	Head Clerk ...	150-5-175	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	
2	Head Clerks ...	150-0-0	...	...	1	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	
3	Accountants ...	120-0-0	1	...	1	...	1	...	1	...	...	..	4	..	...	...	
4	Clerks ...	100-0-0	2	...	1	1	2	...	...	...	1	...	6	1	85·71	14·29	
5	Clerks ...	80-0-0	1	1	2	...	1	...	1	...	1	...	6	1	85·71	14·29	
6	Clerks ...	65-0-0	1	...	2	...	2	...	2	...	...	...	7	...	...	...	
7	Clerks ..	55-0-0	1	...	3	...	2	...	1	...	...	...	7	...	...	..	
8	Clerks ...	45-0-0	...	...	1	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	

Serial No.	Designation.	Grade.	Assistant to Inspector-General of Police Railways Office.		A Section.		B Section.		C. Section.		Sub-section "C."		Total.		Percentage.		Remarks.
			Hindus.	Muslims.	Hindus.	Muslims.	Hindus.	Muslims.	Hindus.	Muslims.	Hindus.	Muslims.	Hindus.	Muslims.	Hindus.	Muslims.	
9	Clerks ...	40-0-0	...	...	1	...	1	...	2	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	
10	Apprentices ...	20-0-0	...	1	1	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	3	1	75	25	
	Total ...	...	7	2	13	1	12	...	10	...	2	...	44	3	...	...	
	VERNACULAR OFFICE.																
1	Record Keeper ...	45-0-0	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	1	...	...	1	2	33·33	66·67	
2	Moharrirs ...	40-0-0	...	...	...	2	1	1	1	...	...	...	2	3	40	60	
3	Moharrirs ...	25-0-0	...	...	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	6	6	50	50	
4	Moharrirs ...	22-0-0	...	...	...	1	1	...	..	1	...	...	1	2	33·33	66·67	
	Total ...	....	...	...	2	6	5	3	2	3	1	1	10	13			

Statement showing the Number of Muslims and Hindus in each Grade for each District Police Office in the United Provinces and their percentage to total number in each Grade, supplied by the Government in answer to a question asked by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, in the U. P. Legislative Council, in March, 1928.

Serial No.	Districts.	Muslims.																		Hindus.																			
		Head Clerks.			Accountants.			Assistant Clerks.				Assistant Accountants.				Record Keeper.			Daftri.		Head Clerks.			Accountants.			Assistant Clerks.				Assistant Accountants.				Record Keeper.				Daftri.		
		1st Class Rs. 150.	2nd Class Rs. 125.	3rd Class Rs. 100.	1st Class Rs. 120.	2nd Class Rs. 100.	3rd Class Rs. 80.	1st Class Rs. 65.	2nd Class Rs. 60.	3rd Class Rs. 50.	4th Class Rs. 40.	1st Class Rs. 60.	2nd Class Rs. 50.	3rd Class Rs 45.	4th Class Rs. 40.	1st Class Rs. 45.	2nd Class Rs. 40.	Assistant Record Keeper Rs. 25.	Despatcher Rs. 22.	1st Class Rs. 13.	2nd Class Rs. 12.	1st Class Rs. 150.	2nd Class Rs. 125.	3rd Class Rs. 100.	1st Class Rs. 120.	2nd Class Rs. 100.	3rd Class Rs. 80.	1st Class Rs. 65.	2nd Class Rs. 60	3rd Class Rs. 50.	4th Class Rs. 40.	1st Class Rs. 60.	2nd Class Rs. 50.	3rd Class Rs. 45.	4th Class Rs. 40.	1st Class Rs. 45.	2nd Class Rs. 40.	Assistant Record Keeper Rs. 25.	Despatcher Rs. 22.	1st Class Rs 13.	2nd Class Rs. 12.	Remarks.
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	
1	Dehra Dun ...	..	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	1	...	...	...	..	...	...	1	1	..	..	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
2	Saharanpur ...	...	..	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	1	1	1	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	..	..	1	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	
3	Muzaffarnagar ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	..	1	..	1	...	...	.	.	1	..	1	...	...	...	...	...	
4	Meerut	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	..	...	1	1	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	2	2	..	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	..	
5	Bulandshahr ...	..	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	..	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	..	.	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	
6	Aligarh	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	..	...	...	...	1	1	1	1	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	.	...	..	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
7	Muttra	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	
8	Agra	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	..	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	1	2	...	...	...	2	...	..	..	...	1	1	...	...	
9	Mainpuri	..	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	..	1	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	.	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	.	...	...	..	
10	Etah	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	..	..	2	..	...	...	...	1	...	1	..	...	...	...	1	
11	Bareilly	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	1	...	1	...	1	...	...	..	1	...	1	...	...	2	1	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	.	...	1	...	..	
12	Bijnor	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	..	1	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	..	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	
13	Budaun	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	..	...	1	.	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	

| Serial No. | Districts. | Muslims. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Hindus. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

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LIBRARY
OF THE
BOMBAY
BRANCH
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

APPENDIX

EDUCATION

Note on the Representation of University Teachers on University bodies.

The representation of University teachers on University bodies is, if kept within limits, necessary for the efficient working of the University. We are, however, of the opinion that the amount of representation of University bodies is excessive, and should be limited. We recommend that a proportion should be fixed for University teachers, both in the Executive Council, and in the Court. We recommend that teachers in the University shall not exceed one-fifth of the total membership of the Court and the Executive Council. We do so because we feel that the participation of an excessive number of teachers in the management of an institution by which they are employed reacts unfavourably on their teaching and scholarship. Cliques are formed, and university politics, which, in our opinion, is narrower, more petty and personal than national politics absorbs the time and attention of teachers which ought to be devoted to the pursuit of knowledge, and the organisation of their researches. Parties are formed among teachers; and canvassing for membership of the Executive Council takes many undesirable forms.

As regards the Academic Council, we are of the opinion that its size should be reduced. It will become, then, more efficient, and, we hope a business-like body. At the present time, it is more like an *Academic Parliament*, where numbers count more than status or experience.

We may draw your attention to the fact that both the principles propounded above are recognised and acted upon by many English Universities. As regards the limitation of the representation of University teachers in the executive bodies, and the supreme authorities of the Universities, we need only cite the instance of Armstrong College, where the executive body of 57 members does not include any representative of the teaching staff as full members, though the Professors may attend its meetings without vote. The supreme authority of this institution includes only 2 representatives elected by and from among the Professors. Again, the Statutes, and Charter of Birmingham University lay down that not more than a quarter of the members are to be members of the Academic body, which is here called the Senate. This includes the Deans of the Faculties, and a representative of the Faculty of Medicine, elected by that Faculty; while, in the Court of the University, only the Deans of the Faculties and Professors of the University are included. In the Leeds University, it is laid down by Statutes 11 (a), that teaching members are not to exceed one-fifth of the executive body; while, actually it contains only five representatives from Faculties. The size of the body is 44. The Court of this University contains 212 members, of whom there are only ten representatives from the Faculties. The University of Wales has gone even further, for its executive body of 19 does not contain a single member of the teaching staff; while its Court of Governors containing about 263 members, includes 4 persons appointed by each of the four constituent Colleges, and three persons appointed by the University Teaching Faculty of Medicine. Again, at Aberystwyth, in an executive body of 58 members, there are only two persons other than the Principal, who are members of

the Senate, nominated by the Senate. In University College, Bangor, the executive body of 39 members includes only 3 Professors nominated by the Academic Council; while the supreme authority of 270 members includes 2 Professors elected by their Academic Council, in addition to the 3 Professors elected by the Academic Council to the executive body. Again, in University College, Cardiff, it is laid down in the Charter that in an executive body of 58 members, there will be not more than one Professor elected by the Academic Council. "No other Professor (except the Principal) and no Lecturer shall be a member of the body." In the supreme authority of this College, there are two Professors chosen by the Academic Council. Not more than five members of the Academic Council shall at any time be members of the supreme authority. At Exeter, in an executive body of 34 members, there are only 3 representatives of the Academic Council elected by the latter; while, in the Court of Governors of 150 members, there are only three representatives of the Academic Council elected by the latter. At Nottingham, the executive authority of 22 members includes no representative of the teaching staff. Statute 35 lays down that " each member of the Academic Council shall have right of access to " the executive body. At Southampton, Foundation Ordinance 35 days down, " Except the Principal and the 2 members of the Senate, above mentioned, no Professor, Lecturer or teacher of the College shall be a member of the " executive body, while, in the Court of Governors of 197 members, there are only 3 representatives of the Academic Council appointed thereby.

We may add that we have used the words " Academic Council," and " executive body " for the words " Senate," and " Council " used in most modern English Universities.

From the examples cited above it will be clear that the amount of representation of the teaching staff on the Court and executive bodies of the Universities of the United Provinces is excessive. We are of the opinion that it was a great mistake to make every member of the Academic Council of the Allahabad University, an ex-officio member of the Court. Their number should be curtailed, and the Academic Council should be asked to elect a certain number of representatives to the Court. We are of the opinion that Heads of Departments should be allowed to appear before the Executive Council, with the consent of the latter, and explain any matter in which their department is concerned.

As regards the size of the Academic Council, which is called Senate by many English Universities, we may add that the Senate of Birmingham University contains only 42 members; of Bristol 32; of Leeds, 47; of Manchester, 53; of Reading, 20; of Sheffield, 32; of Durham, 39; the University of Wales, 21; of Aberystwyth, 29; of Bangor, 26; of Cardiff, 28; of Swansea, 17; of Exeter, 19; of Nottingham, 18; and of Southampton, 18. These examples show the need for a small Academic Council, where academic matters can be settled and discussed in a business-like manner, and where flights of parliamentary eloquence and party manoeuvering are positively injurious. The size of the Academic Councils of the Universities should, in our opinion, be reduced by one-third.

We may add that besides the Senate proper, many English Universities also provide for Advisory Bodies to the supreme Academic body. These bodies are undoubtedly large; but the Senate proper is a small body, which is noted for its business-like discussion of academic matters.

Statement showing the Number of Muslims and Non-Muslims in the Universities of Allahabad and Lucknow, compiled for the Committee for the Demands of U. P. Muslims.

Allahabad University.

No. and Percentage.		
Officers		
Vice-Chancellor		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Hindu	1	Full
Total	1	...
Treasurer		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	1	All
(*a*) *Registrar*		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	1	All
(*b*) *Assistant Registrar*		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	1	All
Deans of Faculties		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	4	All
Proctor		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	1	All
Librarian		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	1	All
Authorities Court		
Note.—There are only two Muslims out of thirty members elected by the Registered graduates.		
Muslim	16	14 %
Others	94	85 %

No. and Percentage.		
Executive Council		
Muslim	3	15 %
Others	17	85 %
Note.—Out of 6 *members* elected by the Court only *one is a Muslim* and out of 2 *members* elected by the Academic Council *none is a Muslim.*		
Academic Council		
Muslim	6	10 %
Others	49	90 %
Note.—Out of 5 *members elected* by the Court *none is a Muslim* and out of 8 *members* co-opted only *one is a Muslim.*		
Faculty of Arts		
Muslim	5	16 %
Others	26	84 %
Note.—Out of 18 *members elected* only 3 *are Muslims.*		
Faculty of Science		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	31	All
Note.—Out of 19 *elected members none is a Muslim.*		
Faculty of Law		
Muslim	4	28 %
Others	10	72 %
Faculty of Commerce		
Muslim	1	3 %
Others	26	97 %
Note.—Out of 17 *elected members only one is a Muslim.*		

No. and Percentage.		
Committee of Courses and Studies of the Faculty of Arts		
English		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	7	All
Philosophy		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	7	All
History		
Muslim	1	14 %
Others	6	86 %
Politics		
Muslim	1	14 %
Others	6	86 %
Arabic and Persian		
Muslim	7	All
Others	Nil	Nil
Sanskrit		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	7	All
Urdu		
Muslim	4	57 %
Others	3	43 %
Hindi		
Muslim	1	14 %
Others	6	86 %

No. and Percentage.		
Committee of Courses and Studies in the Faculty of Science		
Physics		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Hindu	5	All
Chemistry		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	6	All
Mathematics		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	6	All
Botany		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	6	All
Zoology		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	6	All
Committee of Courses and Studies in the Faculty of Law		
Law		
Muslim	2	33 %
Others	4	66 %
Committee of Courses and Studies in the Faculty of Commerce		
Commerce		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	8	All
Economics		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	8	All

No. and Percentage.		
Board of Co-ordination		
Vice-Chancellor, Deans, and Reg.		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	6	All
Admission and Bursary Committee		
Muslim	3	20 %
Others	13	80 %
Committee for Supervising the work of Contractors		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	3	All
Committee to report on applications for loans		
Muslim	1 or 2	16 or 33 %
Others	5 or 4	80 or 66 %
U. T. C. Committee		
Names not given.		

Note.—There may be one Muslim Officer, if any; out of 3 elected members there is no Muslim.

Committee for the appointment of Superintendents of University Hostels		
Muslim	1	33 %
Others	2	66 %
Committee of Reference		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	15	All

No. and Percentage.		
Finance Committee		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	7(?)	All

Note.—But now the number has been raised to 9 and the proportion is 1 to 8.

Board of Residence, Health and Discipline		
Muslim	1	7 %
Others	12	93 %

Note.—Out of 2 members elected by the Court none is a Muslim.

Muslim Advisory Board		
Muslim	5	All
Others	Nil	Nil
Members of the Selection Committee in India		
For appointment in the Faculty of Arts		
Muslim	1 or 2	14 %
Others	6 or 5	86 %

Note.—If the Head of the Department is a Muslim the number is 2, otherwise, one only

For appointment in the Faculty of Science		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	7	All
For appointments in the Faculty of Law		
Muslim	1	14 %
Others	6	86 %

No. and Percentage.		
For appointment in the Faculty of Commerce		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	7	All
Library Committee		
Muslim	3	14 %
Others	18	86 %
Representatives of the University or other bodies		
Correspondent of the Student's Advisory Committee		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	1	All
Board of High School and Int. Education, U.P.		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	3	All
Advisory Committee of the Technological Institute, Cawnpore		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	1	All
Court of the Institute of Science, Bangalore		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	1	All
Advisory Committee of the Thomason Engineering College, Roorki		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others		All

No. and Percentage.		
U. P. Legislative Council		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	1	All
Board of Indian Medicines		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	1	All
Municipal Board, Allahabad		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	1	All
Examination Committee		
English		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	3	All
History		
Muslim	1	33 %
Others	2	66 %
Economics		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	3	All
Philosophy		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	3	All
Sanskrit		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	3	All
Persian		
Muslim	3	All
Others	Nil	Nil
Arabic		
Muslim	3	All
Others	Nil	Nil

No. and Percentage.		
Mathematics		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	3	All
Physics		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	3	All
Chemistry		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	3	All
Zoology		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	3	All
Botany		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	3	All
Law		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	3	All
Urdu		
Muslim	2	66 %
Others	1	33 %
Hindi		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	3	All
Commerce		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	3	All
French		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	2	All
Latin		
Muslim	1	33 %
Others	2	66 %

No. and Percentage.		
Teaching Staff		
English Department		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	11	All
Philosophy Department		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	6	All
History Department		
Muslim	1	10 °/₀
Others	9	90 °/₀
Arabic and Persian Department		
Muslim	5	All
Others	Nil	Nil
Sanskrit Department		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	6	All
Urdu Department		
Muslim	2	66 °/₀
Others	1	33 °/₀

In the next academic year the non-Muslim teacher will be transferred to the Politics Department and there will be only 2 members.

With the exception of Arabic, Persian and Urdu Departments, there is only one Muslim on the staff.

Hindi Department		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	2	All

No. and Percentage.		
Physics Department		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	7	All
Chemistry Department		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	10	All
Mathematics Department		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	6	All
Botany Department		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	7	All
Zoology Department		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	7	All
Law Department		
Muslim	1	25°/₀
Others	3	75°/₀
Economics Department		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	6	All
Commerce Department		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	4	All

Representatives of the Registered Graduate.

The election took place twice after the University was reorganised, and on both occasions only two Muslims out of thirty were returned.

No. and Percentage.
Research Scholarships

Originally there were two scholarships of Rs. 100 each in the Arabic-Persian Department, presumably one for Arabic and the other for Persian, and one scholarship in the Sanskrit department for Sanskrit worth Rs. 100; but now Hindi has been combined with Sanskrit and there are two scholarships for two languages worth Rs. 100 each, while Urdu has been combined with Arabic and Persian and the number was not raised, as was done in the case of Hindi and Sanskrit There are still two scholarships for these languages. Hence one language suffers each year.

Mohammaden Holidays

Should not be optional as it is a loss to Muslim students, and the whole University should be closed.

Lucknow University.

No. and Percentage.		
Administrative Staff		
Central Office		
Muslim	* 1	5 %
Hindu	16	90 %
Christian	1	5 %

* There was only one Muslim clerk in the central office, but now he is in the Agra University.

Departmental Clerks		
Muslim	*1	6 %
Others	14	94 %

* There was only one Mohammadan Clerk, and he was dismissed last year.

University Library Clerks		
Muslim	1	16 %
Others	5	84 %

No. and Percentage.		
Court		
Muslim	37	20 %
Others	148	80 %

Note.—Out of 6 elected by the Court only one is a Muslim and all persons elected by the Academic Council are non-Muslims.

Academic Council		
Muslim	5	8 %
Others	52	92 %

Note.—Out of 5 co-opted by the Council none is a Muslim.

Faculty of Arts		
Muslim	4	14 %
Others	24	86 %
Faculty of Science		
Muslim	3	11 %
Others	25	91 %
**Faculty of Medicine*		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	17	All

*The Dean of the Faculty of Medicine, who was a Muslim, has left the University.

Faculty of Law.		
Muslim	3	21 %
Others	11	79 %
Faculty of Commerce.		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	12	All

No. and Percentage.		
Committee of Courses and Studies in the Faculty of Arts		
English		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	7	All
Philosophy		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	5	All
Economics		
Sociology		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	7	All
Indian History		
Muslim	1	14 %
Others	6	86 %
European History.		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	5	All
Political Science.		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	7	All
Sanskrit, Prakrit Languages and Hindi.		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	8	All
Arabic		
Muslim	4	80 %
Others	1	20 %
Persian and Urdu		
Muslim	6	All
Others	Nil	Nil

No. and Percentage.		
Tests in Vernacular		
Gujrati		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	1	All
Marathi		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	1	All
Urdu		
Muslim	2	All
Others	Nil	Nil
Bengali		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	1	All
Hindi		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	2	All
Committee of Courses and Studies in the Faculty of Science		
Physics		
Muslim	2	25 °/o
Others	6	75 °/o
Chemistry		
Muslim	1	14 °/o
Others	6	86 °/o
Mathematics		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	7	All
Botany		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	4	All

No. and Percentage.		
Zoology		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	7	All
Committee of Courses and Studies in the Faculty of Medicine, First M.B.B.S.		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	3	75 °/o
Final M.B.B.S.		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	9	All
D.P.H.		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	5	All
Committee of Courses and Studies in the Faculty of Law		
Muslim	2	28·5 °/o
Others	5	71·4 °/o
Committee of Courses and Studies in the Faculty of Commerce		
Economics		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	7	All
Commerce		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	5	All
Board of Co-ordination		
Muslim	2	28·5 °/o
Others	5	71·4 °/o

No. and Percentage.		
Admission Committee.		
Muslim	2	33 °/o
Others	5	66 °/o
Committee for the appointment of Examiners.		
Names not given.		
Committee for moderating the question papers		
Names not given		
Committee for bringing out the results of the examination.		
Muslim	2	33 °/o
Others	5	66 °/o
Committee of Reference		
Muslim	4	26 °/o
Others	11	74 °/o
Finance Committee.		
Muslim	3	50 °/o
Others 3 (or 4 with Sec)		50 °/o
Collection Committee		
Muslim	8	25 °/o
Others	25	75 °/o
Selection Committee in India		
For appointment in the Faculty of Arts		
Muslim	1	14 °/o
Others	6	86 °/o
Note.—The Muslim member is nominated by the Chancellor.		
For appointments in the Faculty of Science		
Muslim	1	14 °/o
Others	6	86 °/o

	No. and Percentage.	
For appointments in the Faculty of Medicine		
Muslim	2	28·5 °/₀
Others	5	71·4 °/₀
For appointments in the Faculty of Law		
Muslim	2	28·5 °/₀
Others	5	71·4 °/₀
For appointments in the Faculty of Commerce		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	7	All
Selection Committee in the United Kingdom		
Names not given.		
Selection Committee for appointments to teaching posts other than Professorships and Readerships.		
Note.—One or two (the latter only in cases where the Dean or the Head of the Department concerned happens to be a Muhammadan), are Muslims and (6 or 5 as the case may be) non-Muslims.		
Health, Residence and Discipline Board		
Muslim	2	12 °/₀
Others 15 or	18	80 °/₀
Note.—There are 20 members in all. The designations only of three members are given.		

	No. and Percentage.	
Games Committee		
Muslim	2	22·2 °/₀
Others	7	75 °/₀
Library Committee		
Names not given.		
Building Committee		
Muslim	4	26 °/₀
Others	11	74 °/₀
Note.—These are probable numbers as names in all cases are not given.		
Extra Moral Instruction Committee		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	8	All
Note.—The above is a probable number, as the name of the Chairman, Education Committee of the Lucknow Municipality, is not given. If he happens to be a Mohammadan, then the proportion will be one to seven.		
Fellowships Committee members		
Muslim	2	28·5 °/₀
Others	5	71·4 °/₀
Scholarship Committee		
Muslim	2	28·5 °/₀
Others	5	71·4 °/₀

	No. and Percentage.	
Freeship Committee		
Muslim Nil or	1	25 °/₀
Others	3 or 4	75 °/₀
Note.—If the Dean concerned happens to be a Moslem (as in the case of science) there will be one Moslem, otherwise none.		
Note.—The Principal of the Medical College, Lucknow, who was a Muslim, has resigned.		
Women's Scholarship Committee		
Muslim Nil or	1	25 °/₀
Others	4 or 3	75 °/₀
The above remark is to be followed here too.		
Advisory Committee for Diploma in Teaching.		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	8	All
Committee of Arabic and Persian Studies.		
Muslim	14	All
Others	Nil	Nil
Admission Committee for the admission of Students to the Oriental Department of the Canning College		
Muslim	5	All
Others	Nil	Nil

No. and Percentage.		
Canning College Board of Management		
Muslim	3	33 °/o
Others	7	66 °/o
King George's Medical College Board of Management		
Muslim	1	10 °/o
Others	10	All
Administrative Staff		
Vice-Chancellor		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	1	All
Honorary Treasurer		
Muslim	1	All
Others	Nil	Nil
Deans of Faculties		
Muslim	1	20 °/o
Others	4	80 °/o
Registrar		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	1	All
Assistant Registrar		
Muslim	1	All
Others	Nil	Nil
Honorary Proctor		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	1	All
Superintendent of K. G.'s Hospital		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	1	All

No. and Percentage.		
Superintendent K. G.'s Hospital		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	1	All
Medical Officer.		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	1	All
Legal Advisor		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	1	All
Canning College		
Muslim	1	10 °/o
Others	9	90 °/o
K. G.'s Medical College		
Muslim	1	20 °/o
Others	5	80 °/o
Isabella Thoburn College		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	5	All
Teaching Staff		
Faculty of Arts		
English		
Muslim	1	9·09 °/o
Others	10	90·9 °/o
Philosophy		
Muslim	1	16 °/o
Others	5	84 °/o
European History		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	3	All
Indian History		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	3	All

No. and Percentage.		
Political Science		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	3	All
Economics and Sociology		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	5	All
Arabic		
Muslim	2	All
Others	Nil	Nil
Persian and Urdu		
Muslim	5	84 °/o
Others	1	16 °/o
Sanskrit and Prakrit and Hindi		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	5	All
Modern European Languages		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	1	All
Latin and Greek—vacant.		
Faculty of Science		
Physics		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	5	All
Chemistry		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	6	All
Botany		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	4	All
Zoology		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	4	All

No. and Percentage.		
Mathematics		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	4	All
Faculty of Medicine		
Anatomy		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	4	100 °/o
Physiology		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	3	All
Forensic Medicine		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	1	All
Materia Medica		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	2	All
Pathology		
Muslim	1	25 °/o
Others	3	75 °/o
Medicine		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	2	All
Surgery		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	6	All
Ophthalmology		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	2	All
Obstetric and Gynæcology		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	2	All

No. and Percentage.		
State Medicine		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	2	All
Faculty of Law		
Muslim	2	33 °/o
Others	4	66 °/o
Faculty of Commerce		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	6	All
Oriental Dept.		
Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit		
Muslim	2	66 °/o
Others	1	33 °/o
Representatives of the University on other Bodies		
Board of High School and Int. Education, U. P.		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	2	All
U.P. Medical Council		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	1	All
Lucknow Municipality		
(*i*) *K. G. Medical College*		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	1	Nil
(*ii*) *Govt. Technological Institute*		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	1	Nil

No. and Percentage.		
Graduates of the University elected by the Registered Graduates.		
Muslim	Nil	Nil
Others	20	All

Note.—In the list of the Registered graduates, there are 44 Muslims. Out of the total number, 183, *i.e.*, 139 are non-Muslims. The Muslims are about 24°/o. Here the excuse that Muslims do not register in a large number does not hold good, as a much higher percentage of them than the original number has been registered.

Muslim Holidays

Only one day for Idul-Fitr, and one day for Idul-zoha. There should be at least two days in each case.

Statement regarding Lucknow University, compiled for the Committee for the demands of U. P. Muslims.

	Professor.	Reader.	Lecturer.
Faculty of Arts			
English	0/1	0/3	1/6
Philosophy	0/1	0/1	0/2
English History	0/1	0/1	0/1
Indian History	0/1	0/1	0/3
Political Science	0/0	0/1	0/3
Economics	0/1	0/1	0/4
Arabic	0/0	1/1	1/1
Persian	0/0	1/1	3/4
Sanskrit	0/0	0/1	0/4
Faculty of Science			
Physics	1/1	0/1	0/3
Chemistry	0/1	0/2	0/4
Botany	0/1	0/1	0/2
Zoology	0/1	0/1	0/2
Mathematics	0/1	0/1	0/2
Faculty of Medicine			
Anatomy	0/6		
Physiology	0/3		
Forensic Medicine	0/1		
Materia Medica	0/2	Lecturer.	
Pathology	1/4		
Medicine	0/2		
Surgery	0/6		
Ophthalmology	0/2		
Obstetrics	0/3		
State Medicine	0/2		
Faculty of Law			
Part time			
Lecturer...			2/6

First, Muslims, then Hindus are mentioned; thus, 0/1 means no Muslim and 1 Hindu.

	Professor.	Reader.	Lecturer.
Faculty of Commerce.			
Commerce and Economics	o/o	o/2	1/4

University Court.—There are only 27 Muslim members out of a total of 200 members.

There are two categories of elected members, and the Muslim representation is as follows :—

Registered Graduates 1/20

Teachers 3/20

Ex. Council 4/22

Out of these two are *ex-officio*, one is a nominated member, and only one an elected member.

Academic Council 5/55

All these five are *ex-officio*. No Muslim is ever elected or co-opted to the Council.

Faculty of Arts 4/30

Faculty of Science 3/30

Faculty of Medicine o/17

Faculty of Law 4/13

Faculty of Commerce 1/14

Muslim Teachers in the University.—There is only one Muslim Professor, out of 22, and he, too, is a Government Officer lent on deputation.

There are only four Muslim Readers out of 36 Readers in the University; out of these two are part-time Readers of Law, and two full-time Readers of Persian and Arabic respectively.

There are only seven Muslim Lecturers out of 62 Lecturers.

Four belong to Arabic and Persian Departments.

One to Medicine.

One to Science.

One to Commerce, and

One to Arts.

There is no Muslim Demonstrator in the whole University.

Faculty of Arts.—The only Muslim teachers are in the Arabic and Persian Departments, and one Lecturer in the English Department.

Faculty of Science.—The only Muslim teacher is a lent officer and there is no other Muslim in this faculty.

Faculty of Medicine.—The only Muslim teacher is a lent officer of the Lecturer's grade.

Faculty of Commerce.—The only Muslim teacher is one Lecturer.

Faculty of Law.—The only Muslim teachers are 2 part-time lawyers.

Statement based on a Conncil question regarding Muslims in U. P. University Bodies.

AGRA UNIVERSITY.

Name of University Body.	Number of Muslims.	Number of Non-Muslims.	REMARKS.
Academic Board	1	20	
Executive Council*	2*	21	
Faculty of Arts	5	43	
Faculty of Science	..	32	
Faculty of Law*	1*	15	
Faculty of Commerce	1	13	

* The Hon'ble Syed Alay Nabi, Member of the Executive Council and of the Faculty of Law, died on November 13, 1927, and his place has not been filled up by the Senate as yet.

Statement based on a Council question regarding Muslim in U. P. University Bodies.

ALLAHABAD UNIVERSITY.

Name of University Body.	Number of Muslims.	Number of Non-Muslims.	REMARKS.
Academic Council	6	50	
Executive Council	3	17	
Faculty of Arts	6	24	
,, ,, Science	1	30	
,, ,, Law	4	10	
,, ,, Commerce ...	1	26	
Selection Committee in—			
Arts...	1	6	
Science	...	7	
Law	1	6	
Commerce	...	7	

Statement based on a Council question regarding Muslims in U. P. University Bodies.

LUCKNOW UNIVERSITY.

Name of University Body.	Number of Muslims.	Number of Non-Muslims.	REMARKS.
Academic Council	5	50	
Executive Council	4	17	
Faculty of Arts	4	23	
„ „ Science	3	26	
„ „ Law	4	9	
„ „ Commerce ...	1	13	
Selection Committees in India for appointment of Professorships and Readerships—			
Arts	2	5	
Science	1	6	
Medicine	2	5	
Law	2	5	
Commerce ...	...	7	
Selection Committees for appointments to teaching posts other than Professorships and Readerships—			
Arts	1	6	
Science	2	5	
Medicine	1	6	
Law	1	6	
Commerce ...	1	6	

Clerical Establishment in Universities.

Name of University.	Number of Muslim Clerks.	Number of Non-Muslim Clerks.
Allahabad University ...	1	30
Lucknow University	8	32
Agra University	1	6

Statement showing the Number of Candidates from each District who were successful in getting Admission to the Normal Schools in 1927, in answer to an unstarred Council question asked by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, M. L. C., in March, 1928.

	District.	Number of candidates (Non-Muslims).	Number of candidates (Muslims).
Meerut	Dehra Dun	2	...
	Saharanpur	4	2
	Muzaffarnagar	6	1
	Meerut	5	2
	Bulandshahr	5	2
	Total ...	22	7
Agra	Aligarh	6	3
	Muttra	7	1
	Agra	6	2
	Mainpuri	6	1
	Etah	6	1
	Total ...	31	8
Rohilkhand	Bareilly	5	2
	Bijnor	4	1
	Budaun	2	2
	Moradabad	5	3
	Shahjahanpur	3	1
	Pilibhit	2	1
	Total ...	21	10
Allahabad	Farrukhabad	5	2
	Etawah	13	2
	Cawnpore	10	2
	Fatehpur	6	2
	Allahabad	8	2
	Total ...	42	10
Jhansi	Jhansi	8	...
	Jalaun	6	1
	Hamirpur	5	1
	Banda	7	...
	Total ...	26	2

	District.	Number of candidates (Non-Muslims).	Number of candidates (Muslims).
Benares	Benares	9	1
	Mirzapur	5	1
	Jaunpur	4	2
	Ghazipur	5	2
	Ballia	5	1
	Total ...	28	7
Gorakhpur	Gorakhpur	14	3
	Basti	6	3
	Azamgarh	6	2
	Total ...	26	8
Kumaun	Naini Tal	7	...
	Almora	11	1
	Garhwal	12	...
	Total ...	30	1
Lucknow	Lucknow	4	2
	Unao	4	2
	Rae Bareli	5	2
	Sitapur	5	2
	Hardoi	6	2
	Kheri	3	1
	Total ...	27	11
Fyzabad	Fyzabad	8	2
	Gonda	6	1
	Bahraich	11	1
	Sultanpur	5	2
	Partabgarh	4	3
	Bara Banki	6	2
	Total ...	40	11
	GRAND TOTAL ...	293	75

Statement showing the Number of Muslim Headmasters and Assistant Masters in District Board Middle Vernacular Schools, in answer to a Council question, in March, 1928, by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, M. L. C.

	District.	Number of Muslim Headmasters.	Number of Muslim Assistant Masters.
Meerut	Dehra Dun	...	1
	Saharanpur	6	21
	Muzaffarnagar	3	6
	Meerut	1	9
	Bulandshahr	2	14
	Total ...	12	51
Agra	Aligarh	1	15
	Muttra	...	3
	Agra	...	9
	Mainpuri	2	3
	Etah	4	5
	Total ...	7	35
Rohilkhand	Bareilly	3	14
	Bijnor	2	13
	Budaun	4	12
	Moradabad	4	21
	Shahjahanpur	2	9
	Pilibhit	1	5
	Total ...	16	74
Allahabad	Farrukhabad	1	7
	Etawah	...	5
	Cawnpore	...	8
	Fatehpur	1	7
	Allahabad	2	11
	Total ...	4	38
Jhansi	Jhansi	2	5
	Jalaun	...	4
	Hamirpur	2	5
	Banda	...	4
	Total ...	4	18

	District.	Number of Muslim Headmasters.	Number of Muslim Assistant Masters.
Benares	Benares	2	6
	Mirzapur	...	7
	Jaunpur	3	10
	Ghazipur	2	12
	Ballia	...	9
	Total ...	7	44
Gorakhpur	Gorakhpur	...	20
	Basti	1	17
	Azamgarh	3	19
	Total ...	4	56
Kumaun	Naini Tal	...	3
	Almora	...	...
	Garhwal	...	...
	Total ...	...	3
Lucknow	Lucknow	1	10
	Unao	1	6
	Rae Bareli	1	15
	Sitapur	3	6
	Hardoi	1	13
	Kheri	3	5
	Total ...	10	55
Fyzabad	Fyzabad	2	15
	Gonda	3	10
	Bahraich	4	16
	Sultanpur	2	10
	Partabgarh	2	10
	Bara Banki	2	14
	Total	15	75
	GRAND TOTAL ...	79	449

Board of High School and Intermediate Education, U. P., for 1926-27, compiled for the Committee for the Demands of U. P. Muslims.

No.	Community.	No.	Percentage.	Elected.	Nominated or appointed.	Remarks.
	Officers of the Board.					
1 ...	Muslim	...	...	...	...	
2 ...	Hindu	1	100	Secretary ...	(Appointed)	
3 ...	Christian	1	100	Chairman ...	(D. P. I. *Ex-officio.*)	
	Members of the Board.					
1 ...	Muslim	5	14	2	3	
2 ...	Hindu	24	69	20	4	
3 ...	Christian	6	17	2	4	
	Total ...	35	100	24	11	

No.	Subject.	Muslims.	Hindus.	Christians.	Total No. selected.	Total number co-opted.	Remarks.
			Committee of Courses				
1	English	...	3	4	H. 2, C. 3 } 5	H. 1, C. 1 } 2	
2	Sanskrit and Hindi	...	7	...	H. 5	H. 2	
3	Arabic, Persian and Urdu ...	6	1	...	M 4, H 1 } 5	M. 2	
4	History and Civics	1	5	1	M. 1, H. 3, C. 1 } 5	H. 2	
5	Geography	...	2	3	H. 2, C. 3 } 5	...	
6	Bengali, Marathi and Gujrati ...	...	6	...	H. 6		
7	Greek, Latin, Hebrew, and Modern European Languages.	...	1	4	H. 1, C. 4 } 5	...	
8	Mathematics	...	6	1	H. 4, C. 1 } 5	H. 2	
9	Physics	1	3	1	M. 1, H. 3, C. 1 } 5	...	
10	Chemistry	...	6	1	H. 4, C. 1 } 5	H. 2	

11	...	Biology	...	3	2	H. 3 } 5 C. 2 }	...
12	...	Agriculture	...	4 (or 5)	3 (or 2)	H. 2 } 5 C. 3 }	H. 2
13	...	Drawing, Manual training and Mental Work.	...	3	4	H. 2 } 6 C. 4 }	H. 1
14	...	Domestic Sciences, Physiology, Hygiene and Child Study.	...	2 (or 3)	3 (or 2)	H. 2 } 5 C. 3 }	...
15	...	Commerce	1	4	1	H. 4 } 5 C. 1 }	M. 1
16	...	Economics	1	4	2	M. 1 H. 2 } 5 C. 2	H. 2
17	...	Indian Music	1	4	...	M. 2 } 5 H. 3 }	...
18	...	Logic	1	4	1	H. 4 } 5 C. 1 }	...
			11	68	31	92	18

Number.	Community.	Total No. elected.	Percentage on 92 (elected).	Tolal No. co-opted (out of 18).	Percentage on 18 (co-opted).	Total No. both elected and co-opted.	Percentage on both *i.e.*, elected and co-opted.
			Committee of Courses.				
1	Muslims	8	8·7	3	16·6	11	10
2	Hindus	54	58·7	14	77·7	68	61·8
3	Christians	30	23·9	1	5·5	31	28·2
		92	...	18	...	110	...

No.		Muslims.	Hindus.	Christians.	Total No. elected.	Total No. co-opted.
19	Examinations' Committee (7 members).	1	5	1	M. 1, H. 4 } 5 ...	H. 1, C. 1 } 2
20	Recognition Committee (8 members only).	1	5	1 + 1 (ex-offi.) ...	M. 1, H. 4 } 5 ...	H. 1, C 1 } 2, C. 1 ex-offi.
21	Finance Committee (7 members only).	1 + 1 (ex-offi.) ...	5	...	M. 1, H. 5 } 6 ...	M. 1 (ex-offi.)

22	Curriculum Committee ...	1	9	6	M.1 H.6 C.5 } 12	H. 3 C. 1 } 4
23	Committee to scrutinise applications from private candidates	...	1	2	H.1 C.2 } 3	...
24	Results Committee (5 members only) ...	——— ...	1+1 (ex-offi.) ...	1+1 (ex-offi.) ...	M.1 H.1 C.1 } 3	H. 1 (ex-offi.) C. 1 (ex-offi.) } 2
		5+1 (ex-offi.) ...	26+1 (ex-offi) ...	11+2 (ex-offi.)	M.5 H.21 C.8 } 34	M.1 (ex-offi.) H.5+1(ex-offi.) C.3+2(ex-offi.) } 12
		Total ...	46			
	Representatives of the Board of High School and Intermediate Education, U. P., on other bodies.					
25	Provincial Text-Book Committee ...	...	4	...	4	...
26	Senate of the Agra University ...	...	2	...	2	Percentage of Muslims Nil
		0	6	0	6	
	The Boards of Moderators for the Boards of High School and Intermediate Commercial Diploma and Agricultural Diploma Examinations of 1928.					
27	English	...	2	1	3	
28	History and Civics	...	3	...	3	
29	Physics	1	1	...	2	
30	Commerce and Commercial Diploma papers	...	2	1	3	
31	Mathematics	...	2	1	3	
32	Sanskrit, Hindi, Bengali, Marathi and Gujrati.	...	3	...	3	

No.	Subject.	Muslims.	Hindus.	Christians.	Total No. elected.	Total No. co-opted.
33	Arabic, Persian and Urdu ...	2	1	...	3	
34	Biology	...	2	1	3	
35	Domestic Science, Physiology, Hygiene and Child Study.	...	1	2	3	
36	Manual Training	...	1	1	2	
37	Chemistry	...	2	...	2	
38	Logic	...	2	...	2	
39	Agriculture and Agricultural Diploma papers.	...	1	2	3	
40	Drawing	...	2	1	3	
41	Latin and French	...	...	3	3	
42	Geography	...	1	1	2	
43	Economics	...	...	2	2	
		3	26	16	45	
44	Total number elected ...	3	26	16	45	
45	Percentage	6·6	57·7	35·5		
46	List of the Panel of Inspectors for the Inspection of Intermediate Colleges.	11 or 12·6 %	47 or 54·02·0 %	29 or 33·3 %	87	

List of the Teaching Staff of Colleges in the outside the United Provinces recognized by the Board.

		Name of College.	No. of Muslims.	No. of Hindus.	No. of Christians.	Total.	Percentage of Muslims.
Intermediate Colleges in U. P. (Private)	Pr. 47	Meerut College	3	24	2	29	
	Pr. 48	D. A.-V.-Inter-College, Dehra Dun ...	2	17	...	19	
	Pr. 49	N. R. E. C. Inter-College, Khurja ...	1	18	...	19	
	Pr. 50	St. John's College, Agra	3	18	11	32	
	Pr. 51	Agra College	2	31	1	34	
	Pr. 52	Radhaswamy Educational Institute, Agra.	1	18	...	19	
	Pr. 53	Bareilly College	2	13	1	16	
	Pr. 54	Shyam Sundar Memorial Inter-College, Chandausi	1	19	...	20	
	Pr. 55	Christ Church College, Cawnpore ...	1	11	6	18	
	Pr. 56	D. A.-V. College, Cawnpore ...	...	22	...	22	
	Pr. 57	Bishambhar Nath Sanatan Dharam Inter-College, Cawnpore ...	1	13	...	14	
	Pr. 58	Ewing Christian College, Allahabad ...	4	25	15	44	
	Pr. 59	Kayastha Pathshala Inter-College, Allahabad	...	20	1 (Buddhist)	21	

		Name of College.	No. of Muslims.	No. of Hindus.	No. of Christians.	Total.	Percentage of Muslims.
Inter-Colleges in U.P. (Private)	Pr. 60	Anglo-Bengali Inter-College, Allahabad.	2	18	...	20	
	Pr. 61	Udai Pratap College and Hewett Khattriya School, Benares	2	14	1	17	
	Pr. 62	St. Andrew's College, Gorakhpur ...	2	9	4	15	
	Pr. 63	Lucknow Christian College ...	3	12	13	28	
	Pr. 64	Shia Inter-College, Lucknow ...	8	2	...	10	
	Pr. 65	Kanyakubj Inter-College, Lucknow...	1	13	...	14	
	Pr. 66	St. George's College, Mussoorie ...	...	1	6	7	
	Pr. 67	St. Joseph College, Naini Tal ...	...	1	4	5	
	Pr. 68	Lamartineer College, Lucknow ...	1	2	7	10	
	Pr. 69	Boys' Inter-College, Allahabad ...	...	2	5	7	
			40	323	76 + 1 Buddhist.	440	9·1
Colleges for Girls	Pr. 70	Crosthwaite Girl's Inter-College, Allahabad.	...	7	...	7	
	Pr. 71	Isabella Thoburn College, Lucknow	...	4	10	14	
	Pr 72	Theosophical National Girls' School and Women's College, Banares.	...	8	3	11	
			...	19	13	32	

73	Government Inter-College, Moradabad	5	20	...	25		
74	Government Inter-College, Allahabad	6	18	2	26		
75	Government Inter-College, Etawah ...	4	17	...	21		
76	Government Inter-College, Jhansi ...	8	13	...	21		
77	Queen's Inter-College, Benares ...	3	18	...	21		
78	Government Inter-College, Almora ...	1	16	...	17		
79	Government Jubliee Inter-College, Lucknow ...	5	17	...	22		
80	Government Inter-College, Fyzabad...	6	20	...	26		
	Government Intermediate Colleges	38	139	2	179	21·2 %	
81	Sanatan Dharam College of Cawnpore	...	26	...	26		
82	Agricultural Institute, Naini, Allahabad	...	3	8	11		
83	Agricultural College, Cawnpore ..	3	13	1	17		
	Technical Inter-Colleges	3	42	9	54	5·5	
84	Government College, Ajmer ...	2	8	1	11		
85	Maharaja's Inter-College, Jaipur ...	2	8	...	10		
86	Maharaja's Inter-College, Udaipur ...	3	11	...	14		
87	Jaswant College, Jodhpur ...	2	8	1	11		
88	Herbert Inter-College, Kotah ...	2	12	...	14		
	Government Colleges in U. P.						

		Name of College.	No. of Muslims.	No. of Hindus.	No. of Christians.	Total.	Percentage of Muslims
outside U. P.	89	Victoria College, Lashker (Gwalior)	1	14	2	17	
	90	Indore Christian College ...	...	7	1	8	
	91	Holkar College, Indore	1	17	2	19	
			13	85	7	105	12·38

Statement showing the Number of Muslim and Non-Muslim Students and Staff of the Cawnpore Agricultural College and the Bulandshahr Agricultural School for the years 1922, 1923, 1924, 1925, 1926, and 1927, in answer to a Council question, in March, 1928, by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, M. L. C.

Year.	Cawnpore Agricultural College.				Bulandshahr Agricultural School.			
	Students.		Staff.		Students.		Staff.	
	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.
1922	20	83	5	28	7	24	1	3
1923	24	99	5	31	7	39	1	3
1924	26	88	5	35	6	47	1	4
1925	36	80	7	39	12	21	1	4
1926	39	89	7	44	27	46	1	4
1927	37	110	8	44	31	58	1	5

Statement showing the Number of Muslim and Non-Muslim Students and Staff in the Thomason Civil Engineering College, Roorkee, in answer to a Council question by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, in March, 1928.

Year.	Students.		Staff.	
	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.
1922	30	198	6	62
1923	18	150	6	59
1924	17	160	6	59
1925	17	177	5	56
1926	24	179	5	58
1927	22	179	5	56

Class.	Year.	Total.	Muslims.
Civil Engineering	1925	26	2
Overseer	1925	41	...
Draftsman	1925	6	2
Civil Engineering	1926	30	3
Overseer	1926	37	1
Draftsman	1926	6	2
Civil Engineering	1927	26	...
Overseer	1927	39 (second year)	1
Draftsman	1927	13 (third year)	7

Statement showing the Amount of Grants made by the Board of Industries to each individual with caste or institution from April 1, 1926 to June 30, 1927, in answer to a Council question by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, in March, 1928.

Serial No.	Name.	Amount.	Religion.	Institution.
		Rs.		
1	Benares Hindu University, Benares.	2,760 5,080	Hindu	Do.?
2	Dyeing School, Raipur, District Pilibhit.	800	...	Do.
3	Maharastra Balshala, Daragunj, Allahabad.	390	...	Do.
4	Khamosh Arts School, Fatehpur	360	Muslim	Do.
5	Madarsa Azizia Arabia, Allahabad district.	480 500	Do.	Do.
6	Prem Vidyalaya, Tarikhet ...	600 2,200	Hindu	Do.
7	Anath Banita Ashram, Cawnpore	840	Do.	Do.
8	Brassware School, Moradabad...	992	...	Do.
9	Aided Carpentry School, Pilibhit.	1,474	...	Do.
10	Home for Women in Distress, Benares.	145 805	...	Do.
11	Lal Singh Man Singh Industrial School, Mainpuri.	800	...	Do.
12	Government School of Dyeing and Printing, Cawnpore.	150	...	Do.
13	Carpentry School, Gazipur ...	1,000	...	Do.
14	Industrial School, Biswan, District Sitapur.	3,469	...	Do.
15	Aryasamaj Orphanage, Bareilly	480	Hindu	Do.
16	C.M.S. Industrial School, Sikandra (Agra).	660	...	Do.
17	Industrial School, Moradabad ...	150	...	Do.
18	Sri Ram Industrial Orphanage, Lucknow.	1,182	Hindu	Do.
19	Pandit Gopinath Misra, Agra ...	3,000	Do.	...
20	Mr. T. R. Lewis, Cawnpore ...	1,200	Christian	...
21	Messrs. Mathur and Manzoor, Cawnpore.	6,000	The firm has got two proprietors. One of them is Hindu and the other Muslim.	

Serial No.	Name.	Amount.	Religion.	Institution.
22	Pandit Raj Narain Misra, Cawnpore.	100	Hindu ...	...
23	Messrs. Rohtagi Bros., Cawnpore.	2,500 2,500	Hindu ...	...
24	Pandit Devi Dutta Sharma, Naini Tal.	200	Hindu ...	...
25	Mohammad Ahmad Abbasi, Cawnpore.	3,000	Muslim ...	...
26	Departmental Industrial Exhibition, Cawnpore	1,000	...	...
27	The Collector, Fatehpur ...	150	...	...
28	The Pioneer Press, Allahabad...	58-12	...	...

Statement showing the resolutions passed by the Muslim Advisory Board of the University of Allahabad and action taken on them and based on the information contained in a council question.

Date of meeting.	Resolutions passed.	Action taken by the University.	Remarks.
August 26, 1925.	1. The Board elected the Hon'ble Justice Dr. S. M. Sulaiman as its chairman. 2. The Board strongly advises that resolution No. 19, dated the 17th March, 1924, of the Academic Council proposing the creation of Readership in Persian as well as in Arabic, which was postponed for consideration by the Executive Council till October, 1924, be put into effect as soon as possible. 3. The Board advises that in the matter of filling up of vacancies in the teaching staff, consideration be given to a proper infusion of the Muhammadan element. 4. The Board advises that in view of the comparative poverty of the Musalmans, a reasonable proportion of the sizarships be awarded to poor Musalman students. 5. The Board advises that in order to encourage post-graduate studies in Arabic, Persian and Urdu, University scholarships be awarded to students of the M.A. classes also.	On the motion of Dr. S. M. Sulaiman it was resolved that the report be recorded.	
November 15, 1927.	1. The Minutes of the meeting of the Board held on the 26th August, 1925, were read and confirmed. 2. Resolved unanimously that in view of Arabic and Persian being distinct languages and separate subjects of study for the University Examinations it is necessary that they should constitute two separate departments with adequate separate staff for each.	The resolutions with the exception of Nos. 5, 6 and 9 were referred to the Committee	

3. Resolved unanimously—

(a) that this Board regrets that owing to the inadequacy of the teaching staff the Department of Arabic and Persian has been compelled since the reorganization of the University to declare that students will be admitted to only one group in one year in the M.A. class ;

(b) that this Board regrets that no choice of group is allowed to the students of Arabic and Persian in M.A. Previous and B.A. classes as is done in Sanskrit

4. Resolved unanimously that in order to encourage higher studies and research work in Arabic, Persian and Urdu it is essential that there should be a separate research scholarship for each of the three subjects.

5. Resolved unanimously that this Board regrets that the number of Muslim students admitted in the science classes, particularly in the M.Sc. class, has been almost negligible

6. Resolved unanimously that it is regrettable that less than one-tenth of the sizarships, the award of which is based mainly on considerations of poverty, has so far fallen to the share of Muslim students.

7. Resolved unanimously that owing to insufficieney of the teaching staff the Department of Arabic and Persian has been compelled to take much larger number of students than the sister department of Sanskrit in each group of tutorial classes.

8. Resolved unanimously that this Board is of opinion that the teaching staff of the Arabic and Persian department is in urgent need of being increased and strengthened.

9. Resolved unanimously that since the reorganization of the University no Muslim teacher has been appointed in the Faculties of Arts, Science or Commerce, with the exception of the Arabic and Persian, and the Urdu departments, and the Board feels that in the absence of adequate Muslim element in the teaching staff there is not sufficient attraction for Muslim students to join the University.

considering the question of the Cadre of the different departments and the statements prepared by the Vice-Chancellor with reference to the resolution of the Board were also printed as an Appendix to the minutes and the Vice-Chancellor was requested to supply the figures to the Muslim Advisory Board.

Date of meeting.	Resolutions passed.	Action taken by the University.	Remarks.
	10. Resolved unanimously— (a) that this Board strongly recommends that the resolution of the Court and the Academic Council as to having at least one Professor and one Reader in the combined departments of Arabic and Persian be carried out immediately, and (b) that this Board submits that the resolution of the Executive Council that in the event of the post being filled up one of the permanent members of the teaching staff should be dismissed, would prove unfair and unjust and highly detrimental to the interest of the Department. March 17, 1928.		

Girls' Education. Their succession in the Vernacular Lower Middle and Anglo-Vernacular Lower Middle Examinations.

These two examinations are conducted by the department of Education in the United Provinces for girls residing in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and Rajputana. Out of 715 girls who sat for the vernacular lower middle examination this year, 309 passed giving a percentage of 43, out of whom 261 were Hindu, 29 Mahomedan and 19 Christian girls. In the same examination last year 605 girls had appeared out of whom 363 had passed giving a percentage of 60.

In the Anglo-Vernacular lower middle examination 417 appeared at the examination held in April, and 289 came out successful, giving a percentage of 69. Of the successful girls 210 were Christians, 69 Hindus, 9 Mahomedans and 1 Parsi. In the same examination last year 251 girls were successful out of a total number of 365, giving a percentage of about 69. Of the successful candidates 170 were Christians, 54 Hindus, 22 Mahomedans and 5 Parsis.

While the number of girls appearing at both the examinations had increased this year, the percentage of success at the vernacular lower middle examination had gone down from 60 to 43, but the same percentage of 69 was maintained in the Anglo-Vernacular Middle Examination. Most of the English schools are maintained by Christian Missionary Societies, who can secure a staff of competent teachers, while the vernacular schools maintained by private societies cannot attract a good staff for their school, which is due to the paucity of Hindu and Mahomedan teachers, lack of funds and indifference of parents to look after their girls' education in the same manner as they do in the case of their boys. This perhaps explains the reason of marked difference of the percentage of success in the two examinations.

While the number of Christian girls in the Vernacular lower middle is small, their number is disproportionately large in the English middle. It appears that Hindu and Mahomedan parents have not yet seriously taken to their girls being educated in English. For 76 girls against 170 Christians last year, and 78 against 210 this year are not the figures in which one could congratulate the two great communities of India. While the number of Hindu girls has increased from 54 to 69, the number of Mahomedan girls has decreased from 22 to 9, and this in a vast territory covered by the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Rajputana and Bhopal.

These results reveal the deplorable condition of women's education in these provinces. The Government seems to be satisfied with starting a few model girls' schools in which vernacular education is imparted. There is not one English school throughout the whole province which the Government can call its own, and the condition of almost all the English aided schools is precarious in the matter of finance.

There are departmental rules for grants-in-aid which are strictly followed in the case of these poor institutions, and the result is disastrous. The girls' schools cannot be treated as boys' schools in the matter of

grant-in-aid, because the income even in the Isabella Thoburn College cannot be compared with even a budding school for boys. The girls have to be brought in motor buses, bullock carts or other conveyance. They have to be accompanied by maid servants called 'bulanewali.' Thus each girl costs the school about Rs. 1-8 p. m., which expense is not incurred in a boys' school. No parent will pay for his girls being carried in bullock carts and yet these costs have to be shared in equal proportion when the Government grant is assessed for the struggling school. The Government should take more interest in the uplift of this suppressed class (the women), and help liberally the institutions for girls. It is no use shelving the matter by appointing a committee to devise ways and means, but the State should face the problem boldly, relax the rules about grant-in-aid. by not enforcing the rules about half the grant even for primary schools which give promise of early expansion. If they are starved, higher education is bound to suffer. The number of girls who were successful in the Intermediate examination this year is smaller. Only 3 Muslim girls passed this examination, and all of them were students of Isabella Thoburn College.

Muslim and Non-Muslim Examiners appointed by the Board of High School and Intermediate Education, U. P., compiled for the Committee for the Demands of U. P. Muslims.

	Name.	Total No. of Non-Muslims.	Total No. of Muslims.	Grand Total.	Percentage of Muslims on the total.	No. of Muslims excluding them for Ar., Per., and Urdu languages.	Percentage of Muslims
1926	Head Examiners or Paper-setters for the Examinations of 1926.						
	1. High School Examination...	34	5	39	12·8	Nil	...
	2. Intermediate Examination	37	11	48	22·9	3	6·2
	3. Commercial Diploma ...	10	...	10	...	.	...
	4. Agricultural Diploma ...	8	...	8	...	...	...
	Board of Moderators for the Examinations of 1926.						
	5. High School and Intermediate.	34	5	39	12·8	2	...
	6. Commercial Diploma Papers	3	...	3	...	...	...
	7. Agricultural Diploma Papers.	3	...	3	...	...	...
	Sub-Examiners, Co-Examiners, and Practical Examiners for the Examinations of 1926.						
	8. High School (sub-examiners)	79	18	97	8·5	6	6·1
	9. Intermediate examination...	46	3	49	6·1	3	6 1
	(*a*) Co-examiners ...	(*a*) 15	(*a*) ...	(*a*) 15	(*a*) ...	(*a*) ...	(*a*)...
	(*b*) Practical Examiners ...	(*b*) 3	(*b*) 3	(*b*) 3·4	(*b*) 8·8	(*b*) 3	(*b*) ...
	10. Agricultural Diploma ...	5	...	5	...	...	...
1927	Head Examiners or Paper-setters for the Examination of 1927.						
	1. High School Examination	32	6	38	15·5	...	...
	2. Intermediate ,, ...	35	11	46	23·9	3	6·5
	3. Commercial Diploma ...	11	...	11	...	...	...
	4. Agricultural Diploma ...	10	...	10	...	...	...
	Board of Moderators for the Examinations of 1927.						
	5. High School and Intermediate.	27	6	33	18·1	3	9·09
	6. Commercial Diploma ...	3	...	3	...	...	...
	7. Agricultural Diploma ...	3	...	...	...	...	...
	8. High School (sub-examiners).	92	21	113	18·5	9	7·9

	Name.	Total No. of Non-Muslims	Total No of Muslims.	Grand Total.	Percentage of Muslims on the total.	No. of Muslims excluding them from Ar., Per., and Urdu languages.	Percentage of Muslims
	Sub-Examiners, Co-Examiners and Practical Examiners for the Examinations of 1927.						
1927	9. Intermediate (co-examiners and Practical examiners).	51	4	55	7·2	4	7·2
1927	10. Agricultural Diploma ...	3	1	4	25	1	25
1927	11. Commercial Diploma ...	2	...	2	...	...	...
	Head Examiners and Paper-setters for the Examinations of 1928.						
1928	1. High School Examination	34	6	40	15	...	...
1928	2. Intermediate „ ...	44	11	55	20	3	5·4
1928	3. Agricultural Diploma Examination.	9	...	9	...	...	...
1928	4. Commercial Diploma Examination.	11	...	11	...	...	...
	Board of Moderators for the Examinations of 1928.						
1928	5. High School and Intermediate Examination.	38	4	42	9·5	2	4·7
1928	6. Commercial Diploma Papers.	3	..	3	...	...	...
1928	7. Agricultural Diploma Papers	3	...	...	...	...	...
	Sub-Examiners, Co-Examiners, and Practical Examiners for the Examinations of 1928.						
1928	8. High School (sub-examiners).	123	28	151	18·5	10	6·5
1928	9. Intermediate Examination	55	4	59	6·7	4	6·7
1928	10. Agricultural Diploma ...	3	1	4	25	1	25

NOTE.—Column 3 shows number of Muslims in all the subjects including Arabic, Persian and Urdu, whereas column 6 excludes examiners in tb oriental subjects mentioned above.

Superintendents of Education.

There are no Superintendents of Education in the District Boards of these provinces. In the Municipal Boards the statement below shows all municipalities which have Superintendents of Education. This information is derived from a Council question asked in March, 1928, by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan.

Name of Municipality.	Superintendent, whether Muslim or non-Muslim.	Pay per mesnem.
		Rs.
1. Muzaffarnagar	Non-Muslim	60
2. Meerut	do.	140
3. Bulandshahr	do.	50
4. Hathras	do.	65
5. Muttra	do.	70
6. Agra	do.	115
7. Firozabad	do.	30
8. Bareilly	1 Superintendent, non-Muslim.	216
9. Bareilly	1 Assistant Superintendent, Muslim.	50
10. 5 Municipalities of the Bijnor District.	Muslim	50
11. Budaun	Muslim	35
12. Moradabad	Muslim	162-8-0
13. Amroha	Non-Muslim	Honorary
14. Tilhar	Muslim	30
15. Pilibhit	Muslim	Honorary
16. Bisalpur	Non-Muslim	Honorary
17. Etawah	do.	80
18. Cawnpore	do.	235
19. Allahabad	do.	200
20. Benares	do.	160
21. Mirzapur	do.	40
22. Jaunpur	Muslim	85
23 Ghazipur	Non-Muslim	50
24. Lucknow	Non-Muslim	200

The Standardised Expenditure of each District Board's Vernacular Education, and the Government Contribution to each.
Reply to a question asked in the Legislative Council, in March 10, 1927.

District.	Middle Vernacular Schools.	Primary Education (ordinary) and training classes for men (ordinary).	Islamia Schools and Maktabs.	Depressed Class Education.	Female Education.	Total.	Government Grant.	Board's Contribution.
OUDH.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Lucknow	21,140	1,19,900	6,410	3,520	3,850	1,54,820	1,27,720	27,100
Unao	23,860	1,37,600	3,500	2,000	3,120	1,70,080	96,130	73,950
Rae Bareli	32,350	1,62,600	4,720	2,320	4,700	2,06,690	1,39,000	67,690
Sitapur	30,050	1,59,500	5,340	3,700	5,350	2,03,940	1,23,950	79,990
Hardoi	39,430	2,20,000	8,200	3,100	19,500	2,90,230	2,07,480	82,750
Kheri	27,250	1,05,900	3,700	1,700	6,450	1,45,000	1,11,300	33,700
Total, Lucknow division ...	1,74,080	9,05,500	31,870	16,340	42,970	11,70,760	8,05,580	3,65,180
Fyzabad	33,310	1,65,470	5,800	2,000	8,900	2,15,480	1,52,900	62,580
Gonda	28,440	1,68,200	7,400	1,300	5,330	2,10,670	1,34,780	75,890
Bahraich	22,910	1,51,900	10,830	500	3,300	1,89,440	1,43,550	45,890
Sultanpur	22,620	1,28,190	9,530	2,000	8,560	1,70,900	1,08,600	62,300
Partabgarh	17,080	1,54,200	4,540	2,400	4,670	1,82,890	1,17,300	65,590
Bara Banki	24,700	1,28,450	7,060	1,700	13,970	1,75,880	81,200	94,680
Total, Fyzabad division ...	1,49,060	8,96,410	45,160	9,900	44,730	11,45,260	7,38,330	4,06,930
Total Oudh ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Total, United Provinces ...	14,30,800	77,71,740	3,48,020	1,19,820	3,35,210	1,00,05,590	68,62,600	31,42,990

District.	Middle Vernacular Schools.	Primary Education (ordinary) and training classes for men (ordinary).	Islamia Schools and Maktabs.	Depressed Class Education.	Female Education.	Total.	Government Grant.	Board's Contribution.
PROVINCE OF AGRA.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Dehra Dun	9,610	41,500	1,010	600	1,810	54,530	45,040	9,490
Saharanpur	27,100	1,08,000	10,930	500	2,400	1,48,930	29,300*	1,19,630
Muzaffarnagar	34,980	1,21,500	9,000	2,600	10,750	1,78,830	1,03,720	75,110
Meerut	36,060	2,41,200	13,950	11,100	9,550	3,11,860	1,86,420	1,25,440
Bulandshahr	34,940	1,43,410	6,520	1,300	3,600	1,89,770	40,500*	1,49,270
Total, Meerut division ...	1,42,690	6,55,610	41,410	16,100	28,110	8,83,920	4,04,980	4,78,940
Aligarh	37,020	1,61,400	5,500	1,900	12,830	2,18,650	1,02,770	1,15,880
Muttra	19,780	1,12,600	2,500	1,700	2,310	1,38,890	77,130	61,760
Agra	28,810	1,67,900	3,230	2,600	12,700	2,15,240	1,37,930	77,310
Mainpuri	24,470	7,26,900	5,120	2,020	6,960	1,65,470	95,040	70,430
Etah	22,620	1,21,700	2,400	4,700	11,420	1,62,840	1,09,890	52,950
Total, Agra division ...	1,32,700	6,90,500	18,750	12,920	46,220	9,01,090	5,22,760	3,78,330
Bareilly	31,930	1,18,160	8,820	3,100	9,710	1,71,720	83,700	88,020
Bijnor	34,000	1,17,480	10,420	1,910	5,100	1,68,910	1,24,100	44,810
Budaun	32,210	1,18,300	8,400	1,700	4,100	1,64,710	1,16,900	47,010
Moradabad	36,950	1,69,300	11,100	3,900	7,300	2,28,550	1,24,240	1,04,310
Shahjahanpur	29,280	1,37,400	13,120	1,400	3,140	1,84,340	1,56,440	26,900
Pilibhit	19,840	75,180	2,700	2,200	8,210	1,08,030	84,000	24,130
Total, Rohilkhand division ...	1,84,210	7,35,820	54,560	14,210	37,560	10,26,360	6,90,380	3,35,980

Farrukhabad	35,560	1,81,800	8,400	3,510	10,710	2,39,980	1,53,380	86,600
Etawah	29,450	1,54,200	2,800	2,500	11,690	2,00,640	1,17,010	83,630
Cawnpore	34,240	2,30,100	4,220	2,330	10,420	2,81,310	1,59,680	1,21,630
Fatehpur	25,200	1,23,910	6,500	1,800	1,800	1,59,210	90,100	69,110
Allahabad	37,850	2,71,000	6,720	6,100	13,340	3,35,010	3,11,500	1,23,510
Total, Allahabad division ...	1,62,300	9,61,010	28,640	16,240	47,960	12,16,150	7,31,670	4,84,480
Banda	24,540	1,48,700	4,410	500	5,040	1,83,190	1,35,167	28,023
Hamirpur	22,240	1,13,500	4,460	2,200	6,250	1,48,650	1,26,093	22,557
Jhansi	23,310	1,25,300	2,000	1,650	6,420	1,58,680	1,25,000	33,680
Jalaun	24,230	92,800	3,840	2,000	6,950	1,29,820	1,04,620	25,200
Total, Jhansi division ...	94,320	4,80,300	14,710	6,350	24,660	6,20,340	5,10,880	1,09,460
Benares	42,530	2,83,860	8,900	3,900	1,730	3,40,920	2,88,500	72,420
Mirzapur	19,570	1,41,600	3,700	500	2,690	1,68,060	1,45,780	22,280
Jaunpur	47,950	2,58,100	22,530	3,300	1,930	3,33,810	2,72,970	68,840
Ghazipur	30,490	1,85,300	9,900	500	3,100	2,29,290	1,78,830	50,460
Ballia	36,620	2,30,900	15,970	2,400	1,700	2,87,590	2,44,720	42,870
Total, Benares division ...	1,77,160	10,99,760	61,000	10,600	11,150	13,59,670	11,30,800	2,28,870
Gorakhpur	66,670	4,05,600	17,020	4,430	18,720	5,12,440	3,92,520	1,19,920
Basti	44,150	3,18,900	12,690	2,600	9,920	3,88,260	2,96,590	91,670
Azamgarh	50,150	2,60,000	17,350	3,400	13,610	3,44,510	2,51,690	92,820
Total, Gorakhpur division ...	1,60,970	9,84,500	47,060	10,430	42,250	12,45,210	9,40,800	3,04,410
Naini Tal	13,250	66,400	2,360	2,130	3,430	87,570	74,510	13,060
Almora	21,460	1,58,700	1,800	3,900	4,000	1,89,860	1,65,710	24,150
Garhwal	18,600	1,37,230	700	700	2,170	1,59,400	1,46,200	13,200
Total, Kumaun division ...	53,310	3,62,330	4,860	6,730	9,600	4,36,830	3,86,420	50,410
Total, Province of Agra ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

*An Additional recurring grant of Rs. 30,000 per annum for general purposes will be made from 1926-27.

In answer to a question asked by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan in the U. P. Legislative Council in March, 1928, the Government gave a list of Anglo-Vernacular Secondary Schools for Boys and Girls in the United Provinces, showing the amount of grant given by them in 1927-28. Muslim educational institutions are marked with a cross. The paucity of Muslim institutions and the ridiculously low grants which they receive will be clear from these figures :

	Name of District.	Name of Institution.	Net monthly grant from March 1, 1927.
		INTERMEDIATE COLLEGES FOR BOYS.	
			Rs. a. p.
1.	Dehra Dun ...	D. A.-V. Intermediate College ...	1,800 0 0
2.	Bulandshahr ...	Nathimal Ram Sahai Mal, E. C. Intermediate College, Khurja ...	2,000 0 0
×3.	Aligarh ...	Muslim University Intermediate College	3,054 0 0
4.	Agra	Radha Swami Educational Institute	1,823 0 0
5	Moradabad ...	S. S. M. Intermediate College, Chandausi	2,925 0 0
6.	Allahabad ...	Kayestha Pathshala Intermediate College	3,250 0 0
7.	do. ...	Anglo-Bengali Intermediate College...	750 0 0
8.	Lucknow ...	Lucknow Christian Intermediate College	1,901 0 0
9.	do. ...	Kanya Kubja Intermediate College	1,647 0 0*
×10.	do. ...	Shia Intermediate College ...	1,114 0 0
		HIGH SCHOOLS FOR BOYS.	
1.	Meerut ...	Jat Vedic High School, Baraut ...	600 0 0
2.	do. ...	Digambar Jain High School, Baraut...	468 0 0
3.	do. ...	Devanagri High School	850 0 0
4.	do. ...	Nanak Chand Anglo-Sanskrit High School	629 0 0
5.	do. ...	Cantonment Anglo-Vernacular High School	477 0 0
×6.	do. ...	Faiz-i-Am High School	616 0 0
7.	do. ...	Shambu Dayal High School, Ghaziabad	550 0 0
8.	~~Dehra Dun~~ ...	~~American Presbyterian Mission High~~ School	958 0 0

*Includes Rs. 70 per mensem for teaching of music.

Name of District.	Name of Institution.	Net monthly grant from March 1, 1927. Rs. as. p.
9. Bulandshahr ...	Anglo-Vernacular High School, Sikandrabad	505 0 0*
10. do. ...	King Edward Memorial Jat High School, Lakhauti	500 0 0
11. do. ...	Janki Prasad Anglo-Sanskrit High School, Khurja	845 0 0
12. do. ...	Anglo-Vedic High School, Anupshahr	650 0 0
13. do. ..	Kuber High School, Debai ...	400 0 0
14. Muzaffarnagar ...	Edward Anglo-Sanskrit High School	500 0 0
15. do. ...	D. A.-V. High School	500 0 0
16. Saharanpur ...	Islamia Anglo-Vernacular High School	438 0 0
17. do. ...	Kashi Ram High School	400 0 0
18. Aligarh ...	Dharma Samaj High School ...	930 0 0
19. Fyzabad ...	Forbes' High School	467 0 0
20. Aligarh ...	Kayastha Pathshala High School ...	498 0 0
21. do. ...	Phoolchand Bagla A. S. High School, Hathras	785 0 0
22. Agra ...	St. John's High School	1,135 0 0
23. do. ...	Victoria High School	596 0 0
24. do. ...	Railway Anglo-Vernacular School, Tundla	745 0 0
25. do. ...	Sri Ram Chandra Victory High School, Firozabad	591 0 0
26. do. ...	Baptist Mission High School	829 0 0
27. do. ..	Mufid-i-Am High School	750 0 0
×28. do. ...	Shoaib Mohammadia High School ...	998 0 0
29. do. ...	D. A.-V. High School	418 0 0
30. Muttra ...	Kishori Raman High School ...	588 0 0
31. Mainpuri ...	Abhir Kshattriya High School, Shikohabad	500 0 0
32. Moradabad ...	Parker High School	630 0 0
×33. do. ...	Hewett Muslim High School ...	600 0 0

*Includes Rs. 5 per mensem on account of allowance to the Medical Visitor of the School to be paid for nine months in the year (i.e., for March and April 1927, and from August 1927, to the end of February, 1928).

Name of District.	Name of Institution.	Net monthly grant from March 1, 1927.
		Rs. a. p.
34. Moradabad ...	Dhian Singh Memorial High School, Kanth	*510 0 0
35. do. ...	Coronation Hindu High School ...	662 0 0
36. do. ...	King George Union High School, Sambhal	400 0 0
37. Bareilly ...	Western Inglis Memorial High School	948 0 0
38. do. ...	Eastern Inglis Memorial High School	822 0 0
39. do. ...	Edward Memorial High School ...	†500 0 0
×40. Budaun ...	Meston Islamia High School ...	700 0 0
41. Shahjahanpur ...	American Methodist Episcopal Mission High School	766 0 0
42. Farrukhabad ...	Diamond Jubilee High School, Kanauj	800 0 0
43. do. ...	Aditya Kumari Kshattriya High School, Tirwa	450 0 0
44. Allahabad ...	Modern High School ...	750 0 0
45. do. ...	Daraganj High School ...	606 0 0
46. do. ...	Vidya Mandir High School	700 0 0
47. do. ...	City Anglo-Vernacular High School	1,075 0 0
48. do. ...	D. A.-V. High School ...	600 0 0
49. Etawah ...	Sanatan Dharam High School	675 0 0
×50. do. ...	Islamia High School ...	708 0 0
×51. Cawnpore ...	Halim Muslim High School ...	1,000 0 0
52. do. ...	D. A.-V. High School ...	689 0 0
53. do. ...	Pandit Prithi Nath High School ...	855 0 0
54. do. ...	Gur Narayan Khattri High School ...	600 0 0
55. do. ...	Kanya Kubja High School ...	347 0 0
56. do. ...	Christ Church High School ...	828 0 0
57. do. ...	B. N. Sanatan Dharma High School...	500 0 0
58. Jhansi ...	MacDonnel High School ...	942 0 0
59. Jaunpur ...	Priya Nath Ghosh High School ...	765 0 0

*Includes Rs. 10 per mensem on account of allowance to the Medical Visitor of the school to be paid for nine months in the year (*i.e.*, for March and April, 1927, and from August, 1927, to the end of February, 1928).

†Includes Rs. 54 per mensem for the teaching of music.

Name of District.	Name of Institution.	Net monthly grant from March 1, 1927.
		Rs. a. p.
60. Jaunpur ...	Kshattriya High School ...	700 0 0
61. Benares ...	London Mission High School ...	988 0 0
62. do. ..	Jai Narain's High School ...	1,020 0 0
63. do. ...	Bengali Tola High School ...	655 0 0
64. do. ...	Harish Chandra High School ...	1,023 0 0
65. do. ...	Anglo-Bengali High School ...	575 0 0
66. do. ...	D. A.-V. High School ...	800 0 0
67. Ghazipur ...	City High School ...	1,038 0 0
68. Ballia ...	A.-V High School ...	371 0 0
69. do. ...	L. D. Meston High School, Ballia ...	546 0 0
70. Mirzapur ...	Rani Suryapal Kunwar High School ...	748 0 0
71. do. ...	Anglo-Sanskrit Jubilee High School...	468 0 0
72. Gorakhpur ...	St. Andrew's Collegiate School ...	878 0 0
73. do. ...	Gorakhpur High School ...	1,250 0 0
×74. do. ...	George Islamia High School ...	708 0 0
75. Azamgarh ...	Wesley High School ...	1,391 0 0
76. do. ...	George High School ...	521 0 0
77. do. ...	Smith High School, Azmatgarh ...	539 0 0
78. Basti ..	Ratan Sen High School, Bansi ...	891 0 0
79. do. ...	Anglo-Sanskrit High School ...	425 0 0
80. Almora ...	Ramsay High School .	1,185 0 0
81. Naini Tal ...	Humphrey High School ...	1,133 0 0
82. do. ...	Udayraj Hindu High School, Kashipur	*513 0 0
83. Garhwal ...	Messmore High School, Pauri ...	1,050 0 0
84. Lucknow ...	Queen's Anglo-Sanskrit High School	915 0 0
85. do. ...	Harichand High School	700 0 0
86. do. ...	C. M. S. Birkett High School ...	915 0 0
87. do. ...	Kali Charan High School ...	860 0 0
88. do. ...	Aminabad High School	750 0 0

* Includes Rs. 10 per mensem on account of allowance to the Medical Visitor of the School to be paid for nine months in the year, (*i. e.*, for March and April, 1927, and from August, 1927, to the end of February, 1928).

Name of District	Name of Institution.	Net monthly grant from March 1, 1927.
		Rs. a. p.
×89. Lucknow ...	Amir-ud-daula Islamia High School ...	569 0 0
90. do. ...	D. A.-V. High School	792 0 0
91. do. ...	Girdhari Singh Pathshala ...	449 0 0
92. do. ...	Colvin Taluqdars' School ...	2,500 0 0
93. Sitapur ...	Seth Jai Dayal's High School, Biswan	585 0 0
94. do. ...	Colvin High School, Mahmudabad ...	741 0 0
95. do. ...	Raja Raghubar Dayal's Anglo-Vernacular High School	498 0 0
96 Hardoi... ...	King George Kshattriya High School	600 0 0
97. Kheri	Dharam Sabha High School, Lakhimpur	519 0 0
89. Unao	Kedar Nath Diamond Jubilee High School, Maurawan	586 0 0
99. Rae Bareli ...	Hindu High School	490 0 0
100. Gonda... ...	Lyall Collegiate School, Balrampur ...	732 0 0
101. Partabgarh ...	Ajit Sombansi High School ...	544 0 0
102. Fyzabad ...	Manohar Lal High School ...	673 0 0
	MIDDLE SCHOOLS FOR BOYS.	
1. Dehra Dun ...	Municipal A.-V. Middle School, Mussoorie	300 0 0
2. do. ...	School for Gurkhas	183 0 0
3. Meerut ...	St. Charles A.-V. School, Sardhana ...	235 0 0
4. Bulandshahr ...	D. A.-V School, Bulandshahr ...	350 0 0
5. Saharanpur ...	Harpat Rai Anglo-Vedic School, Deoband	238 0 0
6. Muttra ...	American Mission Anglo-Vernacular School	400 0 0
7. do. ...	Agarwala Vidyalaya	175 0 0
8. Agra	C. M. S. Anglo-Vernacular School, Belanganj	141 0 0
9. do.	Brahman School	200 0 0
10. do.	C M. S. A.-V. Middle School, Sikandra	275 0 0
×11. Etah	Morison Islamia School, Marehra ...	272 0 0

Name of District	Name of Institution.	Net monthly grant from March 1, 1927.
		Rs. a. p.
×12. Aligarh ...	Muslim University Middle School ...	1,000 0 0
×13. do. ...	,, , City School ...	392 0 0
14. Moradabad ...	Tej Ram George Coronation Hindu School, Amroha	250 0 0
15. do. ...	S. D. Hindu School, Thakurdwara ...	100 0 0
×16. Moradabad ...	Imamul Madaris, Amroha ...	210 0 0
17. Bareilly ...	Victoria Railway School	264 0 0
18. do. ...	City Mission Boys' School ...	314 0 0
19. do. ...	Saraswati Vidyalaya	237 0 0
×20. do. ...	Islamia School	250 0 0
21. do. ...	Rooke's A.-V. Middle School ...	100 0 0
22. do. ...	Chhangamal A. S. School, Faridpur ...	137 0 0
23. do. ...	Edward A.-V. School, Aonla ...	93 12 0
24. Budaun ...	City Mission Boys' School ...	264 0 0
25. do. ...	Nethersole A.-V. Municipal School, Ujhani	142 0 0
26. Bijnor ...	George Hindu Public School, Nagina	300 0 0
27. do. ...	Karorimal Memorial School, Dhampur	143 0 0
28. Shahjahanpur ...	Janki Pathshala, Tilhar	187 0 0
29. do. ...	Satya Sabha School	282 0 0
30. Allahabad ...	Agarwal Vidyalaya	308 0 0
31. do. ...	Colonelganj Aided Anglo-Vernacular School	488 0 0
×32. do. ...	Islamia School	300 0 0
33. Fatehpur ...	Anglo-Sanskrit School	202 0 0
34. Banda ...	Mayne Memorial City School ...	125 0 0
35. Mirzapur ...	Narotam Das A.-V. Middle School, Chunar	221 0 0
36. Benares ...	Joint Railway Indian Boys' School, Moghal Sarai	166 0 0
37. do. ...	Sanatan Dharma Vidyalaya ...	244 0 0
38. do. ...	Gujar Pathshala	180 0 0
×39. Jaunpur ...	Shia Middle School	111 0 0

Name of District.	Name of Institution.	Net monthly grant from March 1, 1927.
		Rs. a. p.
40. Jaunpur ...	Kayastha Pathshala	250 0 0
41. Ghazipur ...	D. A.-V School, Ghazipur ...	150 0 0
42. Ballia ...	A.-V. Middle School, Rasra ...	250 0 0
43. Gorakhpur ...	City Anglo-Vernacular Middle School, Alinagar	351 0 0
44. do. ...	A.-V. Middle School, Barhaj Bazar ...	175 0 0
45. Azamgarh ...	Vidya Mandir English Middle School, Mau	200 0 0
46. Almora ...	Mission School, Dwarahat ...	*349 0 0
47. do. ...	Anglo-Vernacular Mission School, Ranikhet	272 0 0
48. Lucknow ...	N. D. Shukla School	300 0 0
49. do. ...	Centennial Middle School ...	400 0 0
50. do. ...	Municipal School, Kazmain ...	250 0 0
×51. do. ...	Shia Middle School	300 0 0
52. Hardoi ...	Turner Anglo-Vernacular School, Sandila	300 0 0
53. do. ..	English Middle School, Bhagwantnagar, Mallawan	80 0 0
54. Sitapur ..	Diamond Jubilee School, Khairabad	76 0 0
55. Fyzabad ...	Bishesharnath A.-V. Middle School, Akbarpur	368 0 0
56. do. ...	Sri Anant English School, Khaprade...	192 0 0
57. Gonda ...	Aman Sabha School	200 0 0
58. Sultanpur ...	Madhusudan Vidyalaya	220 0 0
59. Aligarh. ...	D. A.-V. Pathshala	412 0 0
	PRIMARY SCHOOLS FOR BOYS.	
1. Meerut ...	M. E. Mission Boys' School ...	100 0 0
2. Allahabad ...	M. E. Mission Boys' School ...	122 0 0
3. Sitapur ...	M. E. Mission School	100 0 0

*Includes Rs. 5 per mensem on account of allowance to the Medical Visitor of the School to be paid for nine months in the year (*i. e.*, for March and April, 1927, and from August, 1927, to the end of February, 1928).

Name of District.	Name of Institution.	Net monthly grant from March 1st, 1927. Rs a. p.
	INTERMEDIATE COLLEGES FOR GIRLS.	
1. Allahabad ...	Crosthwaite Girls' Intermediate College ...	2,010 0 0
2. Benare ..	Theosophical National Girls' Intermediate College ...	1,211 0 0
	HIGH SCHOOLS FOR GIRLS.	
1. Dehra Dun ...	American Presbyterian Mission Girls' High School	634 0 0
2. do. ...	Mahadevi Kanya Pathshala ...	691 0 0
3. Meerut ...	M. E. Mission Girls' High School ...	383 0 0
4. Aligarh ...	M. U. Girls' High School ...	1,026 0 0
5. Agra ...	Queen Victoria Girls' High School ...	593 0 0
6. Allahabad ...	Mary Wanamaker Girls' High School	620 0 0
7. do. ...	Jagat Taran Girls' High School ...	798 0 0
×8. Lucknow ...	Muslim Girls' High School ...	902 0 0
	MIDDLE SCHOOLS FOR GIRLS.	
1. Bulandshahr ...	Arya Kanya Pathshala, Khurja ...	100 0 0
2. Meerut ...	St. Thomas Girls' Middle School, C. M. S.	259 0 0
3. do. ...	C. M. S. Girls' Middle School, Thatherwara ...	43 0 0
4. do. ...	Arya Kanya Pathshala	209 0 0
5. do. ...	C. M. S. Girls' School, Jeyi ...	150 0 0
6. Meerut ...	Sri Sanatan Dharma Girls' School ...	88 0 0
7. do. ...	C. M S. Sadar Girls' School ...	55 0 0
8. Saharanpur ...	King Edward School for Hindu Girls	150 0 0
9. do. ...	A. P. Mission Central Girls' School	100 0 0
10. Muzaffarnagar ...	Hewett Model Girls' School ...	146 0 0
11. Aligarh ...	Louisa Soules Girls' School ...	220 0 0
12. Muttra ...	M. E. Mission Girls' Boarding School	156 0 0
13. do. ...	Arya Samaj Girls' School ...	100 0 0
14. do. ...	Kishori Raman Girls' School, Muttra	125 0 0
15. Farrukhabad ...	A. P. Mission Rakha Girls' School, Fatehgarh	418 0 0

Name of District.	Name of Institution.	Net monthly grant from March 1, 1927.
		Rs. a. p.
16. Farrukhabad ...	Hindu Girls' School, Kanauj ...	132 0 0
17. Agra ...	St. John's Girls' School	167 0 0
18. do. ...	Rawatpara Girls' School ...	134 0 0
19. do ...	St. Joseph's Orphanage Girls' School	167 0 0
20. Bareilly ...	M. E. Mission Girls' Orphanage and Boarding School	363 0 0
21. do. ...	Arya Samaj Girls' School, Bhoor ...	148 0 0
22. do. ..	Stree Sudhar Vidyalaya ...	255 0 0
23. Bijnor ...	Hindu Kanya Pathshala, Najibabad	46 0 0
24. Budaun ...	M. E. Mission Sigler Girls' Boarding School	271 0 0
25. Shahjahanpur ..	Bidwell Memorial Girls' School ...	202 0 0
26. do. ...	Arya Kanya Pathshala	100 0 0
27. Moradabad ...	Methodist Girls' Boarding School ...	222 0 0
28. do. ...	Partab Singh Girls' School ...	374 0 0
29. Pilibhit ...	Arya Kanya Pathshala	120 0 0
30. Cawnpore ...	Hudson Memorial School or M. E. Mission Girls' Boarding School ...	300 0 0
31. do. ...	S. P. G. Epiphany Girls' School ...	294 0 0
32. do. ...	Balika Vidyalaya	750 0 0
×33. do. ...	Muhammadan Jubilee Girls' School ...	235 0 0
34. Allahabad	Arya Kanya Pathshala	285 0 0
35. do ...	Gauri Pathshala	109 0 0
36. do. ...	Adarsha Kanya Pathshala, Attarsuia	80 0 0
37. Benares ...	Church Mission Society Girls' Schools, Sigra	305 0 0
38. do. ...	Vivekanand Vani Bhawan ...	150 0 0
39. do. ...	Central Hindu Girls' School ...	328 0 0
40. Mirzapur ...	Hindu Balika Vidyalaya	69 0 0
41. do. ...	Arya Kanya Pathshala	90 0 0
42. Gorakhpur ...	C M S. Girls' School, Basharatpur ...	98 0 0
43. Garhwal ...	A. M. E. Mission Girls' Orphanage and Boarding School, Pauri ...	152 0 0

Name of District.	Name of Institution.	Net monthly grant from March 1 1927.
		Rs. a. p.
44. Almora ...	Anglo-Vernacular Girls' School, Dwarahat	88 0 0
45. do. ...	Anglo-Vernacular Girls' School, Pithoragarh	225 0 0
46. Sitapur ...	Christian Girls' Boarding School	147 0 0
47. Lucknow ...	Municipal Middle A.-V. Girls' School, Kashmiri Mohalla	466 0 0
48. do. ...	Lal Bagh Girls' School ...	890 0 0
49. do. ...	Hari Mati Girls' School ...	154 0 0
50. Hardoi ...	Methodist Episcopal Mission Girls' Boarding School	119 0 0
51. Gonda ...	Chambers Memorial Girls' School ...	173 0 0
52. do. ...	Girls' School, Balrampur ...	400 0 0
53. Fyzabad ...	Wesleyan Mission Anglo-Vernacular Girls' Boarding School ...	198 0 0
54. Sultanpur ...	M. B. Girls' Mission Anglo-Vernacular Orphanage School ...	199 0 0
55. Lucknow ...	Mahila Vidyalaya ...	682 0 0
56. Almora ...	M. E. Mission Girls' School ...	303 0 0
	PRIMARY SCHOOLS FOR GIRLS.	
1. Meerut ...	Mohammad Ismail Girls' School ...	264 0 0
2. Saharanpur ...	M. E. Mission Girls' School, Roorkee	120 0 0
3. Bijnor	Lois Lee Parker Girls' School . .	114 0 0
4. Allahabad ...	Indian Girls' Free School ...	117 0 0
5. do. ...	Theosophical Montessore School ...	500 0 0
6. Agra ...	Three Zenana Mission Girls' School	130 0 0
×7. do. ...	Saghir Fatima School ...	148 0 0
8. Mainpuri ...	Kanya Prem Pathshala ...	100 0 0
9. Cawnpore ...	Mahila Vidyalaya	50 0 0
10. Gorakhpur ...	Theosophical Girls' School ...	140 0 0
11. Banda ...	Arya Kanya Pathshala ...	175 0 0
12. do. ...	Rashtriya Kanya Pathshala ..	50 0 0
13. Bulandshahr ...	Arya Kanya Pathshala, Anupshahr ...	50 0 0
14. Shahjahanpur ...	Hindu Girls' School, Tilhar ...	47 0 0

Statement showing the Allotment, the Number of Muslim and Non-Muslim Students and Staff of the Agricultural College, Cawnpore, Agricultural School, Bulandshahr, and the Ingrahm Training School, Ghaziabad, in answer to a question asked by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan in the Legislative Council, in March, 1928.

Name of Institution.	Allotment	Staff.		Students.	
		Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.
	Rs.				
The Cawnpore Agricultural College ...	*3,23,183	7	44	39	89
The Bulandshahr Agricultural School ...	53,471	1	4	27	46
The Ingrahm Training School, Ghaziabad. (Aided, non-recurring).	2,000	Not known		...	81

* Includes allotments for Research.

The clerical establishment of the District Medical Officers consists of two grades on the following time-scale of pay :—

Grade I on Rs. 65-5/2-90.

„ II on Rs. 40-5/2-65.

There are 49 clerks in the first grade of whom six are Muslims, and 59 clerks in the second grade of whom five are Muslims.

1.	Number of Muslim girl students		in Primary A.-V. and Vernacular Schools ...	12,362
2.	„	„	in Middle A.-V. and Vernacular Schools ...	157
3.	„	„	in High Schools ...	12
4.	„	„	in Intermediate Colleges	5
5.	„	„	Women teachers in Normal Schools ...	8
6.	„	„	Women teachers in Model Schools ...	45

Statement showing the Proportion of Muslim to Non-Muslim Students in Normal Schools in each District in the years 1923, 1924, 1925, 1926 and 1927, supplied in answer to a question asked by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, in the U. P. Legislative Council in March, 1928.

District.	Muslim.	Non-Muslim.	Muslim.	Non-Muslim.	Muslim.	Non-Muslim.	Muslim.	Non-Muslim.	Muslim.	Non-Muslim.
	1923		1924		1925		1926		1927	
Dehra Dun	...	2	...	2	...	2	...	2	...	2
Saharanpur	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
Muzaffarnagar	2	3	2	3	1	4	2	3	1	6
Meerut	1	3	2	5	2	5	2	5	2	5
Bulandshahr	1	3	3	11	1	6	3	11	2	5
Total, Meerut Division	5	13	8	23	5	19	8	23	6	20
Aligarh	1	12	1	7	1	7	3	13	1	3
Muttra	...	12	..	14	1	13	1	4	1	4
Agra	3	10	3	14	3	13	2	13	1	4
Mainpuri	1	5	1	6	1	13	1	13	2	13
Etah	1	4	1	5	1	10	1	10	2	11
Total, Agra Division	6	43	6	46	7	56	8	53	7	35

District.	Muslim.	Non-Muslim.	Muslim.	Non-Muslim.	Muslim.	Non-Muslim.	Muslim.	Non-Muslim.	Muslim.	Non-Muslim.
	1923		1924		1925		1926		1927	
Bareilly	3	2	3	2	2	3	3	5	2	5
Bijnor	2	3	2	3	1	4	1	3	1	4
Budaun	1	4	2	3	2	3	1	1	1	1
Moradabad	3	5	3	5	2	7	4	5	3	5
Shahjahanpur	1	4	1	1	1	4	1	1	1	3
Pilibhit	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
Total, Rohilkhand Division	11	20	12	16	9	23	11	17	9	20
Farrukhabad	1	3	2	5	2	5	2	5	2	5
Etawah	1	11	1	6	3	13	4	13	3	13
Cawnpore	2	9	1	5	2	9	2	11	1	5
Fatehpur	1	3	1	3	1	7	1	7	1	3
Allahabad	1	4	3	7	3	7	2	7	1	4
Total, Allahabad Division	6	30	8	26	11	41	11	43	8	30
Banda	2	5	2	5	2	5	1	6	...	7
Hamirpur	1	5	1	5	1	5	1	5	1	5

Jhansi	3	8	1	5	...	8	...	8	...	8
Jalaun	3	8	1	5	1	5	1	6	1	6
Total, Jhansi Division	9	26	5	20	4	23	3	25	2	26
Benares	1	2	2	7	2	7	4	11	1	9
Mirzapur	1	5	1	5	1	5	1	5	1	5
Jaunpur	1	2	2	3	2	7	1	3	1	2
Ghazipur	1	6	2	5	1	5	1	2	2	5
Ballia	1	6	1	5	1	6	1	6	1	5
Total, Benares Division ...	5	21	8	25	7	30	8	27	6	26
Gorakhpur	1	3	1	4	2	21	4	13	1	5
Basti	1	8	2	7	2	7	1	2	1	2
Azamgarh	1	3	1	3	1	3	1	7	1	3
Total, Gorakhpur Division ...	3	14	4	14	5	31	6	22	3	10
Naini Tal	...	7	...	8		10	...	11	...	11
Almora	...	21	...	24	...	24	...	23	1	23
Garhwal	...	20	...	19	...	1	...	18	...	19
Total, Kumaun Division	...	48	...	51		52	...	52	1	53
Lucknow	1	1	1	3	2	5	3	4	1	2
Unao	1	2	2	5	1	5	1	6	1	2
Rae Bareli	2	5	1	3	2	5	1	7	1	5

District.	1923		1924		1925		1926		1927	
	Muslim.	Non-Muslim.	Muslim.	Non-Muslim	Muslim.	Non-Muslim.	Muslim.	Non-Muslim.	Muslim.	Non-Muslim.
Sitapur	2	5	3	5	3	7	2	5	2	5
Hardoi	2	5	2	5	2	5	3	5	1	3
Kheri	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	2	1	3
Total, Lucknow Division ...	8	18	9	21	10	28	10	29	8	20
Fyzabad	1	4	1	6	1	3	1	3	1	4
Gonda ...	1	2	...	3	1	5	1	2	1	6
Bahraich	1	4	1	4	1	4	1	4	1	11
Sultanpur	2	5	1	6	2	5	1	6	2	5
Partabgarh	1	2	1	5	1	2	1	5	1	2
Bara Banki	1	3	3	5	1	3	3	5	1	3
Total, Fyzabad Division ...	7	20	7	29	7	22	8	25	7	31
Total, United Provinces ...	60	253	67	271	65	325	73	316	57	271

NOTE.—The figures given refer to male students only.

Statement showing the Number of Trained and Untrained Teachers in Islamia Schools in the year 1927, in answer to a question by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan in the Legislative Council in March, 1928.

District.	No of trained teachers.	No. of untrained teachers.	Remarks.
Province of Agra.			
Dehra Dun	...	1	
Saharanpur	35	6	
Muzaffarnagar	27	15	
Meerut	20	30	
Bulandshahr	9	8	
Total, Meerut Division ...	91	60	
Aligarh	14	7	
Muttra	...	14	
Agra	3	8	
Mainpuri	6	20	
Etah	3	1	
Total, Agra Division ...	26	50	
Bareilly	13	18	
Bijnor	27	2	
Budaun	20	2	
Moradabad	41	12	
Shahjahanpur	28	10	
Pilibhit	3	2	
Total, Rohilkhand Division ...	132	46	
Farrukhabad	14	6	
Etawah	1	7	
Cawnpore	2	5	
Fatehpur	13	4	
Allahabad	5	11	
Total, Allahabad Division ...	35	33	
Banda	4	6	
Hamirpur	5	4	
Jhansi	1	2	
Jalaun	13	5	
Total, Jhansi Division	23	17	

District.	No. of trained. teachers.	No. of untrained teachers.	Remarks.
Province of Agra.			
Benares	19	9	
Mirzapur	5	9	
Jaunpur	50	23	
Ghazipur	9	24	
Ballia	29	20	
Total, Benares Division ...	112	85	
Gorakhpur	18	17	
Basti	12	5	
Azamgarh	36	6	
Total, Gorakhpur Division ...	66	28	
Naini Tal	4	13	
Almora	2	5	
Garhwal	...	3	
Total, Kumayun Division ...	6	21	
Total, Province of Agra ...	...	...	
Oudh			
Lucknow	8	8	
Unao	5	3	
Rae Bareli	7	2	
Sitapur	11	3	
Hardoi	11	14	
Kheri	5	2	
Total, Lucknow Division ...	47	32	
Fyzabad	3	5	
Gonda	7	...	
Bahraich	5	38	
Sultanpur	11	13	
Partabgarh	2	8	
Bara Banki	12	4	
Total, Fyzabad Division ...	40	68	
Total, United Provinces ...	578	440	

Reply to a question asked by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan in the U. P. Legislative Council, in March, 1928.

	No. of Muslims who received scholarships in 1927.	Percentage.	No. of Non-Muslims who received scholarships in 1927.	Percentage.	Amount of scholarships granted to Muslims.	Amount of scholarships granted to Non-Muslims.
					Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
1. Arts Colleges	13	7	169	93	2,128 0 0	28,286 0 0
2. Secondary Schools	341	17	1,658	83	19,133 0 0	1,05,114 0 0
3 Primary Schools	29	16	155	84	568 0 0	4,813 0 0

The Policy of a typical District Board towards Muslim Education.

We quote below a letter which Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan has received from the Chairman, Maktab Committee, Etah.

SIR,

The District Board of Etah has reduced the allotment under the head "Islamia Schools and Maktabs" by Rs. 1,100, the details of which will be known to you from a copy of the correspondence enclosed herewith. Though the Inspector of Schools, Agra Division, has not yet sanctioned the curtailment, yet the Board has already closed three flourishing Maktabs, and is going to close some more Maktabs. This is a serious blow to Muslim education. The board has not only done this, but has given another blow to Muslim education. Up till now a Muhammadan Sub-Deputy Inspector of Schools was in charge of all Islamia Schools and Maktabs in the district. He being a Muhammadan naturally took a keen interest in the expansion of Muslim education. The Inspector of Schools, Agra Division, has, in spite of the opposition of the Chairman, Muslim Education Committee, recently ordered that Muslim schools should be inspected by Circle Sub-Deputy Inspectors whether they are Hindus or Muslims. Copies of the correspondence are enclosed herewith. It is obvious that the Hindu Sub-Deputy Inspectors will, instead of encouraging these schools, discourage them, and will try to close them. There is no rule on the point, and it is highly desirable that the following words should be added in the Educational Code, after the section defining the duties of the Divisional Deputy Inspector of Muhammadan Schools.

"If the Deputy Inspector of Muhammadan Schools cannot pay two inspections to all the Mohammadan schools in his division, he shall be helped by a Mohammadan Sub-Deputy Inspector of Schools in each district. The Mohammadan Sub-Deputy Inspector shall inspect all the Islamia schools and Maktabs in the district, and, shall keep Deputy Inspector of Mohammadan Schools and the Mohammadan Educational Committee informed of the condition of Muslim education in the district and the possibilities of expansion. He shall also act as Secretary to the Muslim Educational Committee."

In many districts of the province Hindu Sub-Deputy Inspectors inspect Muslim schools (Maktabs) which is undersirable, especially when Mohammadan Sub-Deputy Inspectors are available in every district. By the addition of the above words, the whole Muslim community will benefit. Hindu Sub-Deputy Inspectors inspect Maktabs with a view to discourage them; the position of the Deputy Inspector of Mohammadan Schools is growing serious, and the Muslims are suffering serverely.

Yours sincerely
Md. SWALEH,
Rais, Honorary Magistrate and Member,
District Board, Etah.

MAREHRA ETAH,
1st July 1928.

FROM

THE CHAIRMAN,

Mohammadan Education Committee.

ETAH.

To

THE INSPECTOR OF SCHOOLS,

Agra Division,

AGRA.

SIR,

The District Board had provided Rs. 4,000 in the budget for 1927-28 for Islamia schools and Maktabs, raising the grant from Rs. 3,000 to Rs. 4,000 for recurring expenses, on the request of the Maktab Committee and on the recommendations of the then Inspector of Schools. The Muslim Education Committee therefore opened some new Maktabs during the last year. The Board this year has reduced the allotment from Rs. 4,000 to Rs. 2,900, *i.e.*, the minimum prescribed by the department on the basis of expenditure of 1926-27 without any reason. This is in contravention of G.O. No. 546-XV-1099-1927 dated June 2, 1927 (para 5), which runs as follows :—

> " I am to add that if the Board decides in any year to increase its recurring expenditure under any head on the prescribed minimum, it should do so on the clear understanding that the Board is committed to that increased recurring expenditure in future years, and the minimum for that head will be reckoned at the increased figure for subsequent years also."

The Board's plea that the budget was prepared in March, and the G.O. was received in June, and so was not considered by the Board at the time of preparation of the Budget, does not hold good in case of Islamia schools and Maktabs, as the additional sum was granted at the request of the Maktab Committee, and was recommended by the Inspector of Schools, after due consideration of the needs of Muslim education in the district, for recurring expenses. If the Board is allowed to reduce the allotment under this head 33% Maktabs will be closed, and there will be a great loss to the Muslim education. The Mohammadan Educational Committee had submitted a memorial to you in February last, but the Committee has not received any reply as yet.

I have come to know that you have raised objections to the District Board Budget on the ground of the G.O. referred to above, and I hope that you will not allow the reduction in the recurring expenses of schools, particularly for the education of the Mohammadan community, which is backward in education.

As the new session begins in July, the Mohammadan Educational Committee has to make annual arrangements this month. None of the Maktabs or Islamia schools in this district is so bad as to justify its closing on the ground of its inefficiency. The grants-in-aid which these Maktabs are receiving are not more than Rs. 10 or Rs. 12 per month, and in some cases they are paid at lower rates than those prescribed by the rules. It is not therefore possible to curtail expenditure by lowering the rate of grant, and the only alternative by which the expenditure can be reduced is to close some of the flourishing schools. What

should the Committee do under the circumstances ? Should it close some of the schools to bring the budget to the proposed level of Rs. 2,900 as provided by the District Board, or should it keep its budget on the last year's level (Rs. 4,000) as contemplated by the department according to the said G.O.) ?

If any of the Maktabs are closed at this stage when the budget has neither been passed by you nor by the Commissioner, it will be impossible to reopen them even if your objections stand, and the loss which the unfortunate boys of these schools will suffer will be irreparable.

There are only three Islamia schools in the whole district, and only 22 low paid Maktabs for a community of 80,000 Mohammadans, and for the education of the children of such a large community the sum of Rs. 4,000 is a small figure, and if further curtailment in this sum by Rs. 1,100 is allowed it means practically the end of the scheme of Mohammadan schools.

The Board have committed themselves to wrong economy by closing Mohammadan schools ; will you allow it ?

The Mohammadan Educational Committee therefore requests you to kindly let them know your opinion upon the above points, so that annual arrangements may be made accordingly.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your Most Obedient Servant,

Chairman,

Muhammadan Educational Committee, Etah.

Note.—A few verbal changes have been made in this letter.

Note on the Islamia Schools and Maktabs in Etah District.

All the Islamia schools and Maktabs in this district are in charge of a Mohammadan Sub-Deputy Inspector of Schools, who helps the Deputy Inspector of Mohammadan Schools in the inspection and the supervision of these schools. This arrangement has been in existence for the last six or seven years, and is not inconsistent with the rules. There is also a similar arrangement in many of the districts of U. P. As this arrangement proved highly satisfactory it was kept up by the Chairman and the Inspector of Schools at the time of the redistribution of circles last year. The present Sub-Deputy Inspector of Schools is taking very keen interest in Mohammadan schools, and has nearly doubled the institutions during the last two years. The Board has reduced the allotment under head "Islamia Schools and Maktabs" by Rs. 1,100, on account of which 33 per cent Maktabs are going to be closed.

The Maktabs are religious institutions, in which holy Quran and other books on Religion are taught. They are in many cases situated in mosques, and under the circumstances it is highly desirable that a Mohammadan Sub-Deputy Inspector of Schools should inspect them. He can better inspect these institutions, can better organize and arrange them than a Non-Muslim Officer. A Non-Muslim Officer will not be able to report on the quality of religious education imparted in these institutions and his entry into the mosques is greatly resented by the Muslim public. The present arrangement in Etah is satisfactory and most economical.

All the Pathshalas which are Hindu religious schools are inspected only by Hindu Sub-Deputy Inspectors of Schools in this district.

As to the argument that the Mohammadan schools may be divided among the two Mohammadan Sub-Deputy Inspectors of Schools in this district, I beg to point out that there are 25 District Board Mohammadan schools (Islamia schools three, Maktabs 22) in the whole district, and this number is not so large as to justify a division between two officers. By making one Sub-Deputy Inspector of Schools, responsible for all the Mohammadan schools the work is conducted more smoothly and the officer feels his responsibility. By division of schools there will also be the division of responsibility. Ordinarily only one Mohammadan Sub-Deputy Inspector of Schools is posted in a district and it is only by accident that two Mohammadan Sub-Deputy Inspectors are working in this district now a days. If any of them is transferred, it will involve rearrangement and distribution of circles which might result in complications which are undesirable.

For the above reasons no change is required in the present arrangement.

It is worthy of note that the Sub-Deputy Inspector of Schools in charge of Mohammadan schools has been disallowed by the District Deputy Inspector to proceed on tour, and inspect Islamia schools and hold promotion examination. If boys are not examined this month, they will not be able to join the Vernacular Middle Schools in July next, and will lose one full year, without any fault on their part. The Mohammadan schools will be closed for Muharrum holidays from 20th June, and so promotion examination should be held at once and should be finished before that date.

Chairman, Maktab Committee,

Dated July, 1928. *Etah.*

Note on Religious Education.

We have emphasised the need for religious education in our Report on Education. We did not think it necessary to detail the provisions which we deem necessary for the success of religious instruction in schools. As our community attaches the greatest importance to the inclusion of religious instruction in schools attended by Muslim children, we deem it necessary to discuss in details our policy towards it.

We may begin by drawing your attention to the practice of most of the European countries in the past, and a large number of European countries at the present time. We could show, if we had the time and the opportunity, that Germany, France and other countries have attached the greatest importance to this factor in the building up of the child's mind and his character. The history of religious education in English schools has been recorded by a succession of writers on the history of education in England. We need only refer to the thorough, solid, and painstaking works by Professor W. J. Adamson, Mr. Birchenough, Mr. Leech, and Professor Foster-Watson. Reference may also be made to the book of the Chairman of this committee entitled, *English Education in the Years 1660—1720.* The book was published in Madras, in 1920. The history of the Cowper-Temple clause, embodied in the English Education Act of 1870, and the controversies to which it gave rise throughout the British Isles, are strongest possible testimony to the intensity, volume, and depth of the feeling of a large number of English people on this subject. The history of elementary education in Ireland in the XIXth century supplies another example of the vitality of this belief, and the universality of its adoption. The extracts we have quoted, in the beginning of our report on Education, from the constitutions of various European countries, point irresistibly to the same conclusion.

If this is true of European countries, it is still more true of the Muslim community. The education of a Muslim child begins with the Qoran, and that the primary education of a Muslim is permeated by religion. This was recognised as long ago as 1886 by the Hunter Commission; it was acknowledged by the Sadler Commission; and it has been emphasised on innumerable occasions by all impartial observers. One of the chief reasons for the backwardness of our community is precisely this, that a Muslim child has first to spend some time on learning the rudiments of his religion, and it is only after he has done this that he devotes time to acquiring mastery in the elements of secular education. The result is that he is greatly handicapped by this double process, and students of other communities outstrip him. He either contents himself with the meagre and inefficient education which he receives in unrecognised maktabs; or if he proceeds further, he finds it difficult to imbibe that atmosphere of free and easy intercourse and mutual sympathy, which result from the substantial infusion of the Muslim element in the staff. The result is that though his community pays nearly one-quarter of the total land-revenue of these provinces, he finds himself deprived of those rights which he legitimately claims. The land-revenue which he pays is spent on the education of members of

other communities. There are, besides this factor, other important factors which make it absolutely essential for our community to have religious instruction in primary schools. The first is the factor of population. We form only 9 per cent of the rural population of these provinces, and members of our community are scattered over a large territory, forming in cases only 5 to 6 per cent of the rural population, in others, such as Bijnor and Moradabad, about 27 per cent. We deem it to be of especial importance that members of our community who are so scattered and live in the midst of a population that is sometimes hostile, and at all times indifferent to their needs and requirements, should not be cut off from the main stream of Muslim culture. Unless provision is made for an education that will satisfy their desires, and harmonise with the deepest, purest, loftiest, and holiest tenets of their faith, they will avoid the ordinary schools, and keep their children in a state of illiteracy, ignorance and darkness that hamper the intellectual advancement, and material progress of their motherland. On the other hand, if they do send their children to schools, they will be religious schools in which secular instruction will be meagre, incomplete, unsatisfactory and altogether useless for the practical, day-to-day, problems of national life. We are convinced that if provision had been made for religious education in schools, the number of Muslim scholars would have increased six to seven times their present number. Even a cursory perusal of a work like Adams' *State of Education in 1835*, which deals with education in the Province of Bengal in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, shows on what liberal a scale provision was made in this country for madrassahs all over the country, in which instruction was provided both in secular and in religious subjects. Indeed, the Muslims of these provinces have actually retrograded, rather than progressed, and their illiteracy is much greater today than it was about forty years ago. The extract quoted by us from Mr. Karamat Husain's Committee, contained in the Report on Education, bears this out. The reasons are (*a*) the disappearance of a number of madrassahs during the last half century. (*b*) the embezzlement of a large amount of endowments devoted to education by their guardians; (*c*) the policy of the Education Department, which, instead of lending a helping hand to madrassahs of repute, left them severely alone; (*d*) the Hinduisation of the rural areas, the district boards, and the village employees. We regard the last cause extremely important. In our report on Local Self-Government we have shown the policy pursued by the district boards towards Muslim education. In the villages, there are two persons who mould the thought, and guide the action, of the rural classes. They are (1) the village schoolmaster, and (2) the village patwari. Now an overwhelming number of schoolmasters are Hindus. The ratio of Muslim teachers, instead of increasing, has actually decreased. Their percentage of decrease in the last five years has been nearly 19. The case of patwaris is still worse. Muslim patwaris constitute only about 4·88 per cent of the total number of patwaris. Their number is only about 1,333, out of about 28,000. The Appendix to the Report on Services brings this out clearly enough. Besides this, the employees of the district boards are mostly Hindus. These causes combined have brought about a state of affairs which needs your immediate attention.

We feel that in spite of our substantial contribution to the State, in spite of the services we have rendered, and are now rendering, to the Empire, in spite of the part we have played, and are still playing, in the public economy of these provinces, our claims for an education that will be in consonance with our needs, and in accordance with our religious, cultural and historical traditions, have been not only ignored, but actually opposed. The deplorable backwardness of our community is traceable to the studious neglect of this factor by those responsible for the enunciation, and charged with the duty of executing, the present policy in education. It is indeed an irony of fate that secular education should have found its stoutest defenders in a country which contains the noblest expression, and the grandest example, of religious thought in the world; a country wherein religion lays its foundation in the cradle, and dominates the entire life of the individual.

The policy of the Muslims of the provinces was explained by the Muslim members of the Select Committee on the District Board Primary Education Bill of 1926, who in their minute of dissent from the report of the Committee stressed the need for religious instruction in primary schools. The minute of dissent was published in the U. P. Government Gazette. Next month, the Muslim members of the Council moved a series of amendments to various sections of the Bill, with a view to making religious instruction compulsory. So unsympathetic was the attitude of the Hindu members, that all the Muslims present in the Council on that day walked out of the Council Chamber in protest. The proceedings of the U. P. Legislative Council for February 1926, will supply you with ample material on the subject.

Having defined our attitude towards religious instruction, we may be permitted to indicate the lines along which we should like a proposal of this nature to be carried out. At the outset, we may state that in our opinion lessons in morality, or, in any system of ethics, which is not embodied in the concrete, definite, unambiguous and clear precepts of religion, will be futile. To people in India religion is something more than merely a code, or system of moral philosophy. It is co-extensive with life. It guides the actions, moulds the thought, determines the habits, and symbolises a culture, of our people, and its "intensity, pervasiveness, and depth cannot even for a moment be compared with the vague, ethereal, indefinite, airy, and unsubstantial theories of morality. The latter acquire a momentum, they attain a force, and they achieve success only in and so far as they are embodied in the concrete, day-to-day, problems of life. They are rooted in the conception of the Supreme Being, and of faith. These two together are the core of religion. We cannot conceive of any system of philosophy—whether it be a variation of transcendental metaphysics, or an aspect of utilitarian ethics—being taught to little children with profit. It is our deliberate opinion that religion is wider than a code of morals; and has greater influence on the character, and habits of the children of this country. The experience of this system in France has not been very pleasant; while the work and policy of many of the education authorities in England, as chronicled in the *Times Educational Supplement* every week, shows conclusively the strength of the hold which religion exercises on the English people. We need only refer you to various articles on religious education in Monroe's

Cyclopædia of Education, and to numerous authoritative text-books on the history of education in Europe, for confirmation of our statements. We may now indicate very briefly the lines along which we should like this proposal to be worked.

(1) We wish to make it perfectly clear that the question of religious education is so delicate that it must be decided most carefully, and let us add, tactfully. Neither the Government nor the local authorities should have anything to do with the drawing up of the curricula for religious instruction. If there is a suspicion that these curricula have been constructed by a Government department, our community will oppose it vehemently. Nor should any local body be entrusted with the task. There are 92 municipal, and 48 district boards in these provinces. The latter are completely Hinduised, while in about 80 per cent of the former, the Hindus enjoy unchallenged supremacy. If the local bodies are allowed to draw up syllabuses, our community will offer determined opposition to such a course of action.

(2) The curricula should be uniform throughout the province, and no change should be made in them either by the Government or by local bodies.

(3) The framing of the curricula should be left to the religious heads and organisations of various communities. All that the Government would do to them, will be to say " We would like you to draw up a syllabus for religious instruction in primary schools. Please consult together, and let us have a curriculum on this subject which will be acceptable to all sections of your community." The various sections of the community will meet together, discuss the general principles on which the curriculum should be framed, and evolve a curriculum that will be acceptable to all. Such a task is by no means impossible. In drawing up the curriculum, leaders of various sections of a community should be invited. Precisely the same remarks apply to the Hindu, and the Christian communities. The syllabus will be drawn up by the accredited religious leaders and organisations of these communities. We believe this to be a safe, sound and practicable method.

(4) The task of the Government and of the local bodies will consist in the administration of the policy adumbrated by the leaders of different communities. The former will not be concerned with the question, " Why is such and such a thing taught in the class on religious instruction? " but with the question, " How far, and in what manner, is religious instruction conducted along the lines marked out by the curriculum? Is teaching in this subject efficient? Are teachers competent? Is sufficient amount of time devoted to it in school? Has any progress been made in the subject by boys who are instructed therein? " In short, the Government and the local bodies will have to do solely with the administration of the policy, and not with the policy itself, which will be laid down by the heads of various communities.

(5) We would like religious education to be made compulsory for all Muslim boys who are reading inschools maintained or aided by the local bodies. If, however, a parent or guardian objects to such instruction being imparted to his child or ward, then the latter ought to be excused attend-

ance at such classes. It will be compulsory only for those boys whose parents or guardians desire it. Again, we are aware of the fact that the Muslim population in the rural areas of a number of districts in these provinces is small. We know that in parts of the Kumaun Division, and in some eastern districts, their proportion is so small as to make it impossible for adequate provision being made for the religious instruction of Muslim children. We may, however, point out that the lines along which primary education will be developed in future are those which have been marked out and followed by the Punjab Government. We refer to the policy of establishment of central schools, with branch schools attached to them. In the case of such schools, there is a certainty of a large percentage of Muslim children attending these institutions. We are of the opinion that it is quite possible to establish schools even in areas, where the Muslim population is small provided, of course, the schools are organised in places where the Muslim population is compact, and contains a large number of children of school-going age. We do not think it is impossible to regroup the schools in such a way as to meet the legitimate desire of our community. In any case, we are willing to concede that provision for the religious instruction of Muslim boys should be made only in those schools which aie attended by at least five Muslim boys.

(6) We are of the opinion that religious instruction should form an integral part of the school curriculum, and should be given in school hours. We are strongly of the opinion that the whole scheme will be rendered absolutely futile if the local authorities, or the Government, merely permit religious bodies to conduct lessons in religion out of school hours. We may point out that local authorities in England, such as the London County Council, prescribe Scripture as a subject of study in their schools in school hours. Scripture is taught not only in the elementary and central schools, but also in the secondary schools, maintained by the Council. We are of the opinion that three periods a week should be devoted to religious instruction in all schools, and annual examinations should be conducted in the subject, as they are conducted for the ordinary school subjects.

(7) We are of the opinion that there is no need for the appointment of specialist or peripatetic teachers for this subject. It should be taught by the ordinary members of the school staff. We strongly recommend that in Normal Schools, and other training institutions maintained by the local bodies, adequate provision should be made for the teaching of religious instruction to all students under training. The curricula for these institutions should be carefully drawn up.

(8) We are of the opinion that provision should be made for religious instruction in the middle schools, as well, if there is sufficient demand for it in a particular locality. We are convinced that there is a strong demand in these institutions, though we should like a start being made with the primary schools, without delay.

(9) The Government should consider the advisability of organising curricula on religious instruction for secondary schools. We approve of it.

(10) Finally, we may add that we expect a large increase in the number of Muslim students, if religious instruction is introduced in ordinary schools.

Statement giving particulars of hostels attached to District Board Vernacular Middle Schools asked by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, in the United Provinces Legislative Council, in March, 1928 :—

Name of District Board.	Number of Vernacular middle schools which have hostels.	Number of Hindu residents in hostels during the year 1927.	Number of Muslim residents in hostels during the year 1927.	Number of Muhammadan Superintendents of hostels.
1	2	3	4	5
Dehra Dun	3	93	2	...
Saharanpur	10	342	63	4
Muzaffarnagar ..	12	744	54	...
Meerut	15	730	45	1
Bulandshahr	12	599	28	2
Total ...	52	2,508	192	7
Aligarh	13	678	42	1
Muttra	8	242	1	...
Agra	12	322	7	...
Mainpuri	8	282	...	..
Etah	9	295	11	1
Total ...	50	1 819	61	2
Bareilly	12	257	30	2
Bijnor	12	228	31	1
Budaun	12	338	30	4
Moradabad	14	361	50	3
Shahjahanpur	11	233	32	1
Pilibhit	6	180	50	2
Total ...	67	1 691	223	13
Farrukhabad	17	230	6	1
Etawah	13	171	1	...
Cawnpore	16	626	6	...
Fatehpur	8	330	38	...
Allahabad	15	536	133	2
Total ...	69	1,893	184	3
Jhansi	12	239	6	2
Jalaun	9	345	3	..
Hamirpur	10	170	2	1
Banda	11	305	25	...
Total ...	42	1,059	36	4

Name of District Board	Number of Vernacular middle schools which have hostels.	Number of Hindu residents in hostels during the year 1927.	Number of Muslim residents in hostels during the year 1927.	Number of Muhammadan Superintendents of hostels.
1	2	3	4	5
Benares	13	222	25	2
Mirzapur	6	92	11	..
Jaunpur	16	488	18	...
Ghazipur	14	343	38	2
Ballia	13	187	8	...
Total ...	62	1,332	100	4
Gorakhpur	22	798	42	...
Basti	15	486	68	1
Azamgarh	19	529	26	2
Total ...	57	1,813	136	3
Naini Tal	6	145	3	
Almora	6	232	...	...
Garhwal	6	886	...	...
Total ...	18	1,263	3	...
Lucknow	8	241	56	...
Unao	9	162	4	...
Rae Bareli	10	162	11	...
Sitapur	11	293	6	8
Hardoi	12	299	24	3
Kheri	10	200	14	3
Total ...	60	1,357	115	7
Fyzabad	10	310	55	2
Gonda	10	300	63	3
Bahraich	9	289	59	4
Sultanpur	7	307	31	1
Partabgarh	5	300	45	2
Bara Banki	10	152	43	2
Total ...	51	1,658	296	14
GRAND TOTAL ...	528	16,399	1,346	57

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on 31 October, 2019